GUIDE TO THE OZ11 PUKAPUKA FILE

[This file is concerned with the inhabitants of Pukapuka Atoll (also known as Danger Island), which lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. These people are Polynesians, speaking a Malayo-Polynesian language. The population is about 500, most of them grouped into a small area of one islet. The economy is based upon fishing and horticulture, with some copra being traded.

There are 12 sources in the Pukapuka file, all of which are in English. This total includes five manuscripts by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, who are the major authorities on the ethnography of the atoll, having spent a total of 7 1/2 months on the islands during 1934-1935. The basic source is 1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole, which is a general ethnography of the pre-missionary culture of these people (ca. 1850), with additional materials on the effect of White contact upon the culture. This effect has been strongest in the sphere of religion and least in the areas of economic life and material culture. 2:Macgregor is a brief description of the culture based on a stay of three days during 1933. The errors of fact in this publication were largely corrected in source 1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole. The remainder of the sources fill in areas not discussed in sources 1 and 2, with 11: Hutchin and 12: Gill offering some time depth to the file, but little else.

In general, this file is adequate for many cross-cultural purposes. However, the researcher should realize that the time focus varies considerably from source to source and within sources and this should be kept in mind when making comparisons. The file as a whole gives a good, brief picture of an isolated traditional Polynesian society. However, the religious aspects of the culture have been strongly affected by missionary efforts - the missionaries having kept Pukapukan contacts with the outside world to a minimum over a long period. Most of this file was processed before the introduction of the Outline of World Cultures and therefore the file pages generally lack the OWC alphanumeric codes. There were no special marking decisions for this file which was processed between 1953 and 1958.]

128 Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

125 We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral
114 lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-
115 pukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal in-
124 formants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Elia and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Elia was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 35 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary
124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves,
121 under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
101 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people
191 of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that
777 time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
163] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Taiete whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included
612 within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence
794 most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

served by native pastors.
1. [Pukapuka—analp.]

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

516 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
381 the atoll, Te Utu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
103 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ara*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
164 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church
423 and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
931 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches
621 the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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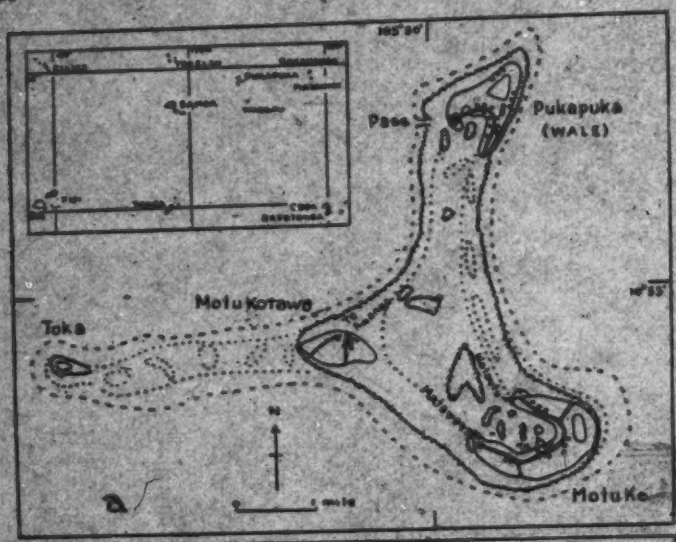

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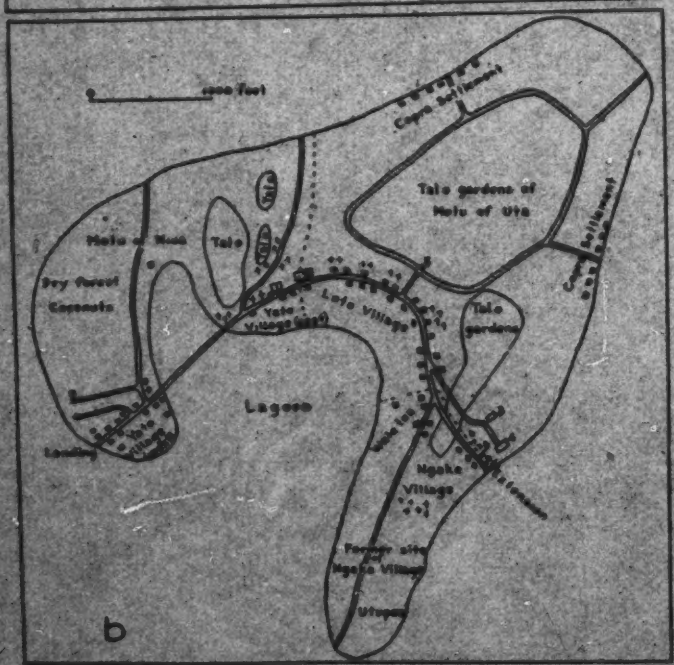

FIGURE 22—Maps of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
101 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wenua* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pune*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga e nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *mackuga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*lulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
599 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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171 tinguish Pukapuka from most other Polynesian groups. The Pukapukan origin myth is characteristically western in its phrasing.

Traditional history seems to point to fairly close contact long ago with islands to the west. It is unfortunate that so many of the foreign lands mentioned in these accounts can not be identified. The modern Pukapukan firmly believes that such names as Tonga, Yamoa, Witi, Tokelau and others refer in the legends to Polynesian islands which bear these names today. For lack of other evidence I see no reason to deny this. In the light of this traditional history it is hardly legitimate to pose the question: whence came the Pukapukans? The modern Pukapukan has no answer. The modern ethnologist can not yet speak with finality.

101 I take it as reasonably clear, however, that on a basic stratum of fundamentally Polynesian patterns, there has been superimposed a culture that has strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole is marginal to the west. These strata, combined with certain specific elaborations or survivals in social organization, serve to give characteristic accent to Pukapukan culture when viewed against the background of Polynesia as a whole.

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of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Ruraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

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156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

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621 the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

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361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*agatuala*) of
491 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
487 Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pum-ale	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimanu	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yacmata	—
Yato	Takamusi	'Circle' ?
	Uleknwa	'Penis-of-sennit' ?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-ki-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, taro gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Mataliki (*mata ariki*, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (*mata iki*, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig.1,a,b).1

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out-731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 — analyst.]

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 103

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for place names and villages on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, see p. 14.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows: 103 311 423 361 621

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Matanua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky,
is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land
of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were
gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The
gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the
sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The
god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask
Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant
land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu
arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two
friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods
crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the
sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu
turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were
again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both
arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position.
The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about
but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on
his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly,
tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was
stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu
stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe, and finally stretched
his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck
above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth
and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--100 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

839 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langililli are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitaua, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulia an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

539 To popongi na kili o te t:niu, peia waike te kili o te pulotu	Dark the skin of women, different yours, skin of the beautiful one,
E yuyulu i te ti:i o Pana, taku ngolo o na ulu tavai	Shining among the many of Pana's (13) women, o creature of the tavai tree top,
Na wakamate mai ki oku lunga, ya wakaili ki oku pi wu pa matangi,	You were as dead above me, resting on my breasts, sheltered from the winds,
Te tamawine na wuwuli i toku winangalo.	The girl who returned my desire.
Wakamatala ake te tai tua, ko ulu titimo ko te Po.	Open up the sea coast path, we enter stealthily into the Underworld, (14)
Yuli oku ala kauliliki, ko takoto toku unu na vae, na makoyi,	Treading on my narrow road, my foot tracks remaining well-marked,
Na wano ko te matangi, na yala i na nuku o aitu	We go to the place of the winds, to the islet of spirits
Toki i te wuti o Mulua,	Planted with the banana tree of Mulua, the god,
Toki i te kapi o Tangaloa, livai ia ko te niu a Malu,	Planted on the level of the Tangaloa gods who surround the coconut tree of Malu,
E liliva ko te va i matau,	Surrounding the space to the right,
E liliva ko te va i mayui, kakalo te atua wai newu,	Surrounding the space to the left; the magic-making god looks round,
Ko tu i te watu a Yokamani,	Standing at Yokamani's balancing stone.
Te palenga o te Po ma to ao, wakakati ai	Where the Underworld and the world of light join together, blocking the path
Lua wata wano ola ko te Po.	Of the two priests who went as living beings to the Underworld.
E mawiti koe la oku lunga, e kiai naku pukea mai;	You broke away from me, I did not catch you;

[103] 13 An old name for Ngake village, and one frequently used in the chants to refer to the village or the activities of its members.

14. For a description of the places and gods in the Underworld referred to in the following lines, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 326-328, category 116--analyst].

539 Ya puyitai na te tangata, wakapuke ai oku wale maki.	The man blew once, seized my house of sickness.
Omoyia ki te wakamanongi, wakataka mai te tokanga;	Smeared with your scented oil, bring together the sickness makers;
Koa avake i lalo te yiva nei,	The yiva chanting rises,
Koa ta te kapa a tangaloa;	And the kapa chant of the tangaloa gods;
Wakaolia mai te atu mua, wakaolia mai te atu loto,	The front row dances forward, then the middle row,
Newuta e Vave mai lunga, na mimia ki te matamatangi.	The god Vave beats his drum, the gods rush in all the directions of the wind,
Wetuki ki ngake, ki te malamanga o te tangata;	Rushing to the east, to the cleverest among the people;
Wakatu polo ta mo Leva. e wakia to tili	They arise, chanting for Leva, singing your tili chant
Na watu ai i te Po.	Composed in the Underworld.
E avake loa tuveina, wakalonga ko te tama leoleka.	The sound of chanting rises and the gods marvel, listening to your sweet voice.
E mawola to lava koti ika e kiliti i to tapu tangata,	Spread out your coconut leaf on which the fish is cut, bring forward your food gifts,
E ueia mai ki ngalepe, tuku teletele;	We chase away the people, scattering them in all directions;
Polokemeyia ma te ngutuala,	We embrace each other on the main paths,
Wai ki te koni, toka aku pole, e ulu atu au kia koe,	And embracing, satisfy desire in my entering into you.
Ko wuluwuluna, ko takelea, ko kanapa i te vau yina ma,	We wash, bathe, shiny the skin in the pool,
Ko tu i te vai i yua tili,	We stand at the pool of spraying water,
Ake ko te vai i Wuluna,	Go on to the pool at Wuluna,
Ake ko te vai i Wualolo,	Visit Wualolo's pool,
Ake ko te vai i Tamulua.	And then on to the pool at Tamulua. (16)
E maneanea ai taua, e moungutuina, laulapua mai ki te ngutu	We play there and talk, speaking with our mouths

[103] 16. These are the names of well-known pools on the islet of Pukapuka.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

[103] 5. Nuku Loa, an olden name for Ngake's reserve islet Motu Ko. The meaning of these lines is that the man will take his beloved in secret to the islet that recurs time and again in Pukapukan stories as the one best suited for love-making.

6. The forest of Te Tea is that in which Lata chopped down the tree for his canoe. See story on page 17.

7. Tuyiyauola, chief in the land of Yayake, is well known in Pukapukan traditions for the fact that he had many beautiful wives.

8. For the story of Te Nana, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402, 405, category 116--analyst].

539 Pepelu ma toku ulu vayavaya	I girt myself with vayavaya grasses from the gardens
Wuli mai e tino kaikaina, wakataia mai,	Turn to me your lovely body, let us become as one,
Lulu ki lunga yongi wakatskaina to kili i na lelei lopa,	Moving above you, let me inhale and caress your skin, beauty of young manhood,
O te koyi o te vaka,	Beauty like the keen cutting of a canoe,
E kakala angaoti e malau,	Sweet scent like that of a malau fish,
E wuli ki lalo ki vevenu, venu pe te io o te tapotu	I turn below to your softness, soft as the eyeball of the tapotu fish
Wakapeke ai au, na valea, wakaluia mua koa mania,	I raise my buttocks, satisfied, I lower the slippery front of my body.
Na kai wakapi na wakakume,	Another came to you with rich food-gifts, favors,
Na patia, koa wetangi;	She you spurned, she wept;
Yoko ko te loloi, te malo yilu,	She brought you taro puddings, pandanus-plaited malo,
E ye wuli atu ai koe;	You did not turn to her;
Longo mai ki aku wakawi-tinga ia koe,	Listen to me who tells this of you,
E toku yana maniu, taulanga malo tala ki lunga,	You who are my beloved perfect coconut tree; girt in malo, you stand straight,
Wenake ma te tupu takatoa, na makeke tama o te atu ngake,	Body rising perfectly, strong man of the eastern isles,
E tali keinanga, e maloyi, manaki i to lulu kiai,	Guardian of your lineage, strong champion of the wrestling ring, on whom your village depends,
Lomia pokia mai lunga, e loa	You smash your opponents down, throw them from above, you who are tall,
E tai lapui yayae te lopa toyiliki	You blow down with one breath, tear apart, the tiny young men
Wai taku au matamatanga.	You take away my breath as I watch you,
Wuwuli te ngolo matangawie, wakalelei mako a te Yawea	Turn to me, o animal easy to look at, you who glorifies the chants of Te Yawea (10)

[103] 10. An old name for Ngake village.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki. [133] [103] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

Pukapukan Place names

103 Te A: main settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Te ala matua o Te Motu: main path on Motu Ko that divides the eastern and western sections of the motu.

Te ala o Te Ngake: a main path leading from Te Awanga to the eastern outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Te Pa: a path from the lagoon to the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Tamati: a path from the point of Matautu directly south through the bush on Motu Ko.

Te ala o Taueva: a path from the lagoon to the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Tilitonga: a path from the lagoon to the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Timoti: a main path from Te Awanga to the outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Toa: the path around the lagoon between Te A and Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te ala o Watgota: a main path from Te Awanga to the outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Wetumala: a path from the lagoon to the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Winawa: a path from the lagoon to the southern back beach on Motu Ko.

Te ala.... the following are the names of the paths (ala) running from the outer beach (tua) to the lagoon, starting at Matautua and going around the lagoon to Matautuaa Motu Ko:

Te ala o puki	Te ala o poiva	Te ala yionga o te pewa
Te ala o patia	Te ala o vavaka	Te ala o vakatai
Te ala o lua	Te ala o temu	Te ala o lualau
Te ala o ala ala	Te ala o matiku	Te ala o patia
Te ala o taeva	Te ala o tapae	Te ala o talaiaga
Te ala o tilimenu	Te ala o Kaiyue	Te ala o te ingoa
Te ala o palakula	Te ala o tawala	Te ala o wonio
Te ala o syi	Te ala o te pa	Te ala o okotai
Te ala o Pokinga	Te ala o taueva	Te ala o te wau
Te ala a manu	Te ala o te ngana	Te ala o toa
Te ala o nopu	Te ala o meti	Te ala o viku
Te ala o tavitu	Te ala o winawa	Te ala o tamati
Te ala o ngalau	Te ala o moni	
Te ala o waitoke	Te ala o monikula	Te ala o yakilia,

this last is the main path that runs between Matautu and Te A.

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103 Te Alai: the submerged reef running west from the western point of Motu Kotawa.

Alai: the following are the names of the principal shoals (alai), coral upgrowths (toka), and passages (ava) through the shoals, which are met by canoes going from Matauna on Motu Ko to Wale;

Te alai o Palaoa
Te toka o Tanini
Te toka Mangalua
Te matatau o Maota
Te toka i te lakau anetai
Te matatau loa
Te alai o Te Vete
Te matatau lua
Te matatau tai
Te va i Taketake
Ko lalo o Nuku e tau
Te matatau o Te Malo
Te punga o Te Malo
Te tau o Kleilu
Te muli ola o Taualiki
Te alai o Uila
Te alai loa
Te toka a Te Upe
Te Popunga
Te alai Pale
Te [illegible] o Malkaleva
Te alai o Te Langa
Te kautika a Lowia
Te alai o Ulu
Te alai o Yaki
Te alai mutumutu
Te alai o Malua
Te va i Tokatoka
Te alai o Te Pukapuka
Te loto pukapuka o Ngake
Te toka hoi
Te toka [illegible]
Te punga loa
Te muli alai

103 Te Amonga: place in the motu of Uta.

Apapo: place and housesite on the western section of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Aua: place on the southwestern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Aualoa: sandy section of outer beach on Motu Ko.

Te Aua loa: sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale, on which there is a spring of freshwater named Te aui no Te Malo.

Te Aua oneone: sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Aumaloa: southeastern point on outer beach of Motu Ko; also spelled Yaumaloa.

Te Ava no Panau: break in reef rim on northeastern section opposite the new village of Ngake; also a marker for the boundary line between Loto and Ngake villages.

Te Ava o Te Palo: reef channel on northwestern side of Wale opposite new Ngake; named after the Yayake marker, Te Palo.

Te Ava o Te Wakatakelenga: section of beach in Loto village where the aliki of the island landed.

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Te Aoutu tukutai: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Avu tukutai: a deep canoe channel on the lagoon side of the reef at Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te Awanga: settlement on Motu Kotawa.

Te Imu wonu: place close to the lagoon beach of Loto where food divisions for Loto village were formerly made.

Itu: section of reef joining Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko.

Te Koko o Lei: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Kitaloa: place on the eastern side of the lagoon close to the settlement of Te A.

Te Koko mai Tua: outer beach of Motu Ko just south of Matawea.

Te Konga i te ulu puka: the big grove of puka trees at the southern point of Motu Kotawa; a favorite place for bird catching.

Te Langaikula: old name for Ngake village.

Lavakola: place on the lagoon beach of Loto where fish caught by the tupola fishing groups were landed.

Te Liakingala: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Longolau: section of land on the eastern point of Wale close to the site of old Ngake village.

Te Loto tionga: brackish freshwater pool near the land section Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te Loto Waintauvave: reef channel extending east and west across the reef, just south of Utupoa.

Te Lua wonu: elevated beach on the southern side of Motu Kotawa.

Matain: site of principal watch house in Uta.

Matano: old name for the old site of Yato village before the causeway was built.

Te Mata i Aonai: western point of Motu Kotawa from which the submerged reef runs westward.

Matapoito: land section on the lagoon at Motu Ko, west of Te A.

Matatuki: place on the lagoon beach of Loto near the boundary of Loto and Ngake; formerly a favorite place for building canoes.

Matauanu: place in Loto village near eastern side of cemetery of Tua.

Mitautu: point of land which is northern tip of the horseshoe lagoon on Motu Ko; the reef from Wale ends here.

103 Te Mata Utupoa: sandy point southward from Wale and joining the reef between Wale and Motu Ko.

Matawea: southwestern point of Motu Ko, forming a tip of the horseshoe lagoon.

Te Motu tauyili: sandbank above tide level on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Motu o Te Malo: sandbank above tide level on reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Motu o Te Tali: sandbank above tide level on reef between Motu Ko and Wale and close to Utupoa.

Te Nau o Te Tupua: place close to northwestern outer beach of Ngake; also called Te Tau o Waletiale, because the man Waletiale located his copulation group at this place.

Te Niu a Taumotu: place on the western side of the lagoon, next to Matawea.

Niukula: place close to the southern side of the talo gardens on the path between Loto and the Residency.

Te Ngayu o Te Kalele: stretch of bush and beach on the eastern side of the lagoon at Wale, the beach frontage of Utupoa, where houses of old Ngake once stood.

Te Nuku a tau: raised sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Olo o Valu: bush immediately behind the main settlement on Motu Kotawa.

Otulei: land section and housesite on the lagoon beach of Loto village.

Te papa loa: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Ngongo: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Tana: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Wona: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te po o Walakula: the grave of the man Walakula on the point of Matautu.

Te Popounga: landing beach facing the lagoon on Motu Kotawa.

Te Peapua o Te Manenga: section of outer beach on Motu Ko close to the point Matawea.

Te Puka i Te Wu: place on the western side of the lagoon close to Matawea.

Tamatama: place and housesite on the southwestern section of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Tawatai o Loka: place on the lagoon at Motu Ko.

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189 Te Taakole Ngalipayua: place on the boundary between the cemeteries of Matanga and Maliwutu in Ngake, marked by a huge pile of Tridacna shells.

Tayllu: section of land on the eastern point of Wale, north from Utupoa; the food divisions of old Ngake village were all made at this place before the village was washed away.

Te Tanoanga o Te Tautala: a lonely stretch of outer beach on Motu Ko, south from Matawea.

Te tua Loto: northwestern outer beach of Motu Kotawa.

Te tua Matapoko: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko midway between the point Matawea and Te Aumaloa.

Te tua Matautu: the back beach of Motu Ko opposite the point of Matautu.

Te tua o Te Aumaloa: section of the outer beach at Motu Ko opposite the southern point of Te Aumaloa.

Te tua o te niu mangalo: section of the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te tua o Te Va Uta: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko, midway along the southern section of the islet.

Te tua o te wala loa: the back beach of Motu Ko south of the point where the path called Te ala matua strikes the back beach.

Te tua o Te Wai: section of the outer southern beach on Motu Ko.

Tua papa: northwestern outer beach of Motu Kotawa.

Te tua poutama: section of the back beach of Motu Ko between the point Matautu and the point Te Aumaloa.

Tua a Puka: section of the northern outer beach of Wale.

Tua tiale: section of land in Loto village between the beach and the motu of Uta.

Te tuinga ika o Te Palo: place in new Ngake village where the Tayako warrior, Te Palo, sewed his sail.

Tulituli: section of land on the eastern point of Wale, north of Utupoa.

Te ui kapa: name of the pulaka garden on Motu Kotawa.

Te ui palapala kukula: swampy ground on the outer beach opposite the point of Te Aumaloa, where the people of Tayako settled and dug wells.

Te uiu uiu veo: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko, just north of Te Aumaloa.

Uiu puapua Mani: grove of trees, hence the place, behind Te A on Motu Ko.

Te Uiu Takapau: resting place of the aliki wolo of the island, close to the lagoon beach in Loto village.

103 Utupoa: old name for the site of Ngake village, on the south-eastern point of Wale.

Te vai i Awanga: main well behind the settlement of Te Awanga on Motu Kotawa.

Te vai o Te Alo: well at the point Matautu, where freshwater is always drunk on the walk back along the reef from Motu Ko to Wale.

Te vai o Te Wui Yayake: freshwater wells above high tide on the section of beach opposite Te Aumaloa on Motu Ko, reputed to have been dug by the people of Yayake.

Te vai o Tukino: well half-way along Te ala o Timoti, between Te Awanga and the outer beach.

Vaipapa: section of land extending east and west across the eastern point of Wale, north of Utupoa.

Te vai tokatoka: coral-headed lagoon approach to the landing beach at Motu Kotawa.

Waitawe: swampy section of ground behind the lagoon section of Ngake village.

Te wala mala wolo: clump of shady pandanus trees on the back beach of the point of Matautu.

Wale Wu: land section on the lagoon, west of Te A on Motu Ko.

Te Walenamu: place where dry land begins and reef ends between Wale and Motu Ko.

Wangawanga: land section and housesite on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Yaumaloa: southeastern point on the outer beach of Motu Ko; also spelled Aumaloa.

Yeilawi: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Yeu Mamao: name for the place where one of the god houses of Matanga stood, in Ngake village.

103 613 The following are the names of the homestead lots (yikuanga), running from the residency down to the lagoon beach and then westward to the causeway:

Te yiku po, where the Residency stands, a yikuanga cut out of the motu of Uta.

Te yikuanga i te alau kawa, a big yikuanga which is the site of the tua extensions of Loto and Ngake, and includes smaller yikuanga belonging to Matanga po of Ngake and the po i Tua of Loto.

Te yikuanga i Waletea, occupying the westernmost extension of Ngake village on land of Muliwutu po.

Te yikuanga i Wumalolo, next along the beach towards Loto, another yikuanga of Muliwutu po.

Te yikuanga i Yamanaia Te yikuanga i Wanganui Te yikuanga i Te Awanga o Kui	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule
Te yikuanga i Matanamu Te yikuanga i tai o te papa	two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.
Te yikuanga i Te Au Te yikuanga i Te Limatini Te yikuanga i Walepia	three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.
Te yikuanga la ngauta Te yikuanga la tai	the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.

103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
621 by the people of Ngake:
244
te ui aeleake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te maungatu
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tawa
te ui i te ala o kaiyue
te ui o te vai matua
te ui tua yulu
te ui o komuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokelua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Loto:
Muli wolo
Malo pala
Laiotai inu
Laki ue

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 621 244 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are communally owned by Loto:

Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the mutu of Uta.

103 613 244 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:

Talo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage),
Ale of po Muliwutu
Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga
Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)
Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula
Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeltae and the sublineage Pikula
Te leikau ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole
Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te leikau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Pulaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nangata, belongs to wua Kati.
Wenua ele ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango
Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

5-Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9. E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

193. Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
243 1. belongs to po Yamaunga
244 2. belongs to po Yayi
3. belongs to po Yalongo.

Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango

Ui Mitanga, belongs to waiavae Matanga of Yato

Ui Motu Mitawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)

Te ui a Ilelei, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui a Wale, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui Puata, belongs to members of keinanga Kava living in Yato

Te ui a yaukava, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Pukapuka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu

Te ui mulliolo belong to waiavae Walepia
te ui taulangi

193 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds
244 on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te balaanga tugale,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui mulli mauiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui lotimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Toko	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Pikkola,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui longatuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui mana tavaka	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui tupuna	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui auiua	belongs to Punia, Yato
Te ui taiiliati	belongs to Teiayeu, Ngaka
Te ui makelehala	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te Yau	belongs to Matauta, Loto
Te ui ayyi	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Mitalau	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui tohola	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kulusa	belongs to Kulusa, Loto
Te ui o Te Lapo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngaka
Te ui vaittuo	belongs to Puia, Ngaka
Te ui longolanga	belongs to Nalupe, Ngaka

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE
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● 105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full 156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,
578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

1: Beaglehole, Ernest, and Pearl Beaglehole. Ethnology of Pukapuka. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 150. Honolulu, 1938.

Pp. 419; 55 text figures; 6 plates; index; bibliography.

Yale: S11/0182/150.

Omitted from Files: Author's index, pp. 417-419.

[This monograph, which describes pre-missionary culture, is based upon seven and one-half months of field work plus information from other primary sources which were checked in the field.
Economic life and material culture were found to be least affected by white contact. The social organization, aside from the breaking down of the powers of the chiefs, has been little changed. However, in the area of religion and its interrelationship with other aspects of culture, the change has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world due to the zeal of the missionaries. Additional material from this field trip in the form of un-published field notes and other studies will be found under separate source numbers in this file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-35
Analyst: R. Mandler

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

2: Macgregor, Gordon. "Notes on the Ethnology of Pukapuka." Bernice P. Bishop Museum Occasional Papers, Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 1-52. Honolulu, 1935.

15 figures; 4 plates.

Yale: S11.450.11

[This monograph is based on a three-day stopover on the atoll of Pukapuka, plus additional information in the literature. The first hand information here was obtained through interpreters. The author had little time to establish rapport, and also the Pukapukans themselves were in disagreement about the old facts. Therefore much of the information here is inadequate or incorrect. Beaglehole and Beaglehole (see source 1) studied Macgregor's manuscript before their field work began and checked it during their stay on Pukapuka. Since they make many references to Macgregor's findings either in confirmation or contradiction, it will be useful to the file user to have the original at his disposal. However, to avoid repetition of the facts or confusion as to correct information, the majority of these notes will be found only in category 116 with cross-references from the pertinent categories. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933 Evaluation: Ethnologist-2

Analyst: Roseanne Mandler Processed in 1953

OZ 11 Pukapukans

3: Beaglehole Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole. Myths, Stories and Chants from Pukapuka. Reports of Bernice P. Bishop Museum Expedition to Pukapuka, 1934-1935, No. 2. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Pp. 137 (typescript).

Manuscript obtained by loan from Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

[This is an unpublished manuscript to which has been added the necessary references to make it complete. The only other addition has been the substitution, for three stories in summarized form, of native texts and translations available in the Beagleholes' field notes. The manuscript consists of a collection of myths, stories and chants plus general discussions of each grouping. The section on chants covers the various types, structural analysis, meter, function within the society, the dance forms that accompany chanting and the difficulties involved in the translation of the chants with their profusion of sexual references and symbolism.
For more information on the authors' fieldwork see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, category III. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-1935
Analyst: Roseanne Mandler

Evaluation: Ethnologist -5
Processed in 1953

4: Beaglehole, Pearl. String Figures from Pukapuka. Reports of Bernice P. Bishop Museum Expedition to Pukapuka, 1934-1935, no. 2. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu [1936].

Pp. 96 (typescript); 66 plates; 1 table; bibliography.

Manuscript obtained by loan from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

[The material here was gathered at odd moments during the course of a formal ethnological study of Pukapuka in 1934-1935, the unpublished manuscript being presented to the Museum by the author in 1936. For more information on this fieldwork, see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, category 111.

This source contains a description of the techniques employed in making 46 named string figures and the unnamed secondary figures (lui) which derive from them. It also includes 66 line drawings of these authantically old Pukapukan figures in varying degrees of completion. The author comments in a comparative note on the similarities to figures in other Oceanic areas and Polynesia in particular. A table of the former shows the distribution of 17 string figures and 1 trick figure which correspond to others reported in

4: Beaglehole, Pearl.

these areas. This source was analyzed by R. Mandler.
Evaluation: E-5 Field date: 1934-1935 Date of analysis: July 1953].

5: Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole. Field Notes: Pukapukan Place Names. Reports of Bernice P. Bishop Museum Expedition to Pukapuka, 1934-1935, No. 2. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Pp. 9 (typescript)

Manuscript obtained by loan from Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

[This source consists of lists of names designated in the Beagleholes' field notes for inclusion in a future list of place names, names which were omitted either by the authors or the publisher from the Ethnology (Source 1 of this file), plus a few miscellaneous additions from the field notes. For more information about the authors' fieldwork, see Source 1, category 111. The material here includes the names of paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, principal shoals and reefs between the islets, general place names, names of homestead lots, and talo beds owned by the villages, lineages and individuals. This source was analyzed by R. Mandler.]

Evaluation E-5 Field dates: 1934-1935 Date of analysis: July 1953.

6: Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole. Personality Development in Pukapukan Children. Language, Culture and Personality, editors Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, and Stanley S. Newman, pp. 282-298. Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941.

Yale: C53.0131

[The material presented here represents a cautious attempt towards an understanding of the cultural factors that influence personality development and socialization of the so-called "primitive" child--in this case, the Pukapukan child. The main patterns of this development are discussed along with two formalized crisis periods (at the time of weaning and at pre-puberty) and some of the other perhaps incidental stress areas that occur during the process of socialization. These areas include reactions to discipline, adoption stresses, fear situations, aggressiveness towards siblings, etc. Behavioral observations in the form of field note records are given to illustrate the various situations and resultant behavior. The lack of overt conflicts over sex are discussed in the light of the Pukapukan attitudes, both adult and child, toward sexual activities. The conclusion of the article is concerned with the types of data necessary for a complete

6: Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole.

understanding of the process of personality development and socialization, and with the various methods and theories currently employed in the interpretation of field data. For information on the authors, see cat. 111 for source 1. This article was analyzed by R. Mandler. Field date--1934-35 Evaluation- E-5].

7: Beaglehole, Ernest. Field Notes: Pukapukan Dictionary. Reports of Bernice P. Bishop Museum Expedition to Pukapuka, 1934-1935, no. 2. Unpublished manuscript on file at Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Pp. 7 (of typescript)

Manuscript obtained by loan from Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

[This source consists of lists of words that had been ear-marked in Beaglehole's fieldnotes for inclusion in a future Pukapukan Dictionary, plus a few additions not so specified from the notes. It consists of four vocabulary breakdowns: Physiological processes and parts of the body, various bones of the body, miscellaneous sexual terms, and types of sleep. The names of the first two groupings were supplied by one informant, at that time the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. Far more information on the fieldwork and the resultant published ethnology, see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, category 111. This source was analyzed for the Files by R. Mandler.
Field Dates: 1934-1935 Evaluation: E-5 Date of Analysis: June 1953.]

8: Beaglehole and Beaglehole. Field Notes: Miscellaneous. Reports of Bernice P. Bishop Museum Expedition to Pukapuka, 1934-35. No. 2. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Pp. 26 (typescript).

Manuscript obtained by loan from Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

[This source consists of selections from field notes of material that was omitted by the publisher from the Ethnology of Pukapuka (Source No. 1 of this file). Selections were made by the analyst by comparing the Ethnology with the field notes. The material here follows no logical order except for as much internal grouping as was possible. Certain statements are referred to pages in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole for further clarification and context. For more information on the authors and their fieldwork, see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, category 111. --Analyst]

Field Date: 1934-35
Analyst: R. Mandler

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

9: Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl. Brief Pukapukan Case History. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135-143. Wellington, N. Z.:, 1939.

Yale: Nk10 P76e v.48-49

[This article is a short life history of one of the Beaglehole's main informants. It concentrates mainly on the sexual aspects of adolescence and marriage, with some incidental information on adoption, family life, and birth. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-1935
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologists: -5
Processed in 1961

10: Beaglehole, Ernest. "Emotional Release in a Polynesian Society". Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 319-328. Columbus: American Psychological Association, October-December 1937.

Yale: K3. J5

[The factual material in this source duplicates for the most part information found in other sources. However, the material assumes a new interest because of the author's analysis of it. He discusses the reduction of strong anxieties and aggressions to a socially safe pressure through traditionally institutionalized or individually patterned releases of repressed emotions. These are the mechanisms by which the "friendly, kind, sympathetic, generous" Pukapukan comes to act at times in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. For information on the author's fieldwork, see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, category 111. This source was analyzed by R. Mandler. Field date: 1934-1935 Evaluation: E-5 Date of analysis : July 1953].

11: Hutchin, J. J. K. Traditions and Some Words of the Language of Danger ~~on~~ OR Pukapuka Island. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 13, pp. 174-176. Wellington, 1904.

4 pp.

Yale: NK10. P76e. 13

[This source consists mainly of a short account of some of the historical traditions and myths of Pukapuka as given by an informant in Rarotongan, with an English translation, plus a list of Pukapukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents. This brief work is one of the earliest on Pukapuka, the author having visited the atoll in May 1904. It has been processed for the Files because it is referred to in several other sources on Pukapuka and because of whatever historical interest it may have. This source was analyzed by R. Mandler.
Field date: 1904. Evaluation: M-2. Date of analysis: July 1953].

12: Gill, W. Wyatt. A Word About the Original Inhabitants of Pukapuka Island. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 21, pp. 122-124. New Plymouth (New Zealand), 1912.

3 pp.

NK10. P76e. 21

[This is one of the earliest works on Pukapuka, having been written in 1877. It consists of a translation of a poorly written account by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka. This account contains a short, highly incomplete, and, according to more recent information, not too accurate a description of the myths and traditions of Pukapuka. It does have an historical interest, however, and since it is also mentioned in other works on Pukapuka, it has been processed for the Files. This source was analyzed by R. Mandler.
Field date: 1877 Evaluation: M-2 Date of analysis: July, 1953].

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

171 tinguish Pukapuka from most other Polynesian groups. The Pukapukan origin myth is characteristically western in its phrasing.

Traditional history seems to point to fairly close contact long ago with islands to the west. It is unfortunate that so many of the foreign lands mentioned in these accounts can not be identified. The modern Pukapukan firmly believes that such names as Tonga, Yamoa, Witi, Tokelau and others refer in the legends to Polynesian islands which bear these names today. For lack of other evidence I see no reason to deny this. In the light of this traditional history it is hardly legitimate to pose the question: whence came the Pukapukans? The modern Pukapukan has no answer. The modern ethnologist can not yet speak with finality.

101 I take it as reasonably clear, however, that on a basic stratum of fundamentally Polynesian patterns, there has been superimposed a culture that has strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole is marginal to the west. These strata, combined with certain specific elaborations or survivals in social organization, serve to give characteristic accent to Pukapukan culture when viewed against the background of Polynesia as a whole.

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2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

The dances seen during an evening's entertainment were performed by a small number of people in Loto village: 535 177

Men and women danced together in four lines, the men performing one set of movements in unison, the women performing another set. In one dance the men brought their knees up high in a stationary run or kicked their heels behind them, while the women moved their hips rapidly from side to side, keeping the upper part of their bodies motionless. The gestures and steps of this dance and several others recorded in motion pictures are identical with rapidly performed dances of Tahiti. Each dance was led by one man, who made gestures and remarks amusing to the natives.

The accompaniment was kept with an improvised drum made of a roll of mats. The rhythm was first given, and after a long roll of the drumsticks the dance commenced. Throughout the dances, the dancers sang songs which they called *'imine*, a Tahitian word derived from the English "hymn."

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000 Table of Illustrations

Figure 1. Te-Imu-o-Wale-Puapua.
Figure 2. Secondary figure, lui, of Te-Imu-o-Wale-Puapua.
Figure 3. Te-Imu-o-Tima.
Figure 4. Lui of Te-Imu-o-Tima.
Figure 5. Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau.
Figure 6. Lui of Lua-tangata.
Figure 7. Te-ikapaetai.
Figure 8. Te-papanga-o-te-waulua.
Figure 9. Te-langi-loa.
Figure 10. Lui of Te-langi-loa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 127 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 128 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and taro gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parenthesis refer to Literature Cited, p. 418.

128 Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

123 We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral
114 lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-
115 pukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal informants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau,
124 both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary
124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves,
121 under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yapake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

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The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wata-ennava-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as coral resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been great for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

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Walls

913 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at
417 the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*fu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupola. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 the lashing and serves as a single secondary hackle for the distal side. The third hook
284 has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted round this and cut off about 1½ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but has been subsequently broken.

227 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both
284 of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary
171 hackle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and head hole are added as is customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized as far as the head with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 89*c*), and was done presumably for the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle [illegible] end of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an interestingly lashed hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached
284 from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound transversely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is required again.

227 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant
171 features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito
114 hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194). Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves, merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (20, pp. 30-31)[1] from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

1. [See 21 McGregor-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Rakahanga, Fagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that
171 of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the
114 remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Macgregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig.43,*a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *homuli* fish and are named generically *pa taki homuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malou* fish and are termed *pa malou*.

227 284 FIGURE 43—Small trolling hook (*pa taki homuli*) (CB133). *a*, composite hook: point (1) first lashed to shank (2) through proximal hole (3); snood (4) passed through proximal hole and seized with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing continues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (5) around shank and binds them with circumferential turns (6), then seizes snood for about 1 inch beyond head; distal hole (7) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal hole underneath shank (8) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal hole and around shank to fix tackle (9) of sisal fiber with oblique turns; no secondary tackle on this hook; filler sticks (10) inserted between lashings and sides of point base. *b*, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend, and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, widest part; 3, tail.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

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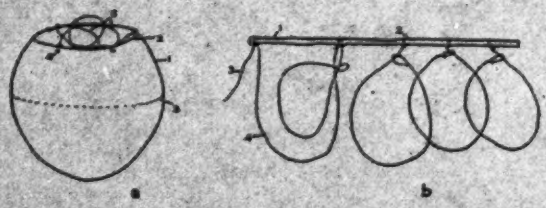
Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.



a b

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Figure 48—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*mareuga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*mareuga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2⅜ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *uaw* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *uaw* fiber.

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period, organization was in terms of either *tuna* or *yalongo* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*nofono*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yalongo*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not as important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1930:297), speaking of Vaitupu social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, cites definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapukan also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
171 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
611 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular com-
parisons may be made.

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
641 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
623 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands
522 of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power
because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Mem-
887 bership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a
mechanism called *tai tangata*:

805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal line-
561 age or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period,
which is then called *te tahelenga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All
other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata*
and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koe wanau au
i te tahelenga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wahenia-
ahi o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occa-
sionally happens, no first-born child is born in the same season (planting season), then
the oldest first-born child of the succeeding season *pa* (taro season) becomes the *tai*
tangata of the preceding season (planting season), and all children born during the twelve-month
period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata*
periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai ta-*
ngata. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical pur-
poses. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age
grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans recognized a number of age grades or life periods:

Kohipanaai (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kohiatamoa (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 10 months.
Pipiamoa (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called to tamaiki or to kamiki (children).
Tuipaiaga and tuaiaga (to pass on a mat or kilt): youths and girls who have reached pubertal adulthood.
Kimatangitau: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called *kopu* and *pamawaka*.
Tuau and vavaine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matagaio de tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupale: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general to have wisdom.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilomatu*. The father calls the child my *ilomatu*; the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 603 114 778 Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

606 602 [m] Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hainga tuhama* or as *tuale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *tuale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *tuale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *tuale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga tuhama*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga tuhama* are *tuale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *tuale atua* are also *tuale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common kind of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga tuhama* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *tuale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *tuale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *tuale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *tuale atua* or *hainga tuhama* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:
>
> ♂ — Lotonga
> Mata ♀ m. — ♂ — Tolama
> ♂ — [illegible] Po — ♂ — Aotonga
> Lotoa (f) — Elio (m)
>
> Mata and Tolama are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elio, are *tuale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from ideal brother and sister. Children of Elio and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *tuale atua* to each other.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiso* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 613 562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Tana nano ai i luaga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Tana stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Patrilineal Lineages

[953] Tana, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Tana* (birds of Tana). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Tana would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Tana was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Tana prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

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A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangátiale Vakayala Kui-manuila
	Muliwuiu	Tumulivaka ma Muila Te Vayi Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakiate ma Malokitelangi ma Tumuilangi Te Alongaoa Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui Te Atua-ngutu-uli Poiva ma Taukava Wakakewiti
	i Tua	Matalliki ma Tamayei Te Ulu-takapau Tupale Taua	
	Yangalipale	Kui	
Yato			i Te Umutele i Lowia i Kailia
	Tumuenga	Te Mangaiéa Tumualanga	
	Yalangu	Tawitonga Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

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The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (*uea*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taua; this is a big block of *pauga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of ideis of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-tolo-ramo (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *mate*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata uei atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*mahayaringa*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no house requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aliu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*mahayaringa*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*mahayaringa*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Lana (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

> If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAEKUA,[20] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.
>
> The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAEKUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAEKUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.
>
> In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.
>
> I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[20] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele mauu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yeka ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, kou mate, kou elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatauili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakauia ko te uale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 173 178

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

539

E teia kakao mai laio o te paga o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki luaga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; na Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa luaga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kauralalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, no?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki luaga, wuwuti ki luaga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onootowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki luaga, koa oko ki te luaga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki luaga. Ili loa te vaka ki luaga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pau ki luaga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1. [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations 127 which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling [124] exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

194 The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and nine consonants, *k, l, m, n, ng, p, t, v,* and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6).* The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 49.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

114/128 nevertheless as long as this type is not polar, much importance must be attached to cultural factors in defining the success with which the basic psychological personality adjusts itself to the status personality.[9] If on the other hand, as psychoanalytic theory appears to hold, the psychological nature of man is everywhere the same—that is if the infant in Siberia or in Africa or Polynesia is heir to emotional and sexual drives (libido) that must find outlet on object or self according to predetermined developmental stages—then it would seem that cultural factors can do little but accentuate here or play down there. The psychoanalytic contention that the nuclear complex is of universal occurrence is perhaps a case in point.[10] Psychoanalytic theory in this matter is still in a formative stage and doubtless it may be possible to adduce evidence in conflict with the preceding statement. Roheim, for instance, in his analysis of Australian materials, concludes that the Australian aborigine is predominantly of the oral character type,[11] a personality development that can be due to conditioning and to this only.

On the other hand Dr Susan Isaacs[12] inclines rather strongly to the opinion that cultural factors are of slighter importance than libidinal drives. She would expect to find in Pukapuka, personality types similar to those found in our own society. It would seem in support of this view, as careful study of all our records indicate, that Pukapukan children engage in behavior activities in frames of reference that are analogous to, or even identical with common behavior activities of American children. There are alternations of love and hate, object sucking, nipple biting, plays with sand and water, "cosy places" plays, genital manipulation, "family plays"—to name but a few. In this sense, and generalizing broadly, the major difference in the socialization process between Pukapukan and American children lies in the

[9] See for instance Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), especially Chapters 8 and 26, and Plant, op. cit., pp. 209-20.

[10] Compare Ernest Jones, *Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages* (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 6, pp. 109-30, 1925) with Malinowski's analysis in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London and New York, 1927), op. pp. 135 ff. Benedict, also, believes that an Œdipus complex is quite impossible among the Zuñi. See her *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 101.

It may be noted that since our article was completed (November, 1939) M. F. Ashley Montagu has summarized the relevant cultural material bearing on the Œdipus complex in his paper *Nyctemeri, Science and Psychoanalysis* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 45-60, 1941, see pp. 48-49). Reference may also be made to Margaret Mead's recent survey of comparative work on character structure: *Cultural Change and Social Sovereignty* (Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 90-109, 1940). The relative importance of biological drives as compared with cultural factors in determining character structure and personality development has also become a matter of active recent discussion. See in this connection Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Psychiatry, Vol. 3, pp. 1-117, 1940), Ernest Burgholzer, *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 62-77, 1941), A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), and finally, the more orthodox point of view and the references given in Bernard Lewy's article, *The Nature of the Repression* (Bulletin, Menninger Clinic, Vol. 5, pp. 47-55, 1941).

[11] G. Roheim, *The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture* (in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London, 1934, pp. 282-92). Horney gives a good summary of the present position in her *Neurotic Personality of our Time* (New York, 1937), pp. 16-20.

[12] From personal communication.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[6] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpertation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[6] See Ernest Beaglehole, Polynesian Anthropology Today (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213–21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

114/128 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilisation of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152 157 128 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Pukapukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
121 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1933), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 297–99, appendix 2, pp. 458–61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319–28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.

BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
Wellington, New Zealand.

114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [582] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children [848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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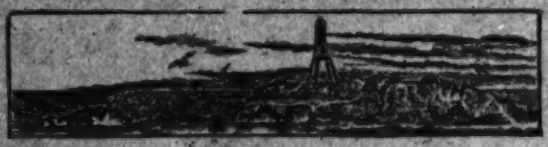

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

In the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uye. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-nuri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiato. 639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pora, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awua (w pronounced like o) or Fana-uri, and the third Taha-numi or Uro-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grow on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [177 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niue,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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INTRODUCTION

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124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 30 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-115 puka culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal in-124 formants were: Veti and Mitimea, both over 65 years old; Elia and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimea were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Elia was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Mofingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawasi, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary 124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was 121 necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 115
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

Il: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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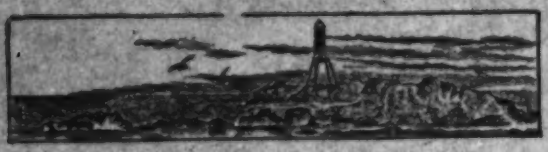

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1906. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyp. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate.

639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (v pronounced like w) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

[177 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niue,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

BY
ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 150

HONOLULU, HAWAII
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1938

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Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried
124 out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief
accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a
127 short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting
128 material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and taro gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 412.

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124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-
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124 609 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka generously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 191 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 777 167 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka. [101 163] In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tiose, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Taiola whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 642 794 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All these missions are served by native pastors.[2]

1. [Pukapuka—analysis]

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177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
799 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
770 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
692 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
799 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
191 and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
799 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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124 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a
127 few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the
128 more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as
[184] a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalizations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

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121 affinities with other Polynesian systems. This provides the objective back-
128 ground for studying the meaning of these patterns for the personalities of those who live within the frame of reference called Pukapukan society. This task is touched upon in the data on children (2). If certain problems of symbolism, pattern status, emotional conditioning, and all that makes up the dynamics of culture have been largely overlooked in these pages, it is not through unawareness of the existence and importance of these problems but solely because the type of field work represented by this and other manuscripts is that which it was most practicable to carry to a conclusion.

NOTE ON PHONETIC STRUCTURE

194 Throughout this monograph Pukapukan words are written in the ordinary
[128] English alphabet, in accordance with standard usage for Polynesian ethnology. Obviously such recording represents only an approximate rendering of the true sounds and words of the language.

The symbols *k*, *p*, and *t* represent the intermediates between sonant *g* and surd *k*, between *b* and *p*, and between *d* and *t* respectively; *k* is pre-palatal before the vowels *e* and *i*, post-palatal before *a*, *o*, and *u*—it is never aspirated; *p* is aspirated only before the vowel *u*; *t* is always dental and unaspirated.

The lateral, *l*, is dental. The nasals are *m*, a dental *n*, and the front palatal *ang* (*ng*). The semivowel *w* functions as a major consonant; when it occurs within a word before *u* or *i* (as in the words *manu*, *awi*) it has a guttural quality.

Finally, there are the bilabial spirant *v*, voiceless and unaspirated, and the voiceless interdental spirant, not previously recorded for a Polynesian dialect. This spirant (corresponding to the *th* in English "thin") is invariably palatalized, followed by a *y* slur ("thin" with a *y* inserted before the *i*, "thyin"). This compound sound (*θ* in certain phonetic systems) is rendered by the symbol *y* in this monograph, but is not to be confused with the ordinary *y* semivowel which does not occur as a Pukapukan consonant. The Pukapukan voiceless interdental spirant palatalized is the sound mistakenly described by Macgregor (20, p. 3) as a glottal closure accompanied by "an added breath . . . giving a sound of *i* consonant," and written by him *'i*.

The glottal closure as an independent consonant is absent. The consonants are never long.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* all have the continental values. In rapid speech, however, a short *a* is pronounced as *u* in English "but"; short *i*, especially before *ng*, as *i* in English "pin". Final *i* after *t* tends to be voiceless.

Quantity and quality of vowels, presence or absence of diphthongs, and the location of stress are not indicated in native words. These phonetic characteristics are reserved for treatment in a Pukapukan dictionary which will include also the general rules of pronunciation governing accent.

Table 1. Comparison of ʻ and w with other Polynesian consonants.*

	Pukapuka	New Zealand	Samoa	Niue	Tonga	Uvea	Ontong Java	Hawaii	Marquesas	Rarotonga	Tahiti	Mangareva	Easter Island
	ʻ	h	ʻ,-	h	h	h	h, s	h	h, f	ʻ	h	ʻ	h
To walk	yele	haere	(saele)	hele	hele	hele	hele	hele	hee	ʻere	haere	ʻere	ahere
To err	yala	hara	sala	hala	hala	hala		hala	haa	ʻara	hara	ʻara	hara
To do	yanga	hanga	anga	(hanga)	(hangahanga)	hangahanga		hana	hana	ʻanga'anga	hat's	ʻanga	hanga
Pregnant	yapu	hapu					sopo		hopu		hapu		
To tie	yele	here		hele	hele			hele	fee	ʻere	here	ʻere	here
To mix	yeuyeu	heuheu			heuheu				feu	ʻeu	heu		(heu)
Tail	yiku	hiku	sfʻu; fʻu	hiku	hiku	hiku		hiʻu		ʻiku		ʻiku	iku
Gray	yina	hina	sina	(hina)	hina			hina	hina	ʻina	hina	ʻina	
Friend	yoa	hoa	soa	(hoa)	hoa	hoa		hoa	hoa	ʻoa	hoa	ʻoa	hoa
Spittle	yuvale	huware									huare		
	w	wh, h	f, s	f	f	f	h	h	f, h	ʻ	f, h	ʻ	h
Four	wa	wha	fa	fa	fa	fa		ha	fa, ha	ʻa		ʻa	ha
To make	wai	whai	fai	fai	fai	fai			fai, hai		fai		hai
Caus. prefix	waka	whaka	faʻa	faka	faka	faka		haʻa	haa, haka	ʻaka	haka, faka	ʻaka	haka
Home	wale	whare	fale	fale	fale	fale	hale	hale	hae, fae	ʻare	fare	ʻare	hare
To go	wano	whano	fano	fano	fano	fano	hango				fano		
Land	wenua	whenua	fanua		fonua	fenua	(hengua)		fenua, henua	ʻenua	fenua	ʻenua	henua
To want	wia	hia	fia	fia	fie	fia		hia	fia, hia	ʻia	hia		
Paddle	woe	hoe	foe		fohe	foe	hoe	hoe	hoe	ʻoe	hoe	ʻoe	hoe
New	wou	hou	fou	fou	fou	fou		hou	hou	ʻou	hou	ʻou	hou
To swallow	wolo	horo	folo	folo	folo	folo			hoo		horo	ʻoro	horo
Sold	wua	hua	fua	fua	fua	fua	hua	hua	hua	ʻua	hua	(ʻua)	hua
To open	wuka	huka	faʻa	fuka	fuka	fuka				ʻuka			

* This table reflects all the limitations of the phonetic and dictionary material available for present study.

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The main body of Pukapukan sounds presents no special features of comparative interest. But the two consonants θ and *w* are peculiar members of the otherwise usual Polynesian consonantal system. The Pukapukan *w* is not to be confused with the sound which is recorded as *w* in some dialects and which is probably more correctly described as the intermediate β, a sound found in primitive Hawaiian and in Rarotongan. Table 1 indicates the role of θ and *w* in widely distributed Polynesian words. On the information of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck), the *h* mistakenly recorded by Tregear (30) for Mangarevan is here discarded. It is regrettable that the presence or absence of the glottal stop as a consonant has in too many Polynesian dialects become a matter of considerable mystery.

In New Zealand, both *h* and *wh* are used before the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, but *h* is required (in most words) before the vowels *o* and *u*. In no other dialect, except Tahitian, is this distinction evident. Maori *wh* equates with the simple Pukapukan *w*, Maori *h* with the Pukapukan θ or *w*. Maori *ha* and *he* tend to change to Pukapukan θ*a* and θ*e*; Maori *hi* sometimes becomes Pukapukan θ*i*, more often Pukapukan *wi*. A more consistent rule of consonantal change is evident in comparing Pukapukan and Samoan, where Pukapukan θ becomes Samoan *s* and Pukapukan *w* becomes Samoan *f*. In Niue, Tonga, and Uvea, Pukapukan θ changes to *h*, Pukapukan *w* to *f*. In Hawaii, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Mangareva, Easter Island, and probably also Ontong Java, one consonant only (*h* or ') occurs in the several words where western Polynesian dialects distinguish between *s* and *f*, or between θ and *w*.

The most striking similarity to the Pukapukan sound θ occurs not in Polynesia proper, but in Fiji. Hazelwood (17, p. 1) describes for Fiji the consonant he writes *c* as "*th*, as in that or this; not as in thick." It appears, therefore, that this sound is the voiced interdental spirant, ð. In some words in which this Fijian consonant occurs it corresponds to the Pukapukan θ[1]: *yala* (to err), *cala*; *yau* (breeze), *cucau*; *yiyi* (to split), *cici*; *yila* (to shine), *cila*; *yoba* (to spear), *coba*; *oyo* (provisions), *oco*; *yula* (to fasten), *cula*; *yuki* (to pierce), *cuki*.

In other words, the Fijian ð is used before or between vowels where corresponding words in Pukapukan require no consonant: *ahau* (reef), *cakau*; *angi* (to blow), *cangi*; *au...* (outrigger), *cuma*; *iva* (nine), *cima*; *moe* (to sleep), *moce*; *wos* (to paddle), *voce*.

Pukapukan informants were not consistent in their use of the θ at the beginning of certain words. Alternately, for example, they said *iliili* (to ask) and *yiiyili*. This, together with the fact that few Pukapukan words collected commence with a vowel, gives me the strong impression that formerly a θ preceded all vowels now commencing words. If this is true, then

[1] In the following comparisons the Pukapukan word is given first, followed by the translation in parenthesis, and the Fijian word.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

194 the group of words in which Fijian *s* appears between vowels is not properly
197 distinguishable from the words where Fijian *s* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ'*.

In another category, however, Pukapukan *θ'* is replaced by the Fijian *s*, said to be pronounced "as in English": *yunga* (to do), *sunga*; *yelu* (to comb), *seru*; *yeye* (foolish), *sese*; *yeu* (to mix), *seu*; *yika* (netting needle), *sika*; *yinu* (oil), *sinusinu*; *yua* (water), *suasua* (wet).

Like the *s* sound, Fijian *s* occurs in some words where no Pukapukan consonant is now used: *ala* (path), *salo*; *angoanga*[4], *sangasanga*; *ola* (to rub), *solo*.

I find no suggestion in the literature that the Fijian *s* is ever palatalized, though this is invariable with the Pukapukan *θ*. But the semivowel *y* is another Fijian consonant used in some words where Pukapukan requires no consonant: *ate* (liver), *yate*; *atu* (row), *yatu*.

In a few Fijian words *y* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ'*: *yala* (to encircle), *yala*; *yau* (to come), *yau* (to come or go); *yau* (dew), *yauyau* (fog or mist).

The sound *θ* appears in the Melanesian sound system as worked out by Ray (23,p.30). It is noted in particular for Nengone and Lifu of the Loyalty Islands and for Aneityum in the southern New Hebrides (23,pp.77,139). Because of inadequate linguistic material it is impossible to determine the relation between this Melanesian sound and the voiceless spirant of Pukapuka.

Pukapukan *w* is Fijian *v*. Other consonants seem to correspond in words common to both as follows (Pukapukan given first): k, k; k, ngg (q)?; l, l; l, ndr; m, m; n, n; ng, ng; p, mb; t, t; t, nd; v, w.

It is regrettable that paucity of phonetic material for any Fijian dialect renders it impossible to draw conclusions, but when trustworthy phonetic and ethnographic material becomes available for the cultures crudely lumped together today as Fijian, it is not unlikely that phonetic and cultural anomalies found in the otherwise prevailing Polynesian culture of Pukapuka will prove no longer to be unique but part of a western sub-culture that may be traced from its eastern boundary in Pukapuka across to, and beyond, Fiji.

POPULATION

161 The population for the years for which figures are available (7) is as
731 follows: 1906, 435; 1911, 490; 1916, 474; 1926, 526; 1935, 632.

The increase in population from 1906 to 1911, followed by a decrease in
167 1916, is at least partly explained by the fact that 32 Pukapukans were transferred to Rarotonga in September 1914, in order to relieve distress caused by the tidal wave that swept Pukapuka in January of that year. The population today shows a great increase over the population figures of 1916 and 1926. Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared

[4] Pukapukan informants held that the reduplicated form of the word *yunga* is not *yungayunga*, but *angoanga*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

161 Records for 1937 and 1938 show a total of 41 births as compared with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The
163 vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available.
165 These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

162 The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

	Ngaiei		Loto		Yato		Island Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adults	84	80	54	67	61	48	199	195
	164		121		109		394	
Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

[621] These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*iau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane* or *wakawaine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	88	18	106	77	183
Female	90	11	104	61	165
					348

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Physical Characteristics

144 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been for-
563 warded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women
142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walk-
[164] ing habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side,
192 prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
513 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Puka-
526 pukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing, when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
526 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *ala ata pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *ala tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*wahoiée*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac-
578 companied with words like "Tau lamokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
869 est fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe hi wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

b:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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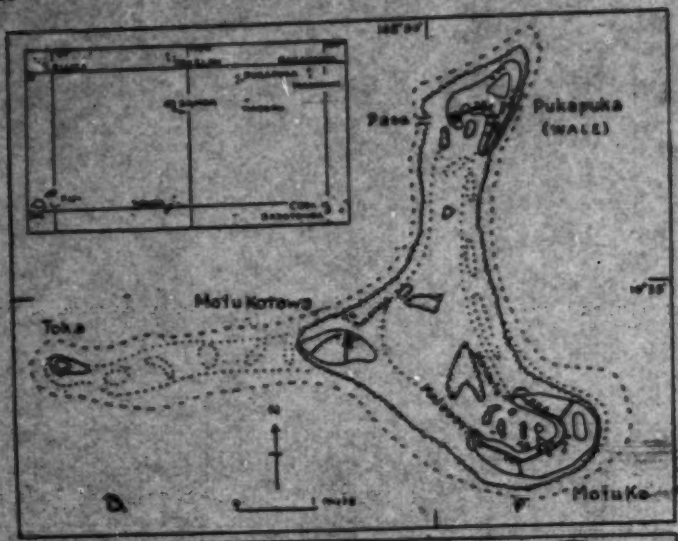

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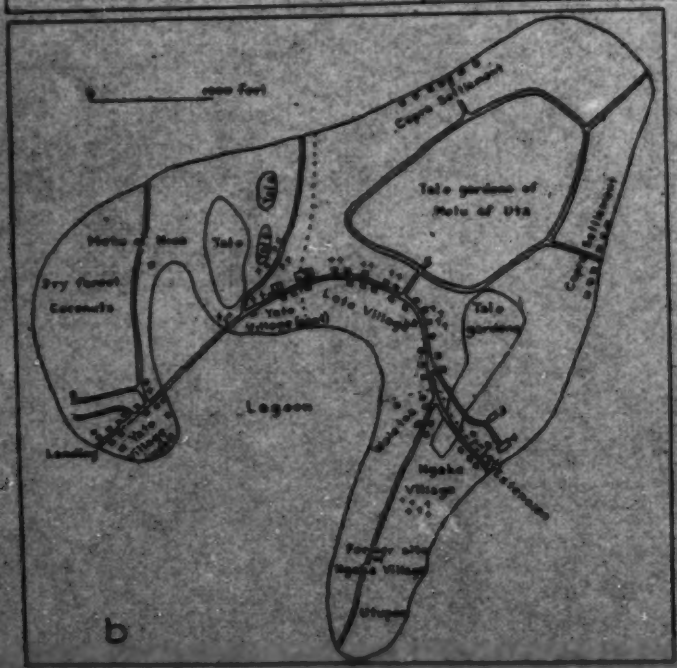

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka. a, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. b, islet of Pukapuka or Wale; dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, storehouse; 4, residency; 5, old church house at Motuka.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two exten-
491 sions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
487 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and
not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*apetauia*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ale	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaiwala	Refers to kilts (*titi*) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimaua	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avaiku	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of palo leaves'.
	Yaumata	—
Yato	Takamaui	'Circle'?
	Uleluawa	'Penis-of-semai'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Matalihi	Sacred-isle-of-Matalihi[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Matalihi	Long-isle-of-Matalihi[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Matalihi (*mata-ali*), literally *eyed-adze*, refers to the lineage and supporting those *matalihi* and is not to be confused with Matalihi (*mata-lihi*), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig. 1, *a*, *b*).

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92; minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out- 731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 16, category 116 — analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

731 latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on Janu-
152 ary 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

731 In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the
161 imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,500 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the popula-
[578] tion was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the
821 control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a
627 season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it
796 holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

821 The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are asso-
621 ciated with the villages as follows:

796 Ngake: Kalua, Manuka, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mallonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Waiatua.
Ysto: Tokalau iti, Tokalau matua, Waiatia, Palapa, Ysta, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Ysto, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nitea and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Puhapuhana

821 formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself
[821] able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No
776 special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kalewi (1) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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823

FIGURE 2.—Polynesian winds and directions named therefrom.

821 The word for side or direction is *haokoa*. Hence a person says *haokoa*
192 *tokelau* (northern direction), *haokoa tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *uma* is used. *E uma tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *uma* wind; thus a wind blowing

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *mauake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
707 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*matitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A
221 vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree
[647] or when a meteor (*mata uoi kaue*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*uuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*uuanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te uale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimos and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
805 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
132 *ututu* (*ututu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of
221 good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina yu*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lolei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco-
312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

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221 and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from con-
[342] crete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep
575 holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel,
241 and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and
137 bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Puka-
137 puka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond
824 Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

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Kave (Cassytha filiformis)
Lakau yili (Pemphis acidula)
Laukotawa (Asplenium nidus)
Laupue (Ipomoea grandiflora)
Linu punin (a moss) (?)
Malie (Polypodium scolopendria)
Moenoe (Boerhaavia tetrandra)
Moolu (Fimbristylis cymosa variety microcephala)

Nae (Lepidium bidentoides)
Niu, coconut (Cocos nucifera)
Ngangie (Pemphis acidula)
Ngayu (Scaevola frutescens)
Nonu (Morinda citrifolia)
Nuna (Fleurya ruderalis)
Ongoongo (Euphorbia prostrata)
Polapola (Solanum viride)
Polo (Hedyotis romanzoffiensis)
Puapua (Guettarda speciosa)
Puka (Cordes umbellifera)
Pukanu (Hernandia ovigera)
Pukulu (Cyrtosperma merkusii)

Pukunu (Jussiaea erecta)
Tacyinu (Tournefortia argentea)
Taumakomako (Achyranthes velutina)
Tiale (Gardenia tahitensis)

To, sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)
Vavai (Triumfetta procumbens)
Vayavaya (? Lepturus repens)
Vayavaya ni yili (? Cyperus ferax)
Wakanava (Cordia subcordata)
Wala (Pandanus sp.)
Wau (Pisonia velutina)
Wawa, talo (Colocasia antiquorum variety esculenta)
kele
kiekie
kula
mawolawola
newunewu
peleua
polapola
pongi
} native varieties of talo
Welo (Ficus tinctoria)
Wetai (Psilotum nudum)
Wetau (Calophyllum inophyllum)
Wuti (banana) (? Musa sapientum)
malie
mitilaki
pulaguka
talua
} native varieties of banana
Wutu (Fagraea berteriana)
Yamuti (Suriana maritima)
Yulu (? Pandanus)

Note: Of the plants listed, *pukanu*, *wakanava*, *puapua*, and *wutau* are used for canoes, implements and utensils; *puka* is used mainly for canoe outriggers; the bark of the *wau* is used for fishlines and cordage (turned *wau*) for fishnets. The coconut supplies material for the woman's kilt, the man's rough sash, utensil cord for fishlines, anchor lines, and general lashing, also material for rough mats, food platters, baskets, house thatch. It is one of the chief foods of the island. Pandanus is used for mats, for men's sashes, today for house thatch. Its wood is valuable for house framework, and the ripe fruit is eaten. Pukapukans distinguish in terms of leaf shape two varieties of *Pemphis acidula*: *ngangie* and *lakau yili*. *Ngangie* is the preferred wood for fishhooks, for implements and outrigger connectives, but failing this wood, *lakau yili* is recognized as a valuable substitute. Botanically the two plants appear to be similar. The flower of the *tiale* is used for wreaths and decorations. The bark of the *welo* was formerly used for decorating ceremonial headdresses. *Nonu* makes the red dye used for mat designs. All the creepers such as *moenoe*, *laupue* and *ongoongo*, are used extensively for wreaths and decorations. The one *wutu* tree on the island is reported to have grown from a drift seed.

192

The general name for a plant is *lakau*. Root is *aka*. The trunk of a tree is *pu lakau*. A moss or lichen is *linu*. The fungoid "toadstool" growth on a fallen tree is termed *laulau talinga*. A seed is *uua*, a flower *pua*, a leaf *lau*. The name of the plant is added to these words to particularize: *uuapuapua* (*puapua* seed), *puanin* (coconut flower), *akamala* (aerial root of the pandanus), *launin* (coconut leaf, leaflet). The seeds of certain trees, however, have distinctive names: *pei*, seed of the *wetau* tree, and *kalaka*, *pukanu* seed. The word *tiale* is used for both plant and flower of that name.

The Pukapukans are intimately familiar with the botany and horticulture of coconut and talo (pp. 81-90),

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Animal Life

12 The fauna of Pukapuka is similar to that of other Polynesian atolls. The
177 pig, chicken, and European rat were introduced after white contact. The native rat was trapped, but not eaten. The native dog was unknown.

Fish

136 The Pukapukans empirically group the fish in their environment first into
192 major classes of beach fish, lagoon fish, reef fish, reef fish outside the lagoon, and deep-sea fish, and second, into "families". In some cases, the larger fish of one family are given a different name from the smaller fish of the same family. In other cases, however, stages in the growth of the same fish from infancy to maturity are indicated by adding the following adjectives to the name of the fish: *iki, lowu, tino lowu, tamila*, for young fish; *towolo, towolowolo, wolo, punua, tino wolo, tapulanga, tongi* and *palu*, for the large fish. With some fish again, the two systems for indicating development are combined, the name of the fish changing when maturity has been reached. The adjective *palu* associated with fish names, applies to a fish that inhabits very deep water up to 300 fathoms, though it is similar to another fish inhabiting shallower water. Thus, *palu malau* is a deep-water fish that looks like the smaller reef *malau*. The adjective *tamila* refers to small, newly-spawned fish that are driven into the lagoon shallows by bad weather.

136 The following list contains all the native names of fish that could be remembered by informants as being found in Pukapukan waters. Where possible I have also included scientific names, most of them obtained since I left Pukapuka by Robert Dean Frisbie. Mr. Frisbie asked a number of informants to identify the fish figured by Fowler (9). Other names I have procured from an examination of casts in Bernice B. Bishop Museum.

Akuaku: species of Ratana, Strongylura, and Ablennes.
Akuia panoko: Tetrapturus albidus?.
Akuia toa: Istiophorus orientalis.
Aku pa: similar to aku tangata, but has a squarer body and upper and lower jaws of equal length.
Aku tangata: Strongylura indica.
Ali towolo: Platophrys thompsoni.
Aliki: silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Ali niukaten: similar to pateletele.
Atu: Euthynnus pelamis (bonito).
Atule: Seiar crumenophthalmus.
Ava: species of silver mullet, larger than the aliki.
Ava: Chanos chanos.
Ave: a long slim albacore.
Ayeton: black deep-sea shark, sharp nose, single dorsal fin, single caudal fin, long pectoral fin, long upper fluke to caudal fin, a fast swimmer and a man-eater.
Ayiu: Caranx lugubris.
Ayole: a mulletlike fish, scaleless, white in color with a speckled dorsal fin (Polydactylus ?).
Ayou: deep-sea shark, white belly, black head, very flabby skin, four dorsal fins, two anal fins, earlike protuberance on head.
Eve: species of rock or reef grouper, with smoother skin than the patuki (? Cromileptes sexlineatus).
Ie: species of Hemiramphus and Hyporhamphus.

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Ika autotou: a rare fish, very large mouth and large teeth; white tail turns red when the fish dies.
Kaka: a species of rock grouper.
Kaka tua: Physiculus kampi.
Kakatua: Malacanthus hoedtii.
Kakai: Germo macropterus (cast identification) or Euthynnus alletteratus (identification by informants from place), the common albacore.
Kalevaleva: Alutera scripta.
Kaioma: yellow mullet.
Kalou moana: Lycodontis flavomarginata.
Kalou uli: a black deep-sea eel.
Kalou ula ahua pula: Lycodontis melanagris.
Kalou ulaula ahua: Rachelymnon caninus.
Kalou wolo kuna: a black and white spotted deep-sea eel, conger eel (?).
Kamai: Elagatis bipinnulatus.
Kanae: a species of silver mullet (? Mugilidichthys).
Kanakana kangi: dolphin.
Kanakana koyikoyi: dolphin.
Kanakana mokimoki: Coryphaena hippurus.
Kapua: Promethichthys prometheus.
Kata: a small reef and beach shallows fish.
Katakata: a fish similar to the kata, a Serranus.
Katua papa: Sebastes zebra.
Katuatua: Chonophorus genivittatus.
Katuli: Aphthus sexatus or Upeneus porphyreus.
Kauparuma: a long, red, eel-like, deep-sea fish.
Kawa: a species of silver mullet (? Mugilidichthys).
Kawatu: Upeneus multifasciatus.
Kawatu wokayanui: Upeneus pleurostigma.
Kawatua: Upeneichthys argo.
Kayuya: a lagoon or sea fish, similar to Hepatus trioctegus (manini), reddish in color.
Kikiua kangi: similar to the mahua, but with a longer head and a poisonous dorsal fin.
Kiki yawa: similar to mahua, but rounder and fatter.
Kili: Melichthys bonivo.
Kiokio tai: Albula vulpes.
Kokili: Balistapus aculeatus.
Kokili moana: Balistes barus.
Kokili tiapolo (modern name): Balistapus rectangulus.
Kokili yiku kaua: a white deep-sea trigger fish.
Kouuli: Caranx elecate.
Kopelu: Decapterus sanctus-helenae.
Kotiaua: Holocanthus potteri.
Kotiaua moana: Chromis verater.
Kupakupa: a small ocean fish, similar in appearance to Ruvettus, but inhabiting the surface waters, and caught occasionally when netting malolo.
Lai: Similar to Caranx kuhlii, but lai has no white on tail.
Lalaila: a small shark, light yellow with a white-tipped dorsal fin.
Lalawi: Cheilinus unifasciatus.
Lalawatu: Gnathanodon speciosus.
Lali: a grouper, with red skin on which are small darker red spots.
Lauiulu: Sphyrna zygaena.
Laumuui: Chaetodon trifasciatus.
Lawi: probably a parrot fish, but has doglike teeth and yellow scales.
Leilekauge: Caranx helvolus.
Loi: Cephalopholis argus.
Lokie: Eulamia melanopterus.
Lui: Caranx ascensionis.
Luku au: Zanclus canescens.
Lulu: a scaleless, lagoon and coral fish, with a black and yellow stripe and a long, flowing dorsal fin.
Lupo: family Caranglidae.
Ma: Hepatus fuliginosus.
Ma pase: Hepatus barbatus.
Maito: similar to ma, but with red stripes on the back.
Malali: Anampses godeffroyi.
Malatau: similar to the parrot fish, but has tremendous blue scales, pronounced teeth, and feeds principally on Tridacna shellfish.
Malau: Myripristis multiradiatus.
Malau anin: Myripristis adustus.
Malau loa: a large ikikuulangi fish.
Malau watu: Ostichthys japonicus.
Malava: a reef fish with a poisonous dorsal fin similar to the palangi. Very abundant during the first evening rising of the star Antares in June-July.
Malolo: the common flying fish.
Malolo punalua: a long, slim flying fish.
Malolo yua: a flying fish with a large belly like the balloon fish, not eaten or caught.
Malu: a shark with dark-colored back, pointed snout and black-tipped dorsal fin (Eulamia).

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Maaki: Hepatus triosequs.
Mango: Shark (generic name).
Maori: Hepatus leucoparcius.
Maoto uli: Hepatus guttatus.
Mata ele: a red rock grouper with black eyes.
Matagaia: Turnetes stokesiiformi.
Matagapuhi: a fish similar to the mulan, caught when fishing mulan outside the reef.
Matauli: a small flying fish, with two large ventral and two large pectoral fins. Never seen in daytime and never hooked.
Matawao: the largest green turtle.
Matawaka: a short, very fat bêche, with short caudal fin.
Mayi: a silver mullet with a silver spot under the pectoral fin.
Mauaa, mauaa tuya, vaiwaia mauaa: names for species of yellow mullet (Pseudupeneus) with slightly reddish skin.
Mauwan: a yellow fish, almost perfectly cubical in shape, never fished or eaten.
Mouraa: probably a species of the yellow mullet family, though brighter in color than the kakona.
Moi: Polydactylus sexfilis.
Moye: a reef fish.
Mu: Monotaxis grandoculis.
Muaha: squid.
Mumu: probably a snapper, but with pointmoed dogliko teeth.
Mualio: probably the garfish or gurgiko.
Ngaagaao: a large ula (bonito).
Ngaiia: a red snapper (Paprocanus ?), but without the black spot characteristic of the taiva.
Ngatala: a red snapper with a black spot forward of the caudal fin.
Ngaatino: the porpoise.
Ne: Scorpaenopsis cacopsis.
No wata: Mariotha microcephala.
Paawa: Cirrhitus aculeatus.
Paiua: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (? Callyodon), with black spotted stripes.
Pala: Acanthocybium solandri.
Palaagi: a large scaled fish.
Palala: Alopias vulpinus.
Palaagatagia: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (Callyodon bicolor ?).
Paleo: (?) Acanthopsis cervior.
Pala ava: large deep-sea fish, black, with a large mouth, perhaps a grouper.
Pala kalai: Serda chilensis.
Pala katakata: a giant deep-sea spotted grouper.
Pala kilinala: similar to the Revatta.
Pala kouali: Seriola purpurascens.
Pala mulan: a large deep-sea mulan.
Pala mango: a large deep-sea shark with very soft bones and flesh, grows up to 18 feet long, rarely comes to the surface.
Pala matagaia: a large deep-sea fish of the mulan family.
Pala mauaa: Monotaxis grandoculis.
Pala pauivi: a large deep-sea pauivi fish.
Pala taayi: Revettus pretiosus.
Pala tavatava: a large albacore, one of the Scombroids.
Pala tuau: a giant red grouper.
Pala yilai: a giant yilau fish.
Pala yua: the giant halibut fish.
Pala uli: the giant uli.
Pala ulua: a giant Caranguid.
Pala wata: a giant fish similar to the pauivi, has silver scales.
Pauivi: Beryx dendactylus.
Paya: Varioln lunti.
Papata: a small coral fish, habits similar to the kakona.
Papo: one of the Pomacentridae.
Patakaala: Platophrys mancus.
Patuki: a variety of the reef grouper; Serranus.
Patuki wata: Cirrhitus pinnulatus.
Patuki yiva: a deep-sea grouper (Serranus), very strong and fierce.
Pava: a striped kuvali fish of the family Carangidae.
Pilipili wata: octopus.
Piopio: a reef grouper with red eyes.
Pusapusa: Chaetodon reticulatus.
Pui: Echidna zebra.
Pula: a reef and lagoon fish with a red tail.
Punga mangao: Cantherines pardalis.
Ta ele: Holocentrus diadema.
Ta: similar to mulan, but with longer body and pointmouth; also has pointmouth barbs, gill shields and pectoral and dorsal fins.
Taiva: Lutjanus monostigma.
Taiao: a variety of reef grouper (Serranus).
Tuanyei: a species of silver mullet, a small brown fish.

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Tamale: similar to Lutjanus gibbus save that head of adult is not so pointed.

Tanivu: perhaps the angler fish; a deep-sea, sharp-toothed fish.

Tangere: a red snapper, similar to the agatea.

Tontitiaua: a small white fish with a long dorsal fin.

Tetatau: Chaetodon quadrimaculatus.

Tetavolo: a small tetraodont fish.

Tetala: similar to the mako shark, but with no color on the dorsal fin.

Tete: a fish that looks like a small barracuda about a foot long (Sphyraena ?).

Tuakotikoti: Chaetodon lineolatus.

Tuvatava: Scomber japonicus (?).

Tawola: whale; tawola te, the Right whale.

Tawaua: a coarse red fish, in appearance midway between a mullet and a grouper.

Tautaolua: similar to Forcipiger longirostris except that tautaolua is purple, not pale brown.

Tani: a short fat bakai, with a long pectoral fin.

Thava: a large red mullet with a red lateral fin.

Thi-taipiau: Chaetodon ornatissimus.

Tiwiwi: Chaetodon setifer.

Tonin: Tetrodon stellatus (cast); similar to Chilomycterus affinis (plate), except that tonin has many more spines, at least 1 spine to ½ square inch.

Tuin: a striped lagoon eel, toothless, edible.

Tuanoiaga: a snapper with yellow-black stripes on the body.

Tuna taupiapia: Uropterygius tigrinus.

Tuna uenua: an eel with a white belly, black head and a pectoral fin or ear-like lobe on the side of the head; inhabits fresh water.

Tupenpen: a small white fish, reef or lagoon.

Tutuku: Hemiramphus ovalor.

Tutupiau: a small reef fish.

Uli: a large red mullet, with red lateral fin; larger than the thava (Upeneus?).

Uliulo: the common parrot fish (? Callyodon).

Ulua: Caranx ascensionis.

Ulutaiaga: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (Callyodon blochii ?).

Ulupa: probably the sperm whale.

Ula wasu: a large patuki fish.

Uasa ate: Naso hexacanthus.

Uasa pate: Naso literatus.

Uasa tala: Naso annulatus.

Uasa tao: Naso brevirostris.

Uasiaiaga: Balistes capistratus.

Uasiki: Serranus fuscoguttatus.

Uwea: a silver mullet with a silver spot under the pectoral fin; larger than the mayi (? Mulloidichthys samoensis).

Uwea takutai: a species of silver mullet.

Vete uenua: Mulloides auriflamma.

Wai: a tailless black ray (Pteroplatea).

Wai kave: a black ray (Dasyatis); the base of the long tail is poisonous.

Wai lepa: another black ray similar to the wai kave.

Wakasia: a very large red shark, brightly colored, two dorsal and two anal fins; follows the albacore schools.

Walala: Cantherines sandwichiensis.

Waiaga: a large yellow fish, perhaps a species of snapper.

Waipaku: Scorelopsides thompsoni.

Wawelua: Manta birostris.

Weke: an octopus.

Wiiwii: a lagoon and reef fish, similar to the manini, but with a very long anterior dorsal fin.

Wo: a tiny deep-sea minnow, comes close to the reef in large schools.

Wono: the barracuda.

Wosu: Cheilone nuhsa.

Wosu ka: Cheilone inskeiana.

Wu: Callyodon sordidus.

Waakau: a light yellow fish, dogfish teeth, large scales, two dorsal fins; similar to the parrot fish.

Waakula: the green duckbill fish.

Waatau: a giant member of the wu species (see below).

Waikamoro: a parrot fish with red stripes along the back.

Waikoti: similar to the waakau, but has a stripe across the back.

Waamaga: similar to the waakau, but whitish.

Waamoemoe: Leptocarus vaigiensis.

Waaotikila: similar to the waakau, but has reddish scales and yellow teeth.

Waatalaloa: similar to the malau, but has a black stripe across the back; poisonous barbs.

Waavaaa: similar to the waakau, but with scales of variegated colors.

Yasa kala: Chaetodon fremblii.

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136 Yayaulua: one of the Carangoids.
Yungayenga: a red striped fish weighing about 3 lbs. Perhaps 6 or more related fish vaguely known to the Pukapukan fisherman but not named.
Yika kanluyauma: Polymixia japonica.
Yika koti a poteka: Histiopterus typus.
Yika yawau: Pterois sphex.
Yikutea: Balistes vidua.
Yika moko (?): Coris flavovittata.
Yilea: Aprion virescens.
Yimu: Balistes ringens.
Yipa: a young flying fish.
Yoka: a fish similar to the kavali Carangoid; distinguished from the yoke mango, a young shark.
Yoyala: Chaetodon sp.
Yue: Tetrodon meleagris.

Informants recognized the following fish as being present in Pukapukan waters, but they were unable to recall the native names: *Chaetodon unimaculatus, Heniochus acuminatus, Lutjanus gibbus.* Informants recognized the following three fish as belonging to the *uu* family, but in default of colored plates, they were unable to give them definite names: *Thalassoma umbrostigma, T. trilobata,* and *T. bellieui.*

BIRDS

The following is a list of the birds found on Pukapuka:

Akiaki: a white tern with a black semicircle round the upper part of each eye.
Ali: the sooty tern, a visiting, nonresident bird (Sterna fuscata).
Kaka: the white or ghost tern. Two named varieties: kaka val, with a small black spot on the top of the head; kaka tea (Gygis alba).
Kaleva: the native cuckoo, apparently an indigenous bird (Urodynamis taitensis).
Kawe: a curlew (Numenius tahitiensis).
Kotawa: frigate bird (Fregata minor).
Kiu: probably a variety of plover with a brownish-red beak.
Kolili: another variety of plover or sandpiper.
Lakia: black tern with a white spot on the top of the head (Anous minutus melanogenys).
Lewulewu: a small blue-grey beach bird, now extinct, which laid eggs in the sand; probably a rail.
Luka: a large white-breasted sea bird, larger than the booby (Sula sp. ?); rare.
Lupe: said by natives to be the same as the Samoan pigeon (Globicera pacifica).
Manu uli: a large, black sea bird, with a white breast, resembling the ngongo.
Matiku: the reef heron (Demigretta sacra). Two varieties: matiku lualena, the white heron; matiku uli, the blue heron.
Nou: a large sea bird, with straight beak, and when young, one black stripe across the breast (Sula sp. ?).
Ngongo: the noddy tern (Anous stolidus).
Polopolouenga: a white and black spotted bird, probably a turnstone.
Takupu: the booby (Sula leucogaster).
Taiko: the dusky shearwater (Puffinus obscurus).
Tala: Sterna lunata.
Talakoka: another variety of plover with two stripes on the back coming together to form a V on the breast.
Talawua: a sea bird with white breast and black back, in size midway between the tern and the booby; a visiting and nonresident bird (Sterna lunata or Thalasseus bergii).
Tavake mokomoko: the white-tailed tropic bird, a resident (Phaeton lepturus).
Tavake toto: the scarlet-tailed tropic bird; it does not lay on Pukapuka and is a rare visitor today (Phaeton rubricauda).
Tolea: the wild-grey duck (Anas superciliosa).
Tuli: a sandpiper (Heteroscelus incanous).
Wili: a long-winged, spotted sea bird, probably a species of tern.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ai*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed
ai uwusu. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of
621 the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lus wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolomi, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te ayanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef,
621 inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the
226 reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Ntua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Utu, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Utu was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tabutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*kaui*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takapu* birds (tern).

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
133 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a fre-
685 quent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-
621 eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side.
Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing
reserves of other villages were punished by fines in mats levied by the guards
(p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kalo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called
621 *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava*
fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom.
The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times,
generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties
from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual mat-
ter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The
catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds
its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond
is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal
361 and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tauhei*) on Wale are shown
on the map (fig. 2-*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tulinyanga and Alata-
361 kupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
growth. The technique used is called *tatuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A
522 weapon (*hale*) of *matau* wood, about 4 to 5 feet long, is held by two men
facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
522 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
the high chief (*ariki matu*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested
226 [illegible] category III-- analyst]

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[626 776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tuna's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *hoio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to
423 mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other
621 had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki iaio te kaio ka makeke, ka wakanaava" (Thrust the *hoio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on
423 Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide
776 village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tuna in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this
423 reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely
[578] from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

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621 the two reserves on Wale, Nina belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

324 The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tukunga uwu*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nina ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te kuri ala hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te kuri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *kuri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *kuri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *tule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taio beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organised guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 30 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*wale pulenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taha*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Nisu at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te ninga pula*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and eating nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes preferred from Motu Koteva by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Nisu and Uta. The change of guard in Nisu on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 694 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*kasi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

625 is known by the way in which the *kosi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
694 cook taio meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
203 with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaanga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[453] firewood, until such visits are authorised by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is;

Wakatangivanga mai kolou,[1] e to tama' kolou ki te vanaanga a te pale ko avatu ki a kolou ia. I a kolou, awe taku kolou i a kolou tama ke wakatalotolou wua i te moto. Ko pakou mana i loto, e vayi koe, ngalingalinga. No i ai na namai ia te vanaanga ke longo kolou taiinga. Wakamatalu kolou wakalalai. Ko te vanaanga ia na namai ai ki a kolou. Tangi ai koa ia te manu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
577 will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the re-
serve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in
secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
241 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* ferns to use as fertiliser for
village taio beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second persons plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *kolou*. The latter is used in all public pronouncements.

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[189] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*nukutone*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisitive, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the
203 matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kofua ki ne vanaga ko avatu ki to tapu kake. Ka wo loa tuan ki te motu. Ko tuan mea ka aunga: E taityuan te niu pepaku, e taityepakapaku te niu. Yau te mea a te tinia ka aunga: E taitoatoaviaua te tuava. E taityepakapaku te tamaliki. Ka wo tuan ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka la, e ya te tupe, e ya te kaipua, e ya te ungu, e ya te wini, e ya te ngangia. Ko te wini mea la e wakapaula i te tuan motu. Ka nono tuan i ai e wiso po, wasaaai loa tuan. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 20 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangia* wood will be taps. These are the things to be taps in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:

623 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go
245 to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at
685 other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted
622 for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, [redacted] was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
521 reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
123 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taro from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that none of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
615 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of
421 the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
361 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was devised whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralised in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wain-o-Yila-Wun (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wain-Mangao (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae*; this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides concerning for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
226 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale,
245 on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was concerned fed. These missing had to prove that they were

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Taivo and Kapuka, and in the story of the *tuki ino* (pp. 36, 38).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker readily accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui bala*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui bala* in the reserve of Nina. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumafeuka, son of the god Matakiki. Tumafeuka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Aanua, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Aanua to the pool, Te Vaitaua, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Ahuaga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matakiki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te uaoli tuvaea*, so called because it faces the setting sun, while Tumafeuka and his sister, Te Matakiore, lived on the eastern side, *te uaoa tuvaea*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *beteau* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such
912 primitive implements.

Traditions state that the taio beds on Motu Ko were started by the
244 migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
773 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
425 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man
428 digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
177 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled taio beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the
423 number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
621 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members;
246 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatau* and *wakawomine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*hotibotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the taio beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib bates. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
299 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land here and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six measure coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of taio land commensurate with its size. The system insures
471 that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
592 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The taio beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands
511 owned through lineage descent.

Patrimonial Lineage Property

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the patrimonial and matrilineal lineage groups. On Wale, each patrimonial lineage (*po*) controls a station of land (*hetau*) of indeterminate

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) minus out the tuio beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto (*ili*) to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[314] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
in the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The houses are owned for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po i Tua*. The names of these divisions (we *hanua i te tuau kula*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiua, Te Wale-[illegible], Te Auau. Four divisions (we *hanua i te tuau-ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipale *po*. Their names are: Te Uta, Wale-kakala, Te Wale-[illegible], Pungua.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have owned strips running from lagoon to Nion in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, tuio beds, and bush shelters on all sections are of two
613 kinds: *ferai*, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
241 among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
428 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type deemed in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 Each section (*hanua*) is further subdivided into homestead lots owned
613 by lineage. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
692 eral, both members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the section on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or tuio beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukowa* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the household living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy, right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutahi* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutahi* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaing* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uma*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. 422 226 Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[301] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
619 day. A tapu (*lawi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
313 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups,
422 each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged
to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
245 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
578 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
844 talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth
of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual
control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulch-
ing (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into
physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few
Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to
the old site of Ngake village at Umpou, and were destroyed by the tidal
wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with
sand, and have since been planted with mats; new talo beds are being ex-
cavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
735 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors
768 have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children,
blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death,
his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the
deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures
that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the
672 wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

428 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
[592] to control the house for themselves.

599 In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of sennit, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, malo, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lotd modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
162 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
626 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no
matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way
577 he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
462 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
244 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and
709 private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight,
587 and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to potter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties,
554 and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata waina*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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512 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic
226 routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding
[285] day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

47 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house build-
226 ing, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determin-
285 ing factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women,
241 the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and
283 copal. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pale*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum:

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476 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of
621 representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the
609 three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its
621 own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe
476 building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent [378] outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several
626 ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy
476 in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 Te pivaf' elo, malo pipilo, — Pig squalling, malo stinking,
626 E kisi ya wano la tua — (He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
461 Tuku la ki te wakayaga — (He has) placed himself in ascendance
Kae mea loa e no ai. — No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

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Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vanenga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enenu pa te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E hoa yinga wen ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

* The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pisei* for *pig* (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ike*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala. . ." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*. . .); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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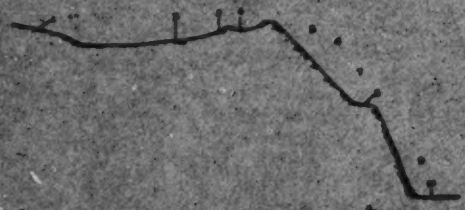

FIGURE 2.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *mamaa*; 2, lagoon, *ale*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tamatama*; 4, reef shelf, *ulualu akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayanga*; 5, surface water, *hiliki*; 6, sub-surface water, *waiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *fuongangatu*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *pale-ongangatu* (also called *mamu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te mamu*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, *akula*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupele*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*tangonga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangonga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

226 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the
482 sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kaleve*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukutuku or wukuyuku: to pay out a line.
Wuwuti: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or longa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totui: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakumatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tai: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or momono: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua wawine*
626 (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia lase i te mauiu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or
777 to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka haya*).

226 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his
782 god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish,
776 controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the
778 gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malukinelangi, near the western reef channel
226 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-
782 hook. The gift (*ushatetea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

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226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Panin (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:

784 Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Paniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the *paniwi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Paniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*tamo hi te uatu*) or stone clubbing (*patu hi te uatu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamapori*, *tapenapen*, *tautau-*

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 most fish, and especially one member which never moves at the approach of a fisherman or a canoe.

Flipping is employed for *tuta* and *tautau* fish, usually by children. A piece of *uogo* crab meat is tied to a coconut husk with a strip of fiber. The husk is held in one hand and lowered into the water. When the fish bites, the husk is flipped from the water with the fish on it. Another technique is to tie crab meat to a length of coconut fiber and jerk the fiber from the water when the fish has the bait in its mouth.

The wooden fish club (p. 189) is used to kill large deep-sea fish as they are hauled into the canoe. It is also used as an adjunct in seine netting, all types of reef fishing, and torch fishing. One who finds fish stranded in shallows of the lagoon or beach may club them to death with a wooden club (*pato hi te tuhau*). Fish commonly killed in this way are *vete*, *vuvini*, squid, and angler fish.

GROPING, SPEARING, TORCH FISHING

Groping (*tulituli*) for reef fish is done by men, women, and children, mainly during the full moon and spring tides. Fish spearing (*yoho hi te tao*), formerly done with a wooden spear (*tao iha*) or with a rough spear made by pointing a stick of *puapua* (*tao puapua*), has been largely superseded today by the introduced method of catapulting a light, pointed iron rod. Torch fishing (*tauaiowa*) is done on dark nights by two men, or a man and wife, or a young man and woman.

1. Groping. Each person takes with him a basket (*ola*) and a fish spear (*tao iha*) or a piece of sharpened *uogogo* wood about 3 feet long (*yuhiyuhi*). He gropes about with his hands in the branching heads of the *matoaga* coral, in crevices, reef channels, and pools of the reef shelf (*ulumahuhu*). When he comes to a deep crevice, he gently pushes his stick towards the hole to make the fish come forward and bite. If he sees that the fish is not dangerous, he grasps and kills it with a bite behind the head; if it is not safe, he spears it or leaves it alone. Groping at high tide, the fisherman submerges and swims under water to explore deeper holes.

Artificial rock piles (*ao uuta*) are built for basket groping (*tuta hi te ola*). Piles of stones are placed in appropriate parts of the lagoon, about 35 yards from the shore in shallow water. A large slab of coral conglomerate is supported by four smaller stones, and the whole covered by other stones. The pile is left for about two weeks, when two fishermen return with a cone-shaped fishing basket and a coconut-leaf mat (*pulapula*). They place the basket (*ola*) close to the pile and surround both basket and rock pile with the mat. One man knocks aside the smaller stones and larger slab and drives the fish into the basket. They close the basket and replace the stones before proceeding to the next *ao uuta*.

A basket is also used for the ordinary method of groping under coral heads. One fisherman holds it near a crevice while the other beats the water or pokes into the hole to drive out the fish. Children are adepts in the use of this method; their mothers or sisters make them small baskets for catching the smallest reef fish. Fish caught by the groping method are: *vuvini* (about three times each year, when very young), *ayu*, *uulihi*, *taloo*, *hatiuu*, all the parrot fishes, *lauu*, *pakeva*, *pevu*, *lakawutu*, *lai*, *uuu*, *palangi*, *mulaua*, *hayuyu*, *uu*, *uuito*, *uguiala*, *tangau*, *tuuaiouga*, *mutonga*, *muuuu*, *mulau*, *hohili*, *hii*, *uuulouga*, *yiau*, *uuhe*, *uuiuuii*, *yayala*, *palauli*, *piopio*, *matatie*, *lali*, *papa*, and *yilea*.

2. Fish spearing. Save for one or two fish, spearing is carried out in the shallows

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226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pulu*, *uli*, *potiriki*, *ulua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupuapua*, *tautaunu*; the *ulu*; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *uhituti*, *poyaie*, *pulu uli*, *piopio*, *matarie*, *lali*, and *papa*. The various rays are speared with a *pao*, to the base of which a fibrous cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama ulua*),
572 three midribs for the *matau* fishing torch (*lama matau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midribs. The first midrib is laid on the ground,
416 dull side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*mafiuhuruhu*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the hand and then make it flame again by raising the hand is termed *mahapulapula*.

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *halowa*, *ie*, *manao*, *mahiki*, *maya*, *hanao*, *ulavale*, *hatiuu*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *matau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi mahapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding carangoids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *pa matu iho* or *tawenga*; the method of using it, *tali tawenga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tae yaake*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ola uuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish
[621 enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred
422] to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

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226 caught with the stone weir are: *unalibi, tuhua, lupo, pakeva, laisuuta, lei, ume, palangi, matuu, hayuyu, ua, mulio, ava, hiahiatai, atuia, yayala, pala ali, piagia, matacia, lali,* and *papa*.

227 Coconut-leaf weirs (*pa lama launiu*), less permanent than stone weirs, may be easily moved about the lagoon shallows according to the running of the fish:

To make a weir, dried coconut midribs are split longitudinally. Three or more half-leaves are placed on top of each other, and the leaflets gathered together and tied with *halava* coconut fibers. An appropriate section of lagoon or fish pond is chosen and stakes are driven into the bottom in pairs. The space between the two stakes of each pair is about 18 inches, and the series of pairs are about 6 feet apart. A sufficient number of pairs is set up to give the required length to the wings of the weir, the base toward the beach and the exit toward the reef. The bundles of coconut midribs are laid between the pairs of stakes to make the walls about 18 inches high. Some weirs (*matau*) have a permanent stone mouth to which the leaf-walls are linked.

226 The mouth of the simple leaf weir or of the composite stone-and-leaf weir is blocked with a scoop net or basket. Men inside the weir advance toward the closed exit, pounding the surface of the water with coconut midrib butts to drive the fish to the exit where they are caught. The fish caught in these weirs are the same as those caught in stone weirs.

Movable coconut-leaf sweeps (*pa lama launiu* or *kupenga lama launiu*) are used in the lagoon:

Bundles of dried half coconut leaves are fastened together to make a long sweep about 18 inches high and 20 to 30 fathoms long. The sweep is carried to the lagoon and used to surround (*lisu*) a lagoon pool where the water is about knee deep. The wings are drawn together (*uwuuti* or *lauiau*) and the fish clubbed or speared. Alternately the sweep is dragged over shallow water to the beach. Small fish are swept onto the beach or caught in the interstices of the midrib sections. The sweep is shaken out on the beach to dislodge the fish. Fish caught by this method are: *halomo, tvie, mamua, ia, ausa, hotiau, lupo,* and *atuia*.

Semi-permanent fish runways (*alai lama*) made of *pa lama launiu* set between rows of stakes are used in the Yato fish pool at the causeway. These runways accustom the fish to go toward places where the fishermen set nets or lines when the tapu is raised from the pond and it is open for fishing. Rougher runways are made by placing bundles of coconut leaves in the water and weighting them down with heavy stones.

NETTING

A net full of fish is *pato ika*. The use of nets in fishing is limited to the hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*), seine net (*kupenga*), arched net with line (*tata tinitini*), long-handled dip net (*tae malolo*), and the flying-fish practice net (*tae pana*). (See pp. 208-209).

[227] 1. The hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) is shaped like the *tae malolo* but is much larger, having a larger mouth and longer handle. I did not see one in use. It is employed as a scoop net to block up the seaward faces of short reef channels (*yi*) or of long reef

226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*yuuke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*hupenga*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*holowa*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk seaward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yuki hupenga*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tata ciuitiui*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (27, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malolo* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A summit cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net.

226 To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of summit. The surface of the net is baited with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*welowelo*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malolo* net is increased so it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

4. The scoop net (*tae malolo*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*tiuu ongo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fishermen in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*uwa vaka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are

226 named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yaka uwa*) the

502 crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the captain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae mali*); the *uwiuwali* ("master"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae mali* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ola no te tae ewi*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae ewi*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o lama* or *te tata yua*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ola no te ola* or *te tatawi*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*uwiuwali*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae uwa* or *tae ola*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*tuu a vaka*) as it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1935 Pukapukan

226 The canoes of the fishing fleet line up outside of and parallel to the reef. The leading canoe (*ihi*) turns toward the reef, pointing bow-on to the reef. The torcher in this canoe raises his torch so that it bursts into flame (*waksyila te lama*). All the other canoes in succession turn bow-on to the reef and raise their torches. The fishermen make booming noises by beating the washstrakes of their canoes with their hands, and produce loud sibilant sounds by sucking in the breath quickly through pursed lips. These two sounds, together with the glare of the torches, attract the fish to the surface. They skim through the air and are caught by the netters, who net on the starboard side of the canoe. As soon as the shoal of fish has been caught or frightened away, the torches are lowered and allowed to smoulder. The canoes turn parallel to the reef again and paddle farther along. The last canoe in the line now races up from behind the fleet and takes its place at the head of the fleet (*waksaka te vaka muli ki mua*). Each canoe in turn leads (*ihi*) the fleet until all canoes have had their turn as leaders of the line. When the last canoe has reached the lead, it turns toward the reef and raises its torch. All the canoes follow suit, and the whole process is repeated. During an evening's fishing along the western reef, the canoes work down the reef from Wale until they are opposite Motu Kotawa or Motu Ko. A canoe which has an expert netter may catch about 200 fish during an evening's sport.

Fish caught by the scoop net on these occasions are: *te pa*, *yipa*, *aku*, *maiola*, *upulu*, *kapukapu*, *mwiki*, *matauli*, *uli*, *tuo*, and *uitiuti*. All these fish, save *te*, of which the schools are so big that the fish is easy to catch, and *aku*, which is a very big fish, are counted as scoring fish in village flying-fish competitions. The height of the flying-fish season is from August to December.

ROD ANGLING

Angling, a common Pukapukan method of fishing, is of three types: beach angling, reef angling, or stationary canoe angling inside or outside the reef. The type of rod and hook used depends on the fish to be caught.

1. In beach angling the fisherman usually uses the *matila halowa* rod and small *yabi* hook. He stands on the beach or in the beach shallows and casts his hook into the shallow waters. Women, as well as men, are skilled beach anglers. Small fish are caught by this method. All members of the *halowa* and *voty* family are caught with a *yabi* hook, with bait of red *uapa* crab and chum of *kaipou* crab. These fish are caught in daytime throughout the year. They are especially abundant at the new moon, during the southern solstice, and after a thunder storm. Other fish caught are: *mamai*, *papata*, *kata*, *katuli*, *kapa*, and *uli*. The bait and chum are those used for *halowa*.

2. Reef angling includes angling from the reef shelf where the hook is cast on the outside of the reef, angling on the reef shelf itself, angling on the inside of the shelf where the hook is cast into the deep water of the lagoon, angling from coral heads inside the lagoon, and angling from the lagoon. In lagoon angling (*waksakukuku*) the fisherman stands in water up to his neck. Holding the rod with one hand, he submerges his head to look for fish and then casts the hook in the direction of the fish.

[227] The rod used in these methods is the *matila patuki*, which is about the same in size as the *matila ahuaku* (p. 187). The type of hook varies for the kind of fish to be caught. Fish caught and hooks and bait used are:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Mamo and pala	Yoki	Abdomen of [illegible] (gala [illegible])
Paiaki, lauga, kiko, and pakau	Yoki	Crab or kakaua fish
Eve and [illegible]	Yoki or tape (depending on size)	Crab, ie fish, or kakaua
Talao, [illegible], and [illegible]	Tape or composite pearl-shell hook	Crab, ie, or kakaua
Upau, [illegible], kauai, and kawa	Tape	Crab and kakaua crab claws
Pakau, [illegible], and kakaua	Tape or composite pearl-shell hook	Live or dead kakaua
Kauali (caught only at night; ki fished independently to kauali)	Composite pearl-shell hook (ya kauali)	Live kakaua
Yako, [illegible], and [illegible]	Tape or composite hook	Crab
Uaua, pakaugi, [illegible] (best caught during evening rising of Antares in June or July), [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]	Yoki with especially wide space between point and shank	Uaua crab, kakaua, or [illegible] of Triloca shell fish, and kakaua claws (sun-dried black [illegible] of Triloca [illegible] for catching [illegible])
Tagaigau, [illegible], and [illegible]	Small tape	Live kakaua
Matuku, [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] (best caught in early morning or early evening)	Tape	Live or dead kakaua
Malau, [illegible] lau, and kikiyaua (especially moonlight nights)	Tape or composite hook (ya [illegible])	Uaua crab or kakaua (especially on moonlight nights)
Ava and kikiaui	Tape	Black uaua crab, [illegible] [illegible] (Kaua)
Kakili, kili, [illegible], yiau, [illegible], [illegible] (small kauiko only), yiga, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]	Yoki or tape	Uaua crab or kakaua and claws ([illegible]) of uaua [illegible]

3. Stationary [illegible] angling, with the [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible], is the method used for catching the following fish:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Akauko and ie	Kakaua [illegible]	Dead kakaua fish
Ata, yiga, and [illegible]	Yoki	Uaua crab, kakaua [illegible]
Witiwiti	Tape	Uaua
Kopelu ([illegible] the surface)	Short and [illegible], small yoki hook	Red and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Rock groupers	Tape	Crab or [illegible]

4. Reef angling with a line, but without fished hook, from the outer edge of the reef shelf into the breakers on the outside of the reef is for pargos. Also [illegible] composite hook is used, sometimes also using a feather fly of pigeon, [illegible], or [illegible].

2.2.6 The few fish that may be caught in this way include: *pakeva*, *pava*, *lalomatu*, *kowali*, *matau*, small *aka*, and *ngangana* (bonito), *matapula*, and *pamai*.

FLOAT FISHING

Line fishing from beach or stationary canoe, the line lying horizontally on the top of the water and the hook supported by a float, is termed *mahamoe* fishing. The line is usually of two-ply twisted sennit (*uha*), and the float (*vahai*) is of *mahamoea* wood.

1. In beach *mahamoe* fishing the fisherman either casts the line from the beach or wades out about 20 yards into shallow water and then casts the line. The float is watched, and when it begins to bob up and down, both line and float are hauled in. The hook is rebaited, the line recoiled, and cast with an underhand throw. Fish caught by this method are:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Mayi, uwea, aliki and lutane (best fished during full moon at spring tide, in early morning or early evening)	Small tope	Red unga crab and chum of kaipea crab
Ekwea (best fished during full moon at spring tide, in early morning or early evening)	Tope or kawilo hook of turtle shell	Black unga crab
Ika and ayale	Small tope	Uaga
Papoupou, tautaume, and tawaua	Small tope	Kaloma
Small taiva, tangaa, pamalanga, mauna, and malala	Small tope	Kaloma and unga
Large ava and kiokiotai	Very round tope	Black unga meat or seaweed
Beach-water eel (tuna weana)	Tui wua	Bird intestine
Shamale	Tope	Live or dead kaloma
Wiku	Tope	Octopus flesh

2. Canoe *mahamoe* fishing is done inside or outside the reef, the hook being supported by the *vahai* float. The fish caught by this method are:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Aka tangata and aka pa	Barbed hook (matau wakawae)	Crab or kaloma
Fakava, lui (best fished in early night or before dawn in new or full moon)	Tope mauga and heavy line	Live kaloma, needle fish, or flying fish (lui brought to surface with live kaloma chum)
Tapu	Barbed hook	Live kaloma bait and chum
Mahoka (in lagoon waters up to 10 fathoms, 300-400 yards from beach, at high tide in new or full moon)	Wooden hook (hau)	Live tupa crab, kaipea crab, or octopus flesh
Barracuda	Wooden Rawatau hook	Flying fish, chummed to surface by refuse from bait

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 A float (*mahai*) used for catching flying fish from a stationary canoe was
227 described by informants:

The float consists of a section of *mahamaa* wood about 9 inches long and 3 inches in cross section. To each end of the float is fastened a line ranging in length from 18 inches to 6 feet. The two lines on the same float are of unequal lengths to avoid tangling when fish are hooked. Each line has a *yeki* hook which is baited with *unga* crab, *halowa*, or flying-fish meat. Several floats (*mahai*) are allowed to float unattached around the canoe. When a float begins to bob, the fisherman paddles to it, disengages his fish and resets the float. Chunk of *unga* crab meat is used to attract the fish to the float. The only fish caught by this method are members of the flying-fish family: *yipa*, *matala*, *matala pana ahau*, and *matalayau* (large-bellied balloon *matala* fish which is not eaten and only caught incidentally).

STILL-CANOE FISHING

226 Still-canoe fishing with a vertically descending line and dead bait is termed *tamalo*; similar fishing with live bait is called *lulu*. When the *tamalo* system is used with a *yeki* hook for small fish, the method is called *yekiyeki*. In both types of fishing not more than 50 fathoms of line are paid out and the canoe is anchored inside or outside the lagoon.

[502] Outside the reef the canoe is lodged onto the reef. The anchor line (*hamatau*) is buoyed up from reef to canoe with dry coconut husks. A quarter husk is split longitudinally for about 6 inches and the line wedged into this split. The natural spring of the husk serves to keep the line fast. About 12 husk buoys (*pulu langalanga*) are used for each 100 yards of anchor line. Several canoes fishing together are lined up in single file. The first canoe is lodged to the reef, and each of the other canoes is attached by about 10 yards of anchor line to the one in front. Canoes are lodged to the reef only in an offshore wind. Canoes anchored inside the lagoon are usually lodged with two anchors (any large stone serves as anchor), one at the bow, the other at the stern. In both *tamalo* and *lulu* fishing the canoe is faced to windward, and the line is dropped in the lee of the canoe. Both types of fishing depend for success on an ability to see the fish biting the hook. To make the leeward surface of the water calm and devoid of surface rippling, the fisherman chews coconut flesh, which he spits on the sea. The oil in the flesh spreads over the water and effectively calms it. Today a waterglass is often used instead of chewed flesh. Some fishermen prefer to fish the smaller lagoon fish when the sky is overcast and likely to rain, using composite shell hooks. Where *Tridacna* is used as chum, the backs of the opened shell are rubbed together, making a grating noise (*kulukulu*) to attract fish; the two half-shells with meat attached are thrown into the water near the canoe. Fish caught by the *tamalo* method are:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Eve, mailiki, talao	Yeki or tope	Kaloma, ie, or crab
Ulouio	Tope or small composite hook	Crab or kaloma
Parrot fish	Yeki	Tridacna, crab, or seaweed
Pakeva, peva, lai, and lalawutu	Tope or composite hook	Dead kaloma
Ume, palangi, malava, kayuye, me, and maito	Yeki	Crab, kaloma, or Tridacna
Malali and lalawi	Tope	Unga and kaloma
Malatea and eels	Wooden hooks	Tridacna, octopus, or sea urchin (vana)
Wuakula, lulusu, tiwitiwi, tatatau, latumusi, yamu, titilacyimu, taiva, koldii, kili, umulenga, yimu, atula, rock groupers, waguka, and pakeva	Plain or barbed tope	Crab or kaloma (grouper papa best caught with bait of flying fish or octopus)
Sharks (occasionally when troubling albacore fishing; not eaten)	Large wooden hooks	Any dead bait

The method of attaching dead bait (*mamu mate*) to any type of single-piece fishhook is shown in figure 4, *a*. Live bait used in *lulu* fishing is any small fish. The point of the hook is passed through the back of the fish or the fish is tied to the hook shank by the bait string (*takele mamu*) so that it wriggles about in the water. *Kaloma* bait is preferred in *lulu* fishing for the fish also caught by the *tamalo* system, except for *alao* and *lai*, which bite best with live *malolo* bait on a wooden hook. *Komuli* is fished only at night with a composite hook. *Lui* is fished only at night in the full and new moon, with *tope* hook. For *lulu* fishing the bait is caught before the planned expedition and kept alive in a submerged basket tied to the cross booms at the side of the canoe, within easy reach of the fisherman. The mouth of the basket is securely fastened to prevent the escape of the bait fish.

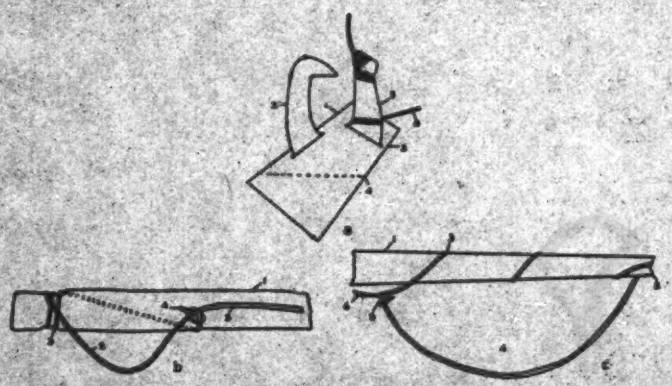
227 A special method of attaching sinker to line is employed in *lulu* fishing
284 for *bakai* and *pala* fish:

The hook (*malolo*) is barbed. A secondary snood (*matai*) of two- or three-ply twisted *mao* fiber about 7 feet long joins the hook to the fishline of sennit. Unlike sennit which hardens in water, *mao* line becomes soft and slips easily from the sinker when jerked. Live bait of *kaloma* or *atula* is fastened by the tail to the shank of the hook. Hook and bait are laid on the surface of a smooth coral stone sinker, and chum placed on top is covered by a *puapua* leaf so that it will not scatter until the requisite depth is reached. The *matai* snood is passed around the sinker away from the barb of the hook, making two or three transverse turns to secure both hook and bait. The *matai* is then caught in a bight with the left hand and passed around the sinker once in the opposite direction, passing over the right thumb that holds the first transverse turns in place. The bight and the running part of the *matai* are tied together in a single overhand knot; sometimes a single slip noose is made on top of this overhand knot. Hook and sinker are paid out until the required depth is reached, when a sharp jerk on the line releases the sinker which falls away, leaving the hook, bait, and chum at a favorable depth.

226 Many men go outside the reef two or three times each week to catch *bakai*, the fish usually caught in fishing competitions. *Bakai* fishing is the favorite deep-sea fishing of the Pukapukan today:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

224 A man catches his *baloma* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two
[264] or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola lauuia*)
501 which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against
the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous
activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish
285 from the hook. When the canoe is kedged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze
blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the
necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe
502 would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the
canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing
support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without
dragging anchor.



227 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird noosing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached:
284 any dead fish bait (*mauua mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from
bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that
223 flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side,
back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted
line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5)
of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half
hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yele mauua*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter;
noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch
end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied
in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at
proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*hawyele*) (C8152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood
about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal
end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted sennit, wound
around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight
(5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 *Tuku moana* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead
bait differs in two respects from both *lulu* and *tauulo* fishing: *tuku moana*
fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

226 the use of a special composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of four or more hooks fixed by spreaders to a single line. Two types of *taumakomako* are described elsewhere (p. 188). The hooks of both types are baited with dead *malolo* or other dead bait.

The *taumakomako* is lowered over the side of the canoe and line paid out until it is felt that the sinker has touched bottom; it is then heaved up a few feet. When the first fish is felt, the line is hauled in a little. This is repeated until all hooks have caught fish, when the whole apparatus is pulled to the surface. A strong fisherman is required to pull up the apparatus, weighted down with fish, from a depth of 200 fathoms to the surface with sufficient speed to avoid losing the fish to sharks. I did not see a *taumakomako* in use; it is said to be used occasionally by expert fishermen. The deep water fish caught by the *taka mauna* method are: *palu mumu, palu wutu, palu ave, palu pawiri, palu matapulu, palu malau, palu uso, palu tavatava, palu ulua, palu komuli, palu kahai*, and *palu hatakata*. The giant *kahai* (*matawula*), which is so large that no fish-line is strong enough to hold it, is always noosed. An account of *taka mauna* fishing with a detailed explanation of the hooking and pulling in of fish is given in the story of Maui (1).

RUVETTUS FISHING

The method of fishing for *Ruvettus* (*palu kilitala* or *palu tasyi*) with a wooden hook (*kau*) is termed *yi palu*. It has been practiced in Pukapuka from very early times. An ancestor, Yaki, is remembered as the man who first fished *Ruvettus*.

226 The hook is attached to the line of semit by the secondary snood (*matai*) with an ordinary double overhand knot. The semit line may be 300 fathoms long, though the usual fishing depth is about 200 fathoms. Two methods are adopted for attaching the sinker (*wutu yi palu*) to the wooden hook. In the first method the sinker line, a strip of pandanus leaf (*uso tuo kie* or *uso lowulu*), is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose and to the bend of the wooden hook by a similar slip noose (overhand knot on a standing line). When the fish worries at the bait it bites through or snaps the frail pandanus, and the sinker falls away from the hook. In the second method the sinker line of pandanus is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose, but the free end of the sinker line is laid on the bend of the hook, and two turns of the line are taken around the bend of the hook and over the free end. When the sinker touches the bottom, the bottom takes the weight of the sinker, the two turns around the hook loosen, and the sinker falls free. The second method is used only by the expert. The non-expert, unable to judge accurately by touch when the sinker has touched the bottom, would pay out too much line, foul his hook on the bottom, and lose it.

Special bait attachment is used for the wooden hook. A fillet of *malolo* fish is laid on the point limb of the hook and tied halfway down the point limb with several transverse turns and an overhand knot. The remaining part of the fillet is laid back along the point limb so that it covers part of the functional point. The fastening of fillet to limb is with a strip of coconut midrib fiber (*halasu*). This is used in preference to the ordinary bait string (*takele mauna*) of *uso* cord, because the sharp teeth of the *Ruvettus*, which can bite through the *uso* and destroy the *takele mauna*, are not sharp enough to destroy tough coconut fiber. The lashing of the point of the wooden hook to the point limb is protected from the teeth of the *Ruvettus* by a covering of sharkskin wrapped over the lashing and tied above and below with coconut midrib fiber. The bait fillet is fastened to the hook on top of the sharkskin protective wrapping. No chum is used for *Ruvettus*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 *Pole* fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is lodged to the reef by about 200 fathoms of line. The hooked *Rusettus* is speared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *hatakata*, *kapoa*, the giant *matau*, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapoa* and *Rusettus* are considered sweet eating fish, though *kapoa* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*taki*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*taki ia, taki akaaka*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*au*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*takiaki*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to trail behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*matila*) over the stern of the canoe (*taki*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except bonito, *pala*, *hamai*, and *akula*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *ulua* with live *matala* bait and wooden hook; *tuta* and *lai* with live or dead *halama* bait; *tamatama* with live *matala* bait; *atule* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with *ura* bait; *pakeva* with a *tapa* *manga* hook and live bait of needle fish, *halama*, or *matala*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *akula*, the parrot fish, *pakeva*, *pena*, *kakamaia*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *matala*, the rock groupers, *pakeva*, *lai*, *tuta*, and *matau* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*yi ata*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*ata*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*lisanga ata*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

2.26 776 782 At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Malakitokogi*, protector

226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
bonito-fishing group (*notonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might
782 fish *ata*. The *notonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro
to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the
meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island
with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of
the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ata* one
year automatically became the group for scooping *pala* fish the next year. All fish
226 caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
768 *notonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
were taught the elements of *ata* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season
started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman
(*tangata ika matua*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain.
His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow
had the next oldest man of the *notonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of
the *notonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six
431 bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that
seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one
bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as
a breast ornament (*yana*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death
provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew,
as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain
gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope
or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift.
The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his
crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts
as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *makayana*, and the gift itself was
yana, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *watonga*.

Ata fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out
far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a
landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Uta-mana-o-te-tokalau, which juts out of the water opposite Yato
village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift
(*matatetea*) to the god Malokitelangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune.
It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a
canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without
fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the
canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to
return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the
reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew
had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal
of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be
destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu
returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngango elo* (stinking
ngongo birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
of the group returned loaded with *ata* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*ioe*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled
up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulanga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*takau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikowi*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything over-
688 board, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
578 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*mawa*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled
202 the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tauhole*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *mahamangale*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underwater house of the god Totolon and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one
764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

NOOSING

226 Noosing (*yele*) is a common Pukapukan method for catching eels, sharks,
284 swordfish, *matawula kakvi*, and *pala*. No bait stick, whole fish bait, or special type of noose is used for the eels in Pukapuka, nor are sea centipedes or crayfish caught by this method, as is reported for Samoa (27, p. 421). The Pukapukan noose of three-ply twisted cord of *uso* fiber is made by passing a free end of the cord around the running section of cord and tying it around itself with an overhand knot. The noose is made about 3 feet in diameter. (See p. 188). Fishing is outside the reef:

A teaser bait (*pakapaku*) of bonito flesh is tied to a line and trolled behind the canoe to attract the fish. As the canoe trolls the teaser, the crew make their paddles resound (*tangi*) by hitting the water and beating the sides of the canoe with them. When the fish is seen, the teaser is pulled into the canoe, the noose placed on the *kauyele* stick, and the stick put into the water. Chum is thrown out to attract the fish toward the noose. The stick is withdrawn and more chum thrown into the water on the farther side of the noose. The noose is thus between two chums and is maneuvered so that even a wary (*kailopa*) fish comes up on the starboard side of the canoe. When the fish moves through the noose to reach the second chum, the noose is pulled tight around its tail. The fish is hauled to the canoe and clubbed before being lifted in. This method of noosing fish corresponds to similar methods described for Samoa (27, p. 422) and Vaitupu (19, pp. 56-60). In Pukapuka however there is nothing corresponding to the hurling of insulting remarks (*tapatapa*) to the fish to make them indiscreet, as Kennedy reports for Vaitupu.

TURTLES

225 Three varieties of turtle are common in Pukapukan waters: *matawso*, the largest green turtle; *wonu*, the ordinary green turtle; and *wonu kea*, the hawk's-bill turtle. When turtles are sighted from the shore, the news is called out through the village and the people ask, "E talau? E taepu?" (Is it big? Is it small?). There are three methods by which turtles may be captured:

1. *Pake wonu*, overtaking or seizing a turtle. A man swims out to sea in the season for turtles. He may swim several miles before he sights the animal. Coming up to a turtle, he gets on its back and gouges out its eyes with his thumbs, at the same time forcing the head of the animal upwards with hand pressure. As long as this pressure is continued, the turtle will keep to the surface and will not sound. Alternately the fisherman catches the foreflippers of the turtle with his arms and holds them up; this also prevents the turtle from sounding. If the fisherman is expert, he steers the turtle over the reef to the beach; otherwise he holds the animal until a canoe arrives from shore. An expert who is a good swimmer, strong and skillful, can bring a turtle ashore unaided. When turtles to be caught by this method are seen from a canoe, the first command is for absolute silence, for the turtle sounds immediately noise is heard. One of the crew slips into the water, swims up to the animal, and grips it as just described. His companions stretch apart the foreflippers, tie them to a stout stick, and lift the animal into the canoe.

2. *Yele wonu*, noosing. A man swims out to sea, often with a canoe outrigger as a float, while he waits to sight a turtle. When he sees one, he takes a line with a running noose in the end and dives and slips the noose over the foreflipper. The noose is pulled

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip 825 is vicelike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

225 3. *Wuli uoou*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening 825 rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who 262 caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualanga*) and the major internal organs (*ngakou matua*). It was tapu for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan levies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*weke makave loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*weke makave poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*punga*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*weke*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ula*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ula* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ula* with his hands (*falou ula* or *tunga ula*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lomalama*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *halama* bait, and plenty of chum.

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*kalo payua* or *maniu payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*kalo*). The other end (*kalokalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [883] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing to-
226 gether. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *kalo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *kalokalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*napinape*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *kalokalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngalipayua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*uua ui*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped
321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi kula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of
126 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising
262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *wetuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *vana* (a

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136 752 sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his 136 foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua halou*, *louili kula*, *louili ali*, 825 *louili akau*, and *louili taupulepule*, which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its 787 poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water 226 bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only 226 the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipua are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupu*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kawa* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

226 In the first stage of growth (*tuua te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te* 262 *tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are 185 considered tasty. *Kawa* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulewa*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kawa* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*kawa kawa*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kawa* were not reserved (*wakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

226 Three methods are employed to catch *haveu*:

The first method is *lamalama haveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka haveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *mokapo haveu*. Cocoanut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *uuli tapua*. The crab is picked up by the
252 shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka hoi lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16), and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Manester). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*uuata*) is termed *mokayi uuata* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116 -- analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The catcher goes during the day to a suitable pandanus tree close to other trees where the birds are wont to perch overnight. He trims the tree so that he can climb to the topmost branches without lacerating his body on the sharp spines of the pandanus leaves. Trimming away the leaves and projecting branches also makes it easier to drag the bulky bird net to the top of the tree. At dusk, he again climbs the tree. Then as the birds return from their sea feeding grounds, the catcher utters a guttural mimic cry. The bird is attracted within the radius of the net by the call, and is secured with a sweeping, downward scoop of the net. The mesh of the net is drawn in and the bird removed. It is killed by a sharp bite of the teeth on the back of the neck and thrown to the ground. Birds are caught by this method for about two hours at dusk. The birds caught are principally *ngongo*, but also *kotauo*, *noa*, *takupu*, *lakia*, *kako*, *ali*, *ahiahi*, *wili*, *manu ali*, *tavake toto*, *tavake mokomoko*, and *matiku*.

An alternate use of the net is mentioned specifically for one bird, *kako*. The method is termed *pojo ki te tae* (slapping down the net). The *kako* bird comes ashore at night to nest in the sand on the back beaches. The catcher, carrying his net, crawls up to the bird. When close, he pushes the net forward and places the belly of the net over the bird as it nests asleep. Then he takes the bird from under the net and kills it. The emphasis is on quietness and speed so as not to alarm other birds nesting close by.

Some nonresident birds, *ali* and *kuyleum*, come to the outer beaches, not to lay, but to rest, flying low, and to feed. The catcher advances with his net toward a flock of birds, and scoops the birds into the net as they rise and fly low about him.

2. **Hand catching.** Birds are taken by hand (*tango manu*, *tango kotauo*, etc.) when it is quite dark and they have flown in from the beaches.

Before the birds have returned, the catcher climbs a suitable roosting tree, *puka*, coconut, or pandanus. He waits quietly until the birds are roosting. Then he reaches out his hands and grasps the birds. He wrings each bird's neck with a quick twist before it has time to squawk, drops it to the ground, and seizes the next. Most birds are best caught by this method when a fresh wind blows, whether or not there is a moon. The wind makes the outer ends of the coconut and pandanus branches sway so much that the birds come to roost close in to the trunk, where they are easily caught. Climbing bandages are used if the catcher has to wait for a long time in the trees. The hazards of bird catching by this method are well brought out in the conclusion of the story of Te Naua and Yi (p. 402). Birds caught by the *tango* method are: *kotauo*, *noa*, *takupu*, *ngongo*, *lakia*, *kako*, *ahiahi*, *manu ali*, *tavake mokomoko*, and *matiku*.

Catching by hand is applied in a special way to the wild grey ducks which rest temporarily in Pukapukan ponds or calm waters in their migrations southward over the atoll during November and December. The catcher places a basket (*ola*) over his head. Peering through the basket, he swims (*kakau*) with the minimum of effort, toward the place where the birds are resting, taking every precaution to make the basket look like drift material. When he comes close to the birds, he grasps them with his hands and kills them.

3. **Striking.** Knocking birds off branches with the hands or a stick is used especially for catching young fledglings nesting on the branches of the pandanus tree.

Two men go bird catching. One mounts the tree and catches the birds with the hand or knocks them (*hei* or *yen*) to the ground with a stick. His partner stays on the ground, catches the birds as they fall, and kills them. This method is used for *lakia*, *kako*, *ali*, *ahiahi*, *manu ali*, and *tavake mokomoko*.

The method of striking down the birds with a pole is used for low-flying, nonresident birds. Two men go to the nesting places on the outer beaches. As the birds are disturbed and fly away very low, the catcher strikes them down with a long pole.

223 His partner catches the birds on the ground and kills them. Birds caught thus are *ali, wili, manu uli, tavake toto,* and *tavake mokomoko.*

Catching birds by throwing stones or sticks is common. The catcher goes to the beaches armed with throwing stones of coral, or with a number of short, heavy sticks about 2 feet long. He comes near the feeding or nesting places of the birds and attempts to kill them by throwing (*kanu*) his missiles. This method is used for *wili, manu uli, tavake toto, tavake mokomoko, koleva, lupe,* and *matiku.*

4. Lure used for the tropic birds.

The catcher collects a handful of the young white leaves of the pandanus tree. He goes to the place where the birds are resting or feeding and waves the leaves in the air (*wakaikaika*), at the same time uttering a guttural cry, "I ka! i ka!" The waving of the lure and the cry attract the birds which come fluttering overhead. They are then netted, knocked down, or caught in the hands of the netter or his assistant.

5. Noosing and snaring.

A noose (*yele manu*, fig. 4,*b*) of the required size is attached to a pole which is thrust out along the branches to the place where the bird is nesting. The noose is placed over the neck of the roosting bird and pulled tight, strangling the bird. Then the pole is pulled in while the bird is disengaged and thrown to earth. The pole noose is reset and pushed out again for the next bird. This technique is used for *kotawa, noa, takapu, ngengo, lahia, haka, ahiahi, wili, manu uli,* and *tavake mokomoko.*

[284] A variant method is to use the noose without the pole. The noose (again called *yele manu*) is made with a square knot on a bight and held in the hand. The catcher crawls up to the bird nesting in the sand and drops the noose over the bird's neck, pulls it tight, and strangles the bird. Noosing by this method is used principally for *lulu.*

Two methods of snaring birds also involve the use of the noose principle. The bird snare (*maenga*) is described in figure 48,*b*. A piece of beach is chosen which the birds are in the habit of frequenting. The *maenga* is placed on the ground and firmly anchored by a sennit cord passing from one end of the snare pole to a large coral stone near by. The catcher gets behind a group of birds and gently drives them in the direction of the snare. Whenever the birds stop moving, the catcher stops; when they move again, he directs them toward the nooses. The birds hop along, come to the *maenga*, which they are unable to avoid owing to the projecting wings, advance through the nooses, and are caught by the feet. The catcher comes up to kill them. Birds so caught are *kauv, tuli, kolili, polopolouenga, kiu, talakoka,* and *taiko.*

A second type of snare is the coconut-shell *maenga ngaipu* (fig. 48,*a*). Five or six of these are set up on a suitable beach and coconut flesh is strewn about the ground. The bird is attracted by the coconut, inserts its head into the nut to peck at the flesh and entangles its feathers in the sennit fiber nooses. The bird struggles to escape, usually overturning the coconut which falls on top of it. The bird is removed and the snare reset. This snare is used for *tuli, kolili, popopolouenga, kiu, talakoka,* and *taiko.*

6. Line catching. Birds are also caught by a method involving the use of fishline. One variant of this method is used for birds (*talawue* and *tala*) that skim the water close to shore looking for small fish food.

To the end of a small fishline a gorge (*au*) of fishbone is fastened. *Kaloma* bait is tied to the gorge and the line is laid along the beach at water's edge. The birds come down for the bait, the gorge sticks in their throats, and they are firmly caught. A second variation of this method, called *wakaolo manu*, is used for birds that hop about feeding in the shallows and wet beaches. A piece of the abdomen of the hermit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

223 crab (*unga*) or, alternately, a bait of small periwinkle meats or centipedes (*tuli*) is tied to the ends of each of several lines which are laid across the beach, the other ends being fastened to a near-by tree or to stakes. The birds swallow the baits, are unable to disgorge them, can not fly away, and are caught. *Kouw* and *matiku* birds are caught thus with *unga* bait, *tuli* with periwinkle or centipede bait.

7. Fowling line, generally used to catch sea birds.

A length of *uno* line is attached at one end of a pole from 6 to 9 feet long. A piece of coral stone weighing about 2 ounces is fastened to the free end of the line. When a bird has been attracted close to the tree in which the catcher hides, or when it circles low over the beach, the line is thrown out. The weight of the stone carries the line round the bird. The line encircles the bird several times and entangles its wings. It is then drawn to the catcher. No decoy birds were used in this method of bird catching, nor was the stone weight shaped in any way. The use of line, shaped stone, and decoy bird is reported for Apemama by Woodford (19,p.294), the use of line and shaped weight for Vaitupu (19,p.294), and for Nauru (14,p.289).

House Building

342 The framework for small houses is erected by the owner and a few of
476 his friends. If a big house is contemplated and speed is required, the kinship group is mobilized and the work continued until the frame is completed. The able-bodied men work on the frame while the older men work near by making the sennit for the lashings. Today the framework of most small houses is fitted together in some shady, cool place whether the actual site of the new house is unoccupied or already occupied by an old house which is to be replaced. When the frame is completed, it is taken to pieces, transported to the house site and there put together again. The roof framework is fixed together permanently at the work site and then bodily transported to the house site. In big houses, however, the frame is usually erected on the house site in the first instance. The house framework is usually built during the cooler weather just after the winds swing round to the southeast.
342 Unless the house is very small, the thatching (whether of a new or old house) is done by a working party. The sides and ends of each roof are divided into sections (*unonga* or *tuta*) of a certain width running from eaves to ridgepole. Two to three sections are generally reckoned for the side of an average house. The pile of roof sheets for each section is termed *yinaki lau*. The type of thatching desired, whether *ato tele* or *ato yinaki*, and the distance between each successive roof sheet is specified beforehand.
342 The owner of the house arranges with as many friends as necessary, each
476 to assume responsibility for preparing the roof sheets and sennit, and for thatching one section of the house. Each man may elect to do all the work
431 himself or he may call in a group of friends to help him with his section. The work is paid for by a food division, one share being set aside for each section that has been contracted out. This share is redivided among the helpers in each section. The amount of food constituting a share depends

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngalunga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
538] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
34 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
912 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
684 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable,
461 and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 Formerly wood was too precious for any man to risk failure and wastage of wood by building a canoe himself; and today, when most men consider themselves fairly skilled with the iron adz blade, the tendency is for the layman to make for himself only a rough dugout, retaining the services of the expert for his plank canoe. The following men are considered the expert canoe builders on the island today: in Ngake village, Tiele, Iti, Iliilia, Te Ingoa, Tualai, Veti; in Loto village, Pau and Nawaui; in Yato, Tuli. The men of the Ngake group are all related. Iliilia and Tualai began as helpers (*kau uoings*) to Pau and Te Ingoa. They have since set themselves up as independent experts. Iti has just finished his first plank canoe which is generally conceded to be of the first quality. Hence Iti will soon be given his first commission, probably by a relative. Nawaui is now too old to build canoes himself, but gives advice when required and is generally considered to have passed into the class of consulting experts. Tuli is the only man of his [501] family group who is an expert. The largest canoe on the island (60 feet long, 13 seats) was built by Te Ingoa, believed by some to be the cleverest builder on the atoll today.

In general, a craftsman draws his assistants from his sons, brothers, or relatives, who serve voluntarily and are taught by the master all the skills of the craft, thus keeping the knowledge within the same family group. The assistants begin by sharpening the edges of the adzes as these are blunted and handed to them by the experts. They are given small jobs such as roughing out the shape of the stern piece, or making the preliminary adzing of the hull interior. Later they graduate to the more difficult finishing and fitting jobs where much skill is required to avoid bungling and wastage. In order to become a master, an apprentice must make himself a plank canoe. People come to watch his work, closely examine it from stage to stage, and entrust their own work to the would-be master craftsman only if the completed canoe passes a final criticism.

322 The chief craftsman directs all his assistants and is solely responsible for the completed canoe. He selects from the bush the principal tree for the 313 hull and the other trees necessary for hull and superstructure. The felling and rough trimming of these trees is done in the bush. Bark is removed and sections of trunk with short grain are set aside for the canoe hull, sections with longer grain for superstructure. Formerly the hull was roughly shaped in the bush by firing and adzing. Today this is done by adzing only and the hull is carried or hauled to the shady place near the beach 322 which has been set aside as a workshop. The place Matatoki on Loto beach was a well-known canoe-building yard in former days. Each expert has his own favorite workyard (*tonga vaka*) where canoe timbers may be slowly seasoned in the shade before use. Today the owner has his canoe built near his own house that he may more directly oversee the workmen's

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
285 (*tukapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely
554 dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would
461 militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve
531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*inu kai wakamaliengo*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 The canoe crew is known collectively as *wooa vaka*. Specialized names
793 for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wota*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*nuwa*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *totani*. They are

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau hi sua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309)
782 and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a
562 new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they
785 appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend
793 the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lapu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

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504 Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers
285 of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *haukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki lawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

262 The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo,
824 *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on
241 Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

245 The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of
639 a widespread Polynesian myth.

171 Hauiuli and Maulepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Maulepopo conceived
a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition,
773 she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 flower of the *wetus* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he
539 made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Maui-
171 epopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and
was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he
was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill
me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you
773 must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words
of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his
house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She
saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been
longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Uta-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted
829 in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that
186 Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the
division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tri-*
622 *dacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able
to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly
Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among
the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

245 Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the
842 bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:
824
137

Niu lakia: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tanii: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu loalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with white husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lauuui: very large nuts.
Niu sawa lofoa: nuts with long husks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E 5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa iiiiki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu nawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pulu venu: the best nuts for making sennit.

[137] Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa kenabesa: pale green.
Niu kawa melomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uriuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukava* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kava*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

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245 The names for the parts of a coconut tree (niu) are:

192

Fa niu: trunk.
Lumiu: leaf and leaflets.
Kamuiu: leaf midrib.
Tumiu: leaflet midrib.
Pukiuu: midrib base.
Kakaru: three lower leaf midrib.
Kaio: thorns (spots).

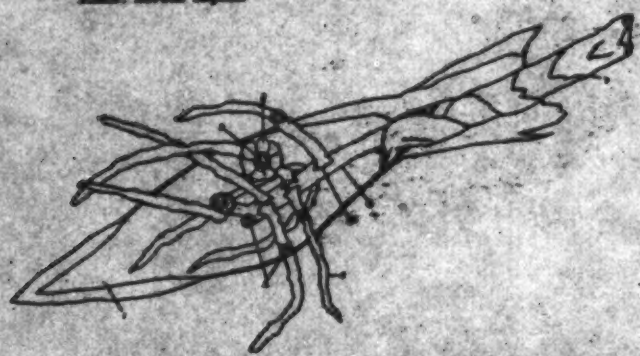

FIGURE 5.—Flower stalk and sheath of coconut tree: 1, flower sheath, tumu; 2, base of branch, uu; 3, floral branch, uutukiliui; 4, flower stalk, kaikaukiuu; 5, base of flower stalk, *pa o te kaikaukiuu*; 6, flower stem, kaikaiu; 7, base of stem, *pa o te kaikaiu*.

245 Names for spathe and flower stalks are given in figure 5. Informants had no ideas about the reproduction of the coconut nor could they give any names for the sexes of the flowers.

824

192

Stages in Growth

Five stages are named in the growth of the tree from the seed nut to the small tree:

Yeau: the nut sends its roots (kiaoio) into the ground, and stem and branch grow upward.

Angiangi: young stem shoots (uiku) have shot upward for a height of about 6 inches.

Uio: sprouts have grown to a height of about 25 feet, and the absorbing organ of the coconut cotyledon (uio) has filled the entire cavity of the nut.

Lumiu: the tree has taken firm root in the ground and the leaves have attained a height of 4 to 5 feet.

Yau: the leaves are growing vigorously and the young coconut tree is well established.

The 15 named stages in the growth of the fruit are:

Fia kuau: the fertilized female flower of the coconut has developed into a flower bud.

Kuau: the immature nut, an inch or more in length. If the bunch falls from the tree, it is used in the game of juggling (tikili kuau).

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245 Wuaili: the nut is a little larger than koati and has a dark green husk.

824 Uenako: the kaimakore nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

192 Moto kaiki: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is dipped with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

161 Makoaniko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The makoaniko flesh forms inside the membrane at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk organ of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, mushy substance around the outside of the eyes. Makoaniko from certain trees (niu mata, niu kaiva kaukaua, and niu uri) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced makoaniko nut may be drunk but is more often added to tuto puddings.

Niu kaikoli: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Niu mata makoaniko: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (kiko) and the flesh tasty (matie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Niu kaiva: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is hatched. A desired nut at this stage is usually selected to develop into a yakall nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

Niu pupuku (modern matua, yakall): The flesh (iplipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The iplipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of taro; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

[258] Uaa: the yakall nut left on the ground to germinate. Becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uaa). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (iplipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uaa is an important everyday food.

Takutaku: stored yakall nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be *uaaaya*. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as kaa (coloring). After 2 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as kaa kaka (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (iduaki) to puddings from fruit or edible makoaniko. It is also used in the preparation of copra and oil.

257 Takutaku nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (uali takutaku) in one of two ways:

In the first method the yakall nuts may be left unhusked (uai kaua) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk. Nuts which are later husked, in sea water and used to make starch. By the second storage method the yakall nuts are husked and a piece of *fenua* cord of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

251 according to the quality of *takatoka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takatoka* nuts.

245 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

192

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural ma ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kasava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing
181 bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu ki lalo, tatoli te niu ki lalo,* or *takavili te niu.* Nuts are usually harvested by young boys,
887 occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a
537 cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pawaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yoekili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka malemple*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

[482]

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*malinuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamataka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mawalawala, wakawota, wakena, kale, pongi* (slow-growing species), *peleua,*
talahi, kalelea, newunewu (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
244 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

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244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting
262 one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
192 Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapulu: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Lauuua: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral corm(let or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wakawaka: rootlets of the corm.
Pulapula: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*uouui*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matauya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *topo uuuu*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*kete lauuia*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*taku*). She rec-
412 ognizes the mature (*hiui*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She pulls out (*lauga*) the talo plant and slices off (*topo*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*tahi*) with a stick (*hopo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matuiaua e, Matuiaua e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

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782 244 482 replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*taka ki langa o te ala*).

242 931 There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

244 410 Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ai*) and fertilizing (*wakaispo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

314 The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukamu* leaves, *lau kotamu* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukamu* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukamu* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

244 192 In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Toki te tingapuka: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, kua tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, kua velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, kua loa te lito o te lima: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angauia, kua velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyno atu, kua kua lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua kua tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua kua wa: (22d day) there are *four* petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua kua lima: (25d day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wokaiumgavali: (28th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua tonki te kau lima, kua tayi, kua tupu mai oki te lau kaua, kua ono lau talo, kua ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua utauto ki langa: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ola loa ki langa: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua taku te uka: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua matapu te warua: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Oko ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua kivi, kua uwouko: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovenga* (slightly larger corms), *uiui uoiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonenga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the
571 household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the
431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later
431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give
[574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tamapoko* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for
195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tamapoko* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

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431 cally as *muli tulama* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the [195] bottom of the *tulama* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *taungalou*. *Wataupe* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in 431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of talo to the gods Matalomea and 782 Matalolau, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *wuhatapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 292).

431 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoani*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yuyua nunui*. [576] To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atowui*, the mean or stingy person, *kakionge*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437 Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today 439 to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

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PAYMENT:

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
431 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
476 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of avail-
554 able food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are
[322] fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilised, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *unkayina te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*unkamalinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *unkayinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*mallinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uso*, one anchor line of *sennit*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 3 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manu*, each woman five *manu*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
574 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
431 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 3
621 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that
627 happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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574 to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christ-
621 mas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish
262 pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa,
431 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This
527 was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

431 The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth
574 throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the character-
264 istic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name,
527 *inu hai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu hai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

431 To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and un-
264 cooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu hai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy.
574 On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the
476 division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

527 Named Pukapukan feasts are:

431 1. *Mwentanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induc-
574 tion of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such
621 as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three
613 villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *mwentanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *mwentanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

621 2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
527 of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lawi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*,
262 as *lavaya kavea* (crabs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[621] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 56, 76).

4. *Waimaolunga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new *fong* house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *manutunga*.

5. *Kevohoe*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*maiuma*) or other
[623] inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wasle, *tauwayunga*, and *pauki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *malimua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *payia uale* and *lulukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *laukuna*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Funa lui o te uma* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
574 trolled by the lineage.

527 Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 *Lauwaiongi* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo alai* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingatinge* (land shells), feasts
613 of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fish food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *ponga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have inti-

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
574 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
527 Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
262 return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
613 that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is com-
plete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural
fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously
impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish
brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for
bonbons feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food
dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or
dishonest, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the
old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved
solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people
for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for them-
selves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing,
the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish
from the canoe to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to
carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aunaga*), the old men called for volunteers, and
the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a
quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most
talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*).
Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to
baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether
fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinahi*) which is eaten
with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling
(*tuna*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cook-
ing fish.

Fire

372 Fire (*ana*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method
was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau*
ite ana. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth
groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikaika*, and to make fire
thus is *tuna ana*.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

372 The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¾ inch thick at the proximal end (*wafimafi*), and about ⅜ inch thick at the distal end (*mata*). The distal end is shaped to a nasal point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yoliyoli te lahau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

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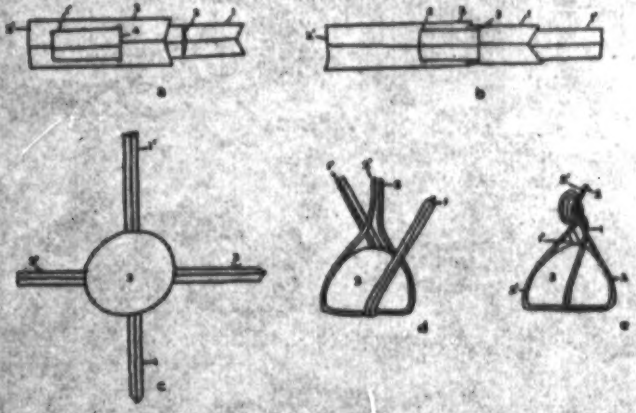

FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a-b*, *lulu* food package; *c-e*, talo (*loloi*) food package. *a*, leaflet midribs stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1′) passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (1′) folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′) crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2′) brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1′) twisted around ends (2, 2′); then ends (2, 2′) bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

773 539 In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *ahiahi* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kutia te valmata o te ahiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *ahiahi* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyen, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyen brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyen, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *kamati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the back of the stick. Place the *kamati* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patamate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*wakamati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
312 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

* In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Mauikatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tuaaw*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or when another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*uale ieua*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses. In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *uale uaka-*
252 *yaaua* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher build, and, in the main, of the *uale toieaiku* style (p. 109). The kitchen
372 shelters the oven (*ieua*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*aaru ieua*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*benapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*hale*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *hale* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*pu te ieua*), coconut shells (*ngaipu*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pikipiki*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*hoo ruaruaru te ieua*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te ieua*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *ion*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *paapaa* leaves (*lautolou*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the lautolou. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *paapaa* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *pelapala* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *pelapala*. The whole oven covering is termed *tutao*; to cover the oven is *uari te ieua* or *tai te tutao*. Whenever a woman comes back from the talo beds, she places a bundle of *paapaa* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of talo and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the talo from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

[4M]

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
372 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

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252 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists
462 his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one bachelor on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *uale iuea* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo
261 and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on
258 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods
252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *uangafo* is chewed (*aponapon*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *mokomoko* is baked (*mokomoko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*mako*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *uatu* and *hetikai* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu uatu tao* and *niu hetikai tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kiuaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu halohalo* from the *niu uatu*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halohalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pio*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu uatu* is also made *ipu niu halohalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu uatu* is cooked on hot stones (*niu uatu tuna*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

[843]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 262 5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *hinahi* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto fei*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tahi* in a *hamete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu hakohako* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamatamata* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayako people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *hinahi* of *hikoliko* taro pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *hinahi* for fish or other foods in the absence of taro. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*nuku*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *tuku unhahiliki*; to grate coarsely, *tuku unhapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse gratings; in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tauinga*) and wrung (*kuku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *ennenne*; to perfume the skin, *pami*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Vaikonga*: *yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nen*, *nonu*, or *mulle* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Vinu tutu*: *yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Vinu tahataha tutu*: the flesh of the *tahataha* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*ulu*) on the *punga tahatala* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *vaikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *tahataha* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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TALO DISHES

262 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to
621 household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday.
574 A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with
264 some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *ipipi* and *mahomaka*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mama* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In
262 general, the *hinahi* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *hinahi* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vena*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yami*, sometimes given as *oni*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lulu*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*uvuvu hi loto o te fau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lulu*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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2. *Loloi.* Whole corms or corms cut into small pieces, according to preference, are placed in banana leaves (*lau wuti*). The package is placed on two crossed coconut leaflets, one of which is longer than the other. Two or three half coconut shells of coconut cream are poured over the corms. *Puapua* leaves are laid on top and the banana leaves folded over all. The package is fastened as shown in figure 6,*c-d* and baked in the *imu*.

3. *Tata.* Baked *lulu* is placed in a wooden bowl and pounded with the *tuki* pounder until each corm is flattened. Each corm is then dipped, first on one side and then on the other, into *lolo* contained in a coconut shell. The corms are then placed side by side on a leaflet platter (*laulau*) and served.

4. *Ipu kuti.* Large, well-shaped drinking nuts are opened at the eye (*mata*) end of the nut and the flesh removed. Each shell (*ipu*) is half filled with uncooked corms cut into small pieces, then filled with *lolo*. The opened end of the shell is covered with a half shell. The *ipu* are baked in the *imu* for about 2 hours. The pudding is served in the shells.

5. *Tele.* Corms are scraped into small slices with *tukituki* and *koi*. The slices are placed on banana and *puapua* leaves, *lolo* poured on top, and the package bundled and fastened as for *loloi*. It is baked in the *imu*.

6. *Olo.* The *pungapunga talatala* scraper is placed on a *puapua* leaf. Corms are grated to a creamy mixture (*olo*) by vigorous rubbing against the stone. The *olo* is placed in a bowl and pounded with the *tuki*. Fresh water (*yua*) or coconut liquid is added, and *lolo* is stirred in with the *tuki*. A new coconut-leaf basket (*kete lauuia*) is made and lined with *puapua* leaves. Into this container the *olo* is scooped with a coconut cup. The two sides of the basket are brought together and tied at the two ends and at the middle with a single piece of coconut leaf. The leaf is passed through from side to side at one end and tied with an overhand knot; the free end of the leaf is passed to the middle, knotted again, and passed on to the far end, where it is knotted finally. *Olo* baked overnight is *olo wakaulu; olo* baked for a few hours only is *olo tao uke* (*olo*, baked to open). It has not such a crisp outer layer as *olo wakaulu*.

7. *Kanaka.* Uncooked *olo* is placed over a layer of *lolo* in a wrapping of banana leaves. The package is tied as for *loloi* and baked about 3 hours. Then the talo is removed and placed in a bowl. *Lolo* is added and the *kanaka* is broken up with a stick (*lakau puapua*) to work the brown crust on top into the pudding and the *lolo* into all. The food is scooped from the bowl with a coconut cup and served on a *laulau* platter lined with *puapua* leaves.

8. *Manu.* *Kanaka* is prepared up to the stage of placing in a bowl. *Lolo* in coconut cups covered with half shells is cooked on hot stones and coals and added to the talo in the following fashion. The open cup of *lolo* is placed beside the bowl. The *tuki* is dipped into the *lolo*; with a twist of the wrist the *lolo* is scooped out of the cup and transferred to the bowl, where it is rubbed over the outside of the pudding. This is then cut into small pieces with a sharp piece of coconut shell and placed on a *pulaka* leaf. The remaining *lolo* is poured into the bowl and the cut-up talo is dipped into *lolo* and placed on the leaves, and is then ready for serving as *manu*.

9. *Poke.* *Olo* is placed in a bowl, *lolo* is added, and the whole is stirred with long, circular, clockwise sweeps of the *tuki*, the left hand grasping the top of the *tuki*, the right hand below. The *poke* is placed on banana leaves, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked in the *imu* for about 3 hours.

10. *Likoliko.* Uncooked *olo* is placed in shells. It is stirred with a small *puapua* stick until soft. *Lolo* is stirred in, and the *likoliko* is placed in baking shells and baked for 3 hours. The cover of each cup is then removed, the food stirred and served in the cups. This dish was the favorite food of the Pukapukan navigator and warrior, Te Nana, when he visited Yayake. Te Nana is reputed to have eaten 40 to 50 cups of *likoliko* each day.

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252 11. *Wawu tunu pakapaka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*inu ne fu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipiipi*.

12. *Wawu tukituki tunu. Wawu tunu pakapaka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yakali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

13. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo cormlets (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The cormlets and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

14. *Pota ulukau.* The outer skin (*kili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated *ipiipi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu*.

15. *Pota ulukau puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

16. *Tuapulu.* Young talo peticles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo* is added, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked.

262 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the
252 flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukau*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tao paku pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *loloi pulaka* and *mumu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to last for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being rebaked day after day, though after much rebaking the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The
251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain
261 so long uneaten. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For rebaking, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yawi hi te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*takai hi te launiu*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*uala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo uala* and *likoliko uala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*makono*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*uuti*) growing on the island today, *uuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu uuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauuuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *lauuutu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A
251 bunch (*to*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of
252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village
621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
245 adults with great delight. The cane is *pono*; the rings around the cane, *vu*. The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu
262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai*, *pala*, and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Avu* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

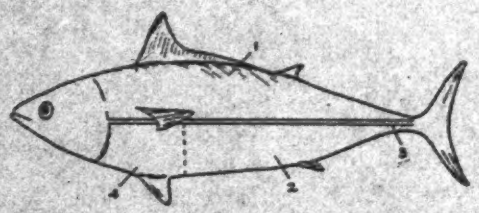

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io*; 2, bottom sides, *io alonga*; 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolewole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tunu*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*ngaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *kaloma*, are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish is preserved by sun-drying (*wakala hi te la he pakapaka*). Fish that has been dried
261 for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai*, *pala*, and *atu*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was a talo dish. It was tapu to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this
262 rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Vaia Wetuna. It is likely that this tapu against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*wua*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and cara-
262 pace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since
136 people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

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252 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kaiava*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*vahuala*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*mahitahita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal,
[554] and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi kayokayo*), back (*ua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*mulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 Chicken eggs play so important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg.
252 A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiola*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipiipi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *taumamaya*, *yamuyamu*, *lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
574 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
431 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*tuhalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yengia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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264 Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate
578 shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totolos" (Go to the nut tree of Totolos). This refers to the god Totolos's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

556 Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there
888 is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of
626 the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through
476 ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never
181 enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each
552 person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this
434 does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social
433 structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when
182 other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

House Styles

341 A wide variety of house styles is found in Pukapuka today. In the
797 permanent villages, the dwelling houses are either of coral lime roofed with pandanus thatch, or of a type introduced from Rarotonga by the missionaries,
343 with slat walls reaching to the roof and often with a wide veranda. Along with these modern houses are found old style dwelling houses and cook houses. Small, square, slat-walled houses which stand close to each dwelling house in the permanent villages were evidently orginally built under missionary impetus to serve as bath houses. Some of these bath houses are used for their assumed purpose, but the majority, after their novelty wore off, were converted into storehouses for fishing gear. Loto village at one time set up a row of wooden structures on coral lime foundations in the water a few feet from the lagoon beach. These serve as privies; many of them are in sad need of repair.

In the copra villages, most dwelling and cook houses are built in an old Pukapukan style. One house in particular, a watch house at the place Matala in Uta, has acquired undue prominence in the literature because of its age. Built about three generations ago at the time of first missionary contact, it is a well-authenticated example of one style of Pukapukan house building.

SIMPLE RIDGEPOST HOUSE

341 The *wale toinuku* (fig.8,*a*) is a small, low house, usually erected on
335 exposed outer beaches to serve as a cook house, sometimes as a sleep house. The framework consists of two ridgeposts (*pou tu*), which support a single ridgepole (*tau matua*). In one subtype, rafters (*uuti poto*) run from the ridgepole to the ground. In the other subtype, two wall posts (*pou*) on each side support wall plates (*kaukau matua*). Rafters run down from the ridgepole to rest on the wall plates. There are no thatch rafters; the thatch of coconut roof sheets is laid directly against the rafters, in such a manner that the midrib bases of the roof sheets function as thatch purlins. Lashings are of sennit or, as in a rough house examined, of dried *puloka* stalks. Smaller houses of this type have one ridgepole only, but more substantial houses have a second ridgepole (*tau lua*), which is laid in the crossings of the rafters (fig.8,*a*). The ridgepole roof sheet is securely fastened to the framework by pegs (*yuki*) that are pushed through the sheets and between the two ridgepoles.

A roof extension (*kaumatu*) is often added to the exposed end of these

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341 houses. Two cook houses of the *toinuku* type each with a roof extension
335 were observed on the outer beach of Uta:

Two wall posts on each side support a wall plate. Two grooved ridgeposts support the ridgepole. Nine rafters run from the ridgepole to the wall plate on each side of the house. Coconut roof sheets are laid directly on these rafters. The northeast, southeast, and southwest sides of these houses are open, the ends of the rafters on these sides being about 3 feet from the ground. At the northwest end of the houses, two low end posts, each about 18 inches high, support an end plate. End rafters run from the side rafters to these end plates. The thatching of the extension is continued to the ground by extra wide roof sheets that hang down from the end plate. This extension provides complete shelter against severe winds from the northwest. It also acts as a shelter for the ground oven and as a storage place for dry coconut shells and firewood.

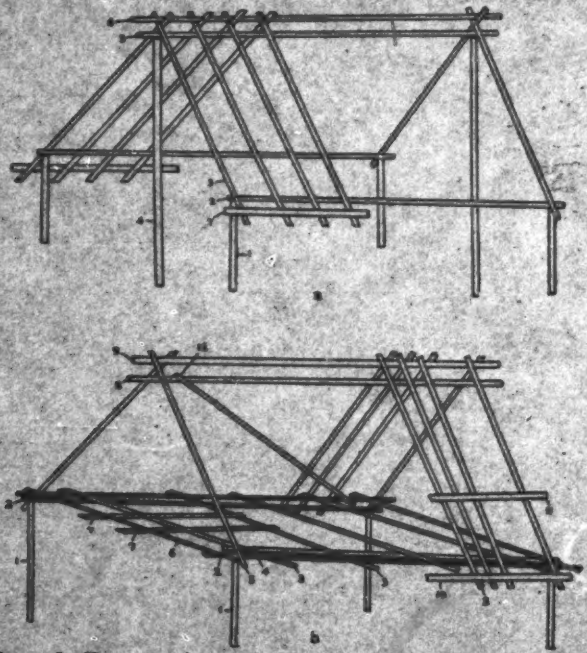

FIGURE 8.—Houses. *a*, framework for *wale toinuku* type house: 1, wall post (*fou*); 2, wall plate (*kaukau matua*); 3, rafter (*wuti poto*); 4, ridgepost (*pou tu*); 5, ridgepole (*tau matua*); 6, thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*); 7, purlin (*tahilihili*). *b*, framework for *wakayunoa* type house: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tiebeam (*oka*); 4, roof plate (*kaukau lua*); 5, rafter; 6, end purlin (end rafters not shown), braced by two supports (*yoke*); 8, main ridgepole; 9, thatch ridgepole; 10, side eaves purlin; 11, midway purlin (*talaau*); 12, diagonal brace (*yoka*), running from roof plate to main ridgepole.

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TIEBEAM HOUSE

341
335
[71]

The tiebeam house with paired side supporting posts, wall and roof plates is termed *wale wakayamoa* (fig.8,*b*). Though similar to the Rakahangan and Samoan tiebeam houses (29, pp. 70-75; 27, pp. 15 ff.), the Pukapukan house customarily has no kingpost, its principal rafters cross below the ridgepole, and there is no set of wall posts other than the main series of paired wall posts which support the wall plates, tiebeams, and roof plates. For this reason I have retained the term "wall plate" for the longitudinal beam that rests on the wall posts, but this wall plate functions in the same manner as the tiebeam plate of the Samoan house. It is likely that the Pukapukan name for the type house, *wale wakayamoa*, is derived from its similarities to the Samoan house of this style.

This house type is used for dwelling and cook houses in both village and copra settlements. When the tiebeams are covered with a platform (*papaaga*), on which coconuts at the *takataka* stage are stored, the house is termed *wale takataka*, a name sometimes given as the type name of the house. The *wale wakayamoa* is also constructed in the reserves as a watch house for the guards. On the outskirts of the villages rough structures of this type are used as shelters for disassembled canoe sections.

In the typical house of this style, two wall posts on either side, grooved at the upper end, support wall plates which rest untashed in the grooves. Four tiebeams (*oka*) rest on these wall plates and project 18 inches beyond the wall plates to which they are lashed. Resting against the outer ends of each tiebeam are thin poles which serve as supports for the coconut-leaf wall sheets (*takapou*). Roof plates (*kaukau lua*) are placed longitudinally on top of, and at the outer extremities of, the tiebeams. Twelve rafters (*uuti poto*) run from roof plate to ridgepole on either side of the house. They are lashed to both roof plate and ridgepole and cross above the ridgepole to support the thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*). An eaves purlin (*takilihili*) and a second purlin (*talava*) midway between roof plate and ridgepole are lashed to the inside of the rafters on each side of the house. The roof plate seems to function here as a third purlin, and some informants gave *talava* as the name for both purlin and roof plate. On the two outer tiebeams at each end of the house are lashed, longitudinally, thin split sections of pandanus wood. These form end platforms for the storage of mats and household goods. They project beyond the outer tiebeam at each end to support an end purlin (*talava tale lewu*). The end rafters are lashed to this purlin and to an end eaves purlin. On one side of the roof framework, a diagonal strut (*yoka*) runs on the inside of the rafters from the ridgepole at the point where the first rafter joins the ridgepole, down to the roof plate at the point where the tenth rafter joins the roof plate. The strut is lashed to ridgepole, intermediate rafters, and roof plate. On the opposite side of the house, the strut runs from the ridgepole at the tenth rafter to the roof plate at the first rafter. In other houses of the *wakayamoa* type, two braces are used on each side. The braces run diagonally from the roof plate in the center upward to each end of the ridgepole. The type house has no other ridgepole support than rafters and struts, but in one house observed, a rough kingpost ran from the second tiebeam in from the end and supported a ridgepole. The kingpost, also called *yoka*, was of rough wood, undressed, and obviously a novel addition to the roof framework. It was lashed neither to tiebeam nor ridgepole.

Each gable end of the type house is made by running eight end rafters (*uuti poto*

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341 *tele kowa*) from the end eaves purlin (which is itself lashed at each end to the side
335 eaves purlins) to the end side rafters. Four end rafters run to the left side rafter, four to the right side rafter. The end rafters are of varying length depending on their distance from the highest point of the ridgepole. Another end purlin, midway between eaves purlin and ridgepole supports the end rafters on the inside. A variation may sometimes be introduced into the gable end of both the *wakayanoa* and the *uale atua* house types, by using for the end purlin a piece of timber that has a slight, natural curve in the horizontal plane. The end rafters would be made of suitable length to retain the natural curve of the purlin. In small houses of the *wakayanoa* type, where the end purlin was of small diameter, it was sometimes bent into an artificial curve through binding the two ends of the purlin to the ends of the two outermost side principal rafters and through graduating the length of the end rafters in such a way that when lashed to the purlin, they thrust it out in a slight horizontal curve. There are no side or end thatch rafters on the type house. The coconut roof sheets are fastened directly to the principal rafters, the midribs of the sheets functioning as thatch rafters.

Lashing

284 The lashing used for all parts of the house framework is of one pattern
335 only, that of alternating curves, termed *yinu wakawiwi*. The lashing corre-
171 sponds to the curved pattern lashing described by Buck (29, p. 72, fig. 5)

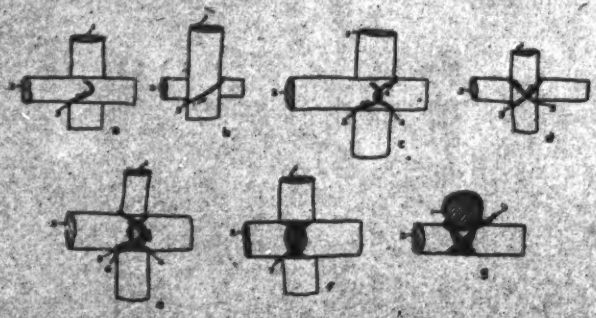

FIGURE 9.—Alternating curves lashing, used for principal parts of house framework; lashing shown for fastening together tieboam (1) and wall plate (2). *a*, view from above: sennit braid laid on wall plate and held with thumb; free end makes curved turn on under side of wall plate (3). *b*, view from below: free end makes transverse turn across tieboam. *c*, view from above: sennit braid (4) brought across commencement end, thumb holds crossing cords in place while braid makes curved turn across and down at wall plate (4). *d*, view from below: braid (5) makes transverse turn across and up tieboam to curve around wall plate. *e*, view from above: braid (6) curves to right across second curve (4) and locks preceding two curves in place; thumb then removed and rough sennit does not slip. *f*, view from above: repetition of two curved turns successively applied on outer side of previous turns produces pattern (7); number of lashings varies according to elements, average number being 5 curves on either side, 10 in all. *g*, side view: crossings of turns and half of one design; braid (3) makes number of horizontal circumferential turns around lashing turns between two wooden elements; end of braid fixed by half hitches around last loops. (Diagram adapted from Buck, 29, fig. 5, p. 72.)

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284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on
171 both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
(*pola launiu*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
341 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
312 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters
284 by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uka*); the method of passing
171 the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yuki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yinaki lau*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch
335 apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tele*) some roof
sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ui pola*) alternate
284 in each course with short midribs (*pu pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato yinaki lau* method. The *ato tele* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yinaki* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more nearly waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yinaki* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola wawati*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by skewering them with a lifting pole (*tuku pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola taupoto*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*takapau taupoto*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 28-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*hotiheti te tuiatuia uiale*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reenforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
284 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the
335 midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uoe lauuala* or
322 *yayalo lauuala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau uoe lauuala*). The leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pokoi lauuala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
285 over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuuia*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pola lauuala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
335 *uukayamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*uukaulu pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*uukatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*uukakanu*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *uukayamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles, the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
[171] as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Vene-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 tian blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
283 the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
284 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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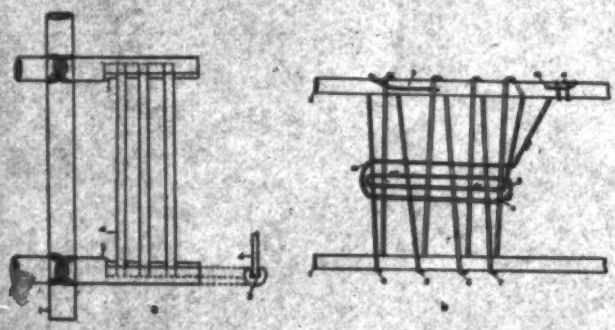

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*uaiuui*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rails fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*yinu tuakamau*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*tau matua, tau lua*), also bracing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautalu* and *uia momoli*) in model *tuale atua* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of sennit braid laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*uaiuui*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
335 of the *wakayamoa* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two pandanus logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *puapua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10,*a*), incloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *takapau* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting horizontal slats between uprights and tying the slats together by a continuous cord of sennit is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

[177]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

341 Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of
333 coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

341 One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *uukayamoa*
335 style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inside side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *uukayamoa* type and the *uale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *uukayamoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *uukayamoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

341 Houses of the *uukayamoa* type used as storage houses (*uale tahataha*)
343 for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The
511 floor of a *uale tahataha* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale tahataha*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

[251] 343 254

Storage Platform

Nuts at the *tahataha* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or latch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*fa lua*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*fa tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale taketake*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened
343 the hatches, untied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
417 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated
414 groom's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *tala*, a name probably derived from the word "steel". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale taketake* house with two hatches
177 in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch
Bo house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. Where are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8086)[7]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is fastened that the square surface of the eave purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,*e*).

[7] Unless otherwise noted, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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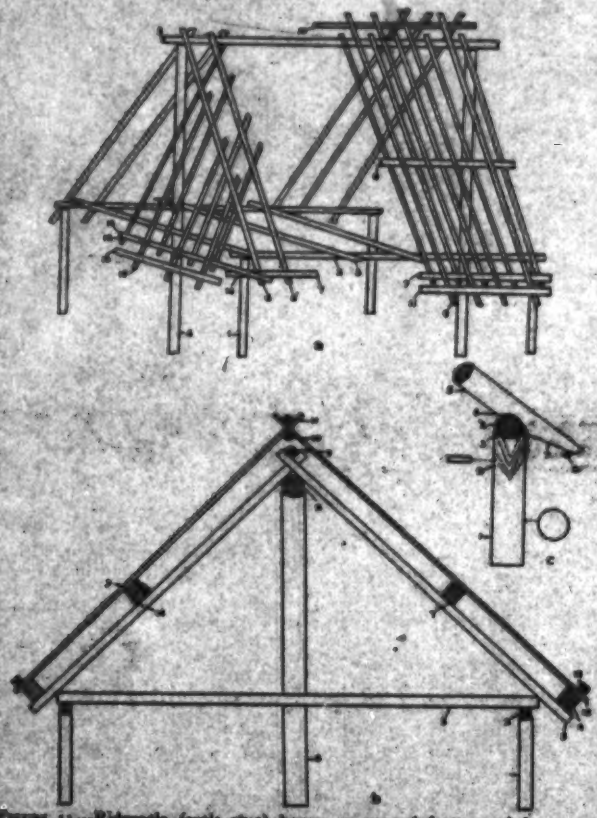

FIGURE 11.—Ridgepole (*tuaki atua*) house. *a*, general features of frame construction: 1, wall post, supporting wall plate (2) on which rest tieboams (3); ridgepost (4) passes upward on inner side of end tieboam to support main ridgepole (5); principal rafters (6, 6') cross above ridgepole, and are lashed at lower end to wall plate and at upper end to ridgepole; eaves purlin (7) and midway purlin (8) lashed to principal rafters; thatch rafters (9) pass over purlins (7, 8) and support at top second ridgepole (10); another eaves purlin (11) lashed to lower end of thatch rafters; and principal rafters (12) pass to ridgepole and second side principal rafter (6') on each side of roof; end rafter eaves purlin (13) lies on bottom of end principal rafters, and is joined at side to side rafter eaves purlin (7) at point (14); and thatch rafters (15) pass over end purlin (13), and up to first side principal rafter (6) on each side; and eaves purlin (16) joins bottoms of end thatch rafters (15). *b*, end view: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tieboam; 4, rafter eaves purlin (*ashillili*); 5, rafter; 6, ridgepost; 7, midway purlin, on left side widened by chock (*aiaai*) (14); 8, main ridgepole; 9, second (rafter) ridgepole (*tauiua*); 10, third (rafter) ridgepole (*tautoki*); 11, fourth ridgepole (*ate matoali*); 12, thatch rafter (*hope*); 13, thatch rafter eaves batten. *c*, detail of wall post and rafter: 1, wall post, round cross section, adzed at top to produce rectangular cross section 2; head of wall post grooved (*mahaiki fou*) (3) to receive wall plate (4); principal rafter (5) grooved on inner side (*mahaiki*) at 6 to fit over wall plate; inner side of rafter flattened (7) so that eaves purlin (8) will fit closely.

341 On each side of the house 25 thatch rafters (*kayo*) of *puapua* wood are lashed to the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the
344 ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom, the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of
335 the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *mahanau* wood
284 which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs from the end tiebeam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ¼ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ¼ to ¼ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that described for the *uafe wakayomea* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *uafe atua* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
335 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
342 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 Model house combining features from both the *wale wukayemos* and the *wale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams,
335 which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*taw ha*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautoka*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *niu momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoka*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoka*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely,
335 are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by
284 three circumferential turns (*yinu wukapoko*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinu wukawau*; fig.10,*b*).

341 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the *wukayemos* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the
335 heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People
513 sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapula*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*taluma*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laakowa*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakou*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

Wooden back rests (*take*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former times. Made of *uakonoa* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uuu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*uuu*) become vicious:

These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uiauuli*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uiauuli tuanie*, Cl195) is made of midribs (*tuu*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*uakapoua*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*uulituuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uiauuli uulo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

354 especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-
372 of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lama ngoipu*.

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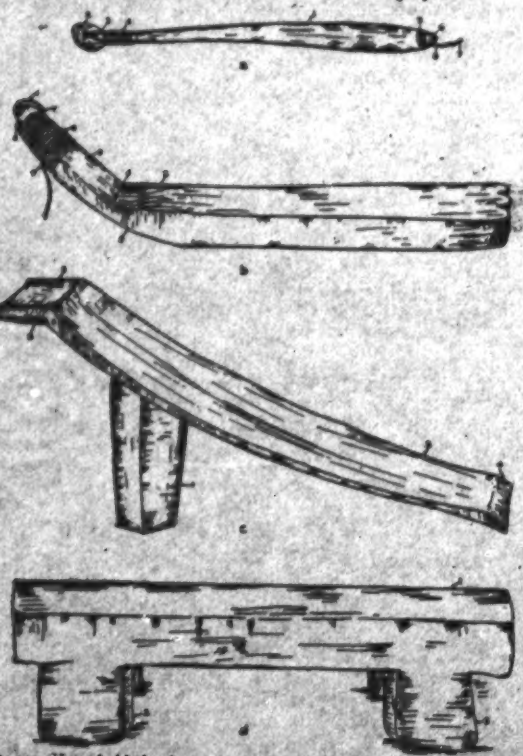

FIGURE 12.—Household implements. *a*, scraper (*sulugi*) (CB127) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngoupie* wood (1) 13½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ¾ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully chipped hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

in scraping shell (*ambyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uso* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uetau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10¾ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 29 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off short with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*taha*) cut from solid block of *vahanoa* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 1 foot 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short medial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulunga taha*) (C8184): roughly cut from single block of *fanapu* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2¾ inches high, 3¾ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight chest at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*kayo*, C8149) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*ano*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is dis-
482 carded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo taumaya*, C8038) of *ngangie* 253 wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other 412 end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*kalokalo ui mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *niu kalokalo*. The blade is the *uyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*aloalo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tusi*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

415 A coconut cream wringer (*tumanga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *niu mata* stage after burial in beach sand to maccerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *laulau ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*wahapona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

415 Water containers (*wowongi*, fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large
303 coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *vulwyi* or *valu wowongi* (fig.12,*a*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*wawoi*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

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244 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms
412 with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pala*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pala* fish (*kowwe pala*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*koyo*).

252 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukituki tete wunu*, C8083) is made from a section of coco-
412 nut midrib (*palelowo*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tete*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*hoi*). The *hoi* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tele*) into sections with the *hoi* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*wutu ola wunu*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*punga talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelowo*). Oven tongs (*pingoi* or *mongoi*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*kumete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13*e*. A common type
412 pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13*b*. Pounders in use
415 become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*you*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

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[322] [552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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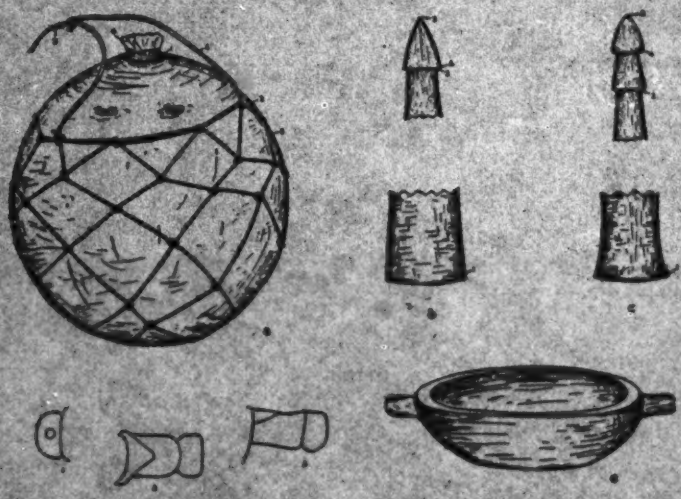

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*uwuwapi*) (Cb52): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord encloses shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; *b*, cork (*uwuwa*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuhi*) of *ngangie* wood (Cb50): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¾ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¾ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¼ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅛ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*yeu*) of *ngangie* wood (Cb51): weight 3¾ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1⅜ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (2) of second truncated cone 1⅜ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¼ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ½ inch in diameter, runs through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1¾ inches wide and 1½ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*humete*) of *puapua* wood (Cb139): greatest diameter 14¾ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4½ inches; lugs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Pilato	6' 7"	2'	12¾"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palemaimma	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua wonu) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Ella	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

252 415 Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

285 Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

285 314 Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *mula* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lauuilu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

314 372 A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

314 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua lei*) on its back (*koa yiyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is termed *tua*, the front, *aloalo* or *vakevake*. When the fire has burned
372 down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*koa lola te lito hi langa o te ami*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*wakamumuhe te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yayalo te lito hi te aguipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spines of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yapini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side inward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pohei*) by winding one leaf
285 on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 12 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *lounuia* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spines are trimmed off (*yiyi lea na mata tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf strips are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*koakia*) used for mats; the *tua* strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hia mata*) used for plaiting matlos. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*wakamangalo i te yua*). They are then dried in the shade (*hawe lea tuma he pakapaka i lata o te mala*), and smoothed (*yapini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*hawe lea wakala he mumuhe*) and rolled into large bundles (*pohei*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, termed *lounuia pakapaka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond
177 exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *papa* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-221). Plaiting elements are either single (*langa toi*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*langa lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 171 ing. In plaiting with a single element, the finished surface has the back of the leaf uppermost. In plaiting with double elements, the two single elements are placed together with the back surfaces (*tua*) outward; when the mat is finished, the back of the leaf shows on both sides.

The free single or double element commencement is known as *kauinga pukapuka* to distinguish it from the double butt commencement for single element plaiting (27, p. 217), which is termed *kauinga pa wenua* (foreign commencement). Informants believed that the double butt commencement commonly used today in hat making and satchel plaiting was introduced from Samoa or from the lower Cook Islands after white contact.

The finishing technique follows the Samoan method (27, pp. 218-220, figs. 116-118). It is impossible to fold in the last dextrals when the right hand top corner is reached, so the worker takes a thin strip of coconut midrib about 6 inches long, points it at one end and makes a longitudinal transverse slit in the other end. The free end of the dextral is inserted in the slit and the midrib is passed back underneath the check strokes, drawing the dextral after it. Both the process and the needle are called *yulu*. The dextral is then cut off flush with the dextrals that have been folded back along the finished edge.

285' Technical terms employed in Pukapukan plaiting are:

Langa, wai: to plait.
Tawenu: pandanus element.
Tawenu patapata: a wide element.
Tawenu iliki: a narrow element.
Langa tai: to plait with single elements.
Langa lua: to plait with double elements.
Tawenu ki luga, tawenu ki iulo: the element above, the element below, in double element plaiting.
Tawenu: to add elements when working elements have run short and must be lengthened to continue the plaiting.
Kauinga: the commencement corner of the plaiting.
Wakaululinga: the bottom right corner.
Ikikinga: the top right corner where the finishing process (*ikiki*) commences.
Wakaululinga no te ikikinga: the top right, or finishing corner.
Tautewa: the right or left edge of the plaiting.
Ala: the working shed.
Tonga: the term used to describe the number of elements making up the working shed. The shed is made of 5 to 20 elements according to the thickness of the elements and the skill of the worker. One asks: "Ewea to tonga?" ("How many in your shed?") The reply is: "E lauleu toku tonga" ("My shed is composed of 20 elements").
Lolotonu: the completed part of the plaiting to the left and below the working edge.
Kopi: to fold an element in making the edge.
Nape, napenape: a plaiting stroke or series of strokes. To plait in check was given as tawenu nape takitai, or tapani tai; to plait in twilled twos, tawenu nape takilua or tapani lua.
Loa, lapalapa: length, breadth of plaiting surface.

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285 Lito makakakaka: brittle plaiting material, easily snapped with slight strain.
Panga punipuni: closely plaited mat.
Panga taupupu: uneven rough plaiting.
Panga matalatala: loosely plaited mat.
Yiyinu: even, straight plaiting secured through uniform tension.

In the commencement stages of plaiting, the worker uses her toes to keep elements steady until she has established a firm working edge. The finished portion of large mats is folded under as the work progresses or else kept flat under heavy stone weights (*watu maunga*) so that the working edge may be brought within reach of the hands. Some workers prefer to lay fine plaiting on a smooth board (*papa* or *palepale*). Straight edges, either right or left, are difficult to produce, and a woman's reputation as a plaiter is 555 based on her ability to make them. Of the good plaiter, it is said that she 285 has skilled hands (*lima pateka*), busy hands (*lima tateka*), or quick hands (*lima tovili*). These terms are used in chants by the man who wishes to comment on the plaiting skill of his mistress.

285 The plaiting of large mats is an arduous task. By continuous work a 531 woman can plait a mat 6 feet by 4 feet in about 30 hours.

Design is obtained by using alternate elements of *lito* pandanus and *lauwilu pakapaka* pandanus, or by the use of overlaid or through and through elements of red dyed pandanus. The Pukapukan plaiter makes little use of contrasting check and twilled plaiting to make pleasing designs in pandanus work, save in the building-up of a few blocked geometrical designs. The 386 method of preparing red dye and of dyeing (*pani ko kukula*) material for 285 designs is as follows:

The worker scrapes from the roots of the *nonu* plant the dirt, rootlets, and dark brown outer bark. She places a coconut-leaf mat (*lavalava*) on the ground, covers it with *puapua* leaves, and scrapes the roots a second time to remove the dark yellow bark, which falls onto the leaves. Hot ashes from a fire of coconut butts are added to the bark scrapings and the whole well mixed together with the hands. The mixture is placed in a wringer (*tawunga*) of coconut husk fiber and the liquid wrung out into a wooden bowl. The wrung-out bark mixture (*ota*) is placed aside. Strips of *laukie* pandanus are now passed through the liquid, then rolled on the hand and placed back into the liquid. *Puka* leaves are packed on top of the rolls of pandanus and the wrung-out bark is placed on the leaves. The whole is set aside for 24 hours. The bowl is then opened, each roll of material is passed through the hands to smooth the dye on the strip, and placed back in the bowl. Sea water is poured on the wrung-out bark material which is pressed (*lomi*) and mixed with the water. It is then wrung out for a second time and the rolls resteeped for a second 24 hours. The rolls are finally removed from the dye, smoothed with the hands, placed unrolled on a coconut leaf mat (*polapola*) and allowed to dry in the shade. When dry, the material is ready for use.

285 Old Pukapukan designs (*kave*) are shown in figure 14. A group of 531 old women recognized only these designs as definitely old. The Pukapukan worker, however, shows great skill in adapting or inventing new designs. A sampler of designs (C8208) contains 32. The names of some of the newer

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designs indicate the extent to which the environment furnishes ideas for design; *yiku ika*, fish tail; *uka*, two-ply twisted sennit; *launiu*, coconut leaf; *mangamanga*, spider; *puyipuyi*, tobacco pipe; *polotiko*, house veranda; *kawatau*, sennit anchor line; *malo pula*, spotted malo.

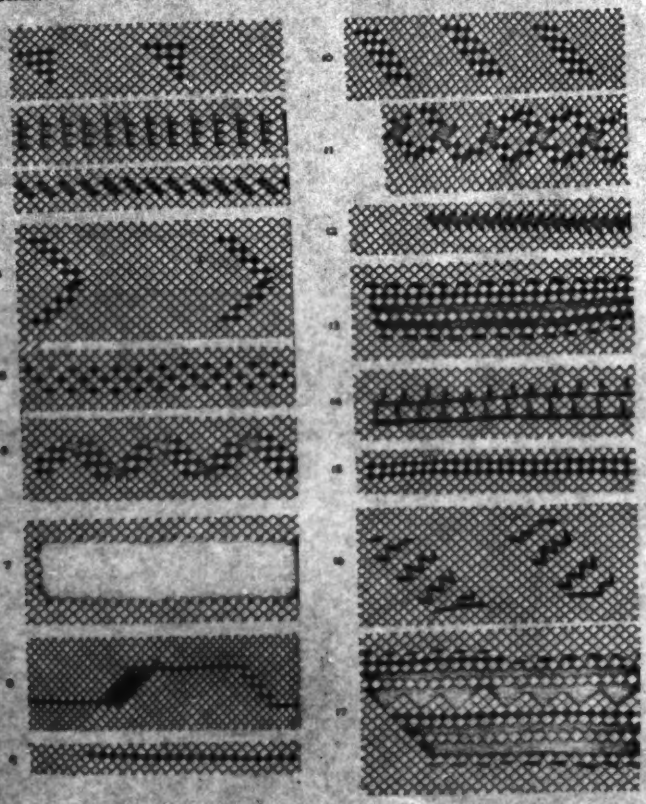

FIGURE 14.—Old Pukapukan pandanus mat designs. Native terminology with available translations: 1, *matatala*, pandanus leaf spines; 2, *te lou uvuua uvakauke*; 3, *alaunga*; 4, *hauua*, shark-skin implement for working pearl shell; 5, *koyi tuila*, flash of lightning; 6, *uatuakalou*, variety of sea cucumber; 7, *koyi uuaua*, rainbow stripe; 8, *uae haue*; 9, *meauoa*, a small blue cigaret-shaped coral growth; 10, *lomuati*, banana leaf; 11, *paiokiola*, diamond-shaped; 12, *molokau*, centipede; 13, *uuaua*, rainbow; 14, *tokeuvlangi*, stone resting platform; 15, *kouauala*, five-ply braided sennit malo; 16, *alahauaua*, a bundle of *hauaua* implements; 17, *langi pini*.

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285 352 Sleeping and floor mats are made of all three pandanus materials in various sizes for children and adults. The name of the material is added to the general name for a mat (*panga*) to distinguish the various types. Pukapukan mats in Bishop Museum are:

Name	Specimen Number	Material	Size	Wefts to Inch	Use
Panga laupua	C8070	lauwilu	3'5" square	6	Crawling mat for child
Panga lauwilu ava	C8071	lauwilu	1'11" × 1'6"	5	Mat on which new-born infant is laid
Epaepa	C8074	lauwilu	5' × 6'6"	5	Durable under-mat for sleeping
Panga lito	C8114	lito	5'3" × 4'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lito	C8122	lito	5'8" × 3'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lauwala pakapaka	C8123	lauwala pakapaka	4'10" × 4'	3	Coarse foundation mat placed under epaepa for sleeping
Panga kanoni (mixed) lauwilu ma lito	C8106	lauwilu and lito	5'1" × 3'3"	6	Durable sleeping mat
Panga kie wete	C8121	kie wete	5'4" × 4'	6	Soft mat used to cover body when sleeping

285 171 All the above mats have the exposed sinistral finish described by Buck (27, fig. 118,a), except the last which presents two interesting variations in the fundamental plaiting technique:

It is made of single elements to obtain a soft surface, but in order to bind the edges securely, the Samoan fine mat technique of a five-weft braid finish is used in defining the lower border. The commencement edge on the reverse side of the mat follows the method described by Buck (27, fig.161) and the continuation is the turned back fringe described by Buck (27, fig. 162 right). In the Pukapukan mat the dropped sinistrals are cut off flush with the lower border. The upper, finishing edge follows the Samoan method (27, figs.163,164) with the exceptions that the Pukapukan mat has a five-weft braid finish; the fringe ends produced by the projecting sinistrals and dextrals are cut off flush with the border; the right upper corner is not braided into a tail but the last three working dextrals are roughly interlocked by carrying the third working dextral from the end over the corner of the mat and pushing it under one sinistral, then with a forward turn, pushing it under two dextrals and cutting the ends off flush with the edge. The last two working dextrals from the end are turned back at the edge and pushed underneath the third dextral where it passes to the other side of the mat.

285 531 All the mats have overlaid or through and through designs of the customary red-dyed pandanus material. Most of the designs are old but several are obviously modern, for example the turtle (*wonu*) and the house side (*talauvale*) designs. The mats are more heavily laden with design than is usual because the plaiters felt that many designs were appropriate for what they knew would be museum pieces.

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285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ana*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo hawa*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3662. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1⅜ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo C8669. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ⅜ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the
178 modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiokiole* design. An informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him
292 when he attained sociological adulthood (*uaksiaue*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiokiole* design.

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SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

280 177 415 Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 26, pp. 190-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

285 415 A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tuluma* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tuluma* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *pa tuluma*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *muli tuluma*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tuluma* receptacle. Larger *tuluma* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit malos. The *pa tuluma* (C8120) is made of *lauwala pakapaka* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9⅝ inches long, 7½ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9⅝ inches long, 6¼ inches deep and 1½ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to compress the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*pule*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

285 846 Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt C8172 (*pale manawa*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8⅛ to 10⅝ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *lauwala pakapaka* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are then attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

Belt C8173 (*pale tata*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 8 to 13⅝ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *lauwala pakapaka* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

285 573 Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*alunga loukuma*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

285′ either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves
513 (*lau uaki*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau kauu*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow Cloth has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow Cloth 2 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lauuulo pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

285′ Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared
291 coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by
177 change of plaiting strokes or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. The hand covering or epaulette of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

Mats and Sheets

285′ The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof sid-
[171] ing sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

Baskets

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ulo*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 107, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

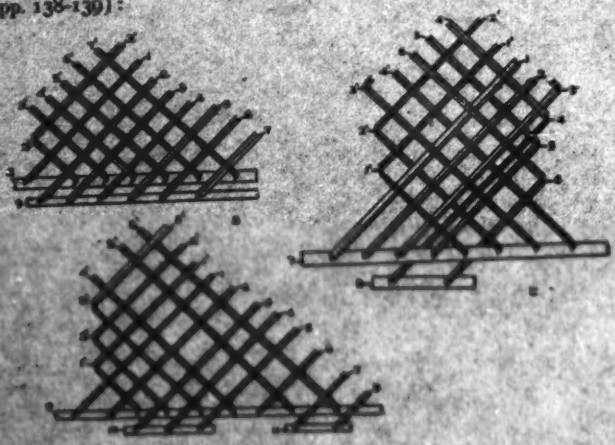
In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their general direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinnet-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by plaiting the butt end between two middle strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127, 131, figs. 14, 17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by the superimposing two alternate elements or two alternate elements and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.

Name	Number	Plaiting Technique			Use
		Commencement	Body of Mat	Finishing	
Pola	C8207	whole midrib (see 29, p. 105, fig. 22)	13 rows twilled two's	three-ply braid with free tail tucked under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough wall screen
Takapau langa tai	C8185	two strip (see 29, p. 106, fig. 24)	extra wefts added to make close; plaited for 2 feet with alternate rows of twill and check, followed by 8 rows of check	three-ply braid, with free end tucked under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough wall screen
Takapau langa lua	C8206	pairs of right and left midrib strips (itu launiu) in check with single closed leaflet wefts (see 27, p. 210, fig. 111)		three-ply braid, with free knotted ends pushed under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough screen
Wakatapu	C8176	turned back two strip (fig. 15, a), continuous upper strip containing 11 natural dextrals, lower strip containing 15 dextrals of which first 2 from left function as dextrals, 3-13 turned back to form sinistrals	13 rows of check	three-ply braid, free tail fastened with knot	platter for storage or transport of food
Polapola iku	C8150	turned back two strip (fig. 15,b), lower strip containing 15 natural dextrals, of which 1 and 2 act as dextrals; 3, 4, 5, turned back to engage dextrals of first superimposed upper strip of 3 dextrals; 7 and 9 form sinistrals engaging 8 and 10; 11, 12, 13 form sinistrals engaging second upper section of 3 dextrals; 14 a dextral, 15 a sinistral	8 rows of check	three-ply braid, with free end tucked under crossing wefts	container for fish
Polapola	C8177	same as for polapola iku	12 rows of check	braided tail	placed on ground to hold tuki carrots when preparing for cooking

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 Baskets made with the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement
915 (fig. 15,*a,b,c*) are called generically *kete*. They are used for transporting talo corms, coconuts, crabs, and the like. Small baskets with one or two points are sometimes used to hold talo pudding (*olo*), but they are generally used as shellfish and crabbing baskets. The plaiting technique is the same as
[171] for the Manihiki *pite* pointed receptacles (29, p. 117, fig. 33).

Pukapukan baskets in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list (pp. 138-139):



285 FIGURE 15.—Coconut-leaf mat. *a*, turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (8) with leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out first leaflet (1), remaining leaflets on strip turn back to function as sinistrals (2′, 3′, 4′, 5′, 6′, 7′); sinistrals engage with naturally inclined leaflets of second strip (9) which function as natural dextrals (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). *b*, discontinuous two-strip commencement: lower continuous leaflet strip (9) carries leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out dextral leaflets 1 and 2, leaflets 1′, 2′, 3′, 4′ are turned back to function as sinistrals, engaging with naturally inclined dextral leaflets (3, 4, 5) carried by second strip (10); leaflet 6, of first strip (9) keeps its natural direction and acts as a dextral; the next two leaflets of this strip (5′, 6′) bend back to act as sinistrals engaging previous dextrals; leaflets (7, 8) of third strip (11) act as natural dextrals and will engage with turned-back sinistrals of first strip; course of plaiting continued by additional strips and turning back of naturally inclined leaflets to left to act as sinistrals. *c*, variation of turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (7) carries eight leaflets naturally inclined to right; to establish stroke four leaflets (1, 2, 3, 5) function as natural dextrals; they engage in plaiting stroke remaining four leaflets on strip which are bent back to act as sinistrals (1′, 2′, 3′, 4′); additional strip (8), carrying two natural dextrals (4, 6), placed under first strip (7), and two extra dextrals engage with turned-back sinistrals of first, or upper strip (7); when stroke has been established, edges are formed by giving a half turn to sinistrals at left edge so that free sinistrals are converted back into functioning dextrals; for right edge, free dextrals given a half turn to left and continue to function as sinistrals in plaiting.

Name	Number	Size	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Basket	Plaiting Technique: Finishing	Use
Kete ava rin	C8202 (2 specimens)	12" long, 14" deep, 4" wide; 10" long, 12" deep, 3" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail braid, free end knotted close to right side bottom on outside	used for carrying coconuts
Kete ava unga	C8154	12" long, 14" deep, 3" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail	used for carrying crabs or coconuts
Angapilo mulitai (pointed, triangular)	C8079	12" deep, 10" rim diameter	plaiting technique same as for Manihiki pite pointed receptacle (29, p. 117, fig. 33)		all sinistrals braided together and knotted; same for dextrals	shell fishing and crabbing basket; occasionally used for taio paddling (olo)
Angapilo mulitai	C8186	10" deep, 6" rim diameter	similar to C8079		same as C8079	same as C8079
Angapilo mulihua (two points)	C8078	9½" deep, 6" rim diameter	same as C8079; open leaf check corners made by turning normal lean of sinistrals to right so when basket is turned over to plait opposite side, sinistrals function as dextrals and dextrals as sinistrals		ends braided, passed over and around commencement strip, knotted above strip so that tail is made fast to prevent basket falling open when full	used for shellfish
Angapilo mulihua	C8169	7" deep, 7" rim diameter	single strip of leaflets with each leaflet split longitudinally, left half turned back as sinistral, right half acts as dextral; other split leaflets added to make close plaiting	check	all sinistrals braided into short tail and knotted; dextrals braided and knotted over end of commencement strip	used for shellfish
Angapilo uei kave (basket made with a handle)	C8176	7" long, 5" deep	4 strips of midrib each carrying 2 leaflets; open leaf check similar to chief basket of Aitutaki (26, p. 168) and to chief basket of Tahiti (16, p. 22, fig. 2), whence it may have been introduced		2 dextrals and 2 sinistrals on each side braided into four-ply braid. Knot of one passed through braid of other tail, then formed handle	used only by children as a fishing basket for yellow mullet (kuhua)

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Name	Number	Size	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Basket	Plaiting Technique: Finishing	Use
Ola wali ika	Cb105	width, bottom 4½", top 5½"; depth, 7½"	twisted two-strip	twill with few rows of check at bottom	two-course braid, free tails tucked under crossing elements inside	child's fishing basket
Ola wulwuli	Cb177	width, bottom 6½", top 8"; depth, 5½"	twisted two-strip	twilled two's with no extra commencement leaflets	concealed double tail, free tail tucked under crossing wefts inside	child's basket used in groping for fish
Ola ika	Cb149	width, bottom 10", top 19"; depth, 15"	twisted two-strip	begun with 3 rows of twilled four's and two's followed by 4 rows of twilled two's, then alternate dextrals and sinistrals brought together and plaited as single elements in 5 rows of check	two-tail finish (28, p. 135, fig. 18), free ends tucked under crossing wefts on inside	fisherman's basket used for bait or fish-line
Ola maiolo	Cb075	width, bottom 16", top 30"; depth, 15"	twisted two-strip	twilled two's	two-tail finish, free ends pushed through to inside then to outside	used to hold flying-fish catch
Ola wali aa	Cb162	26" long; 21" wide at greatest diameter	twisted two-strip	4 rows twill, 6 rows check, 4 rows twill, 5 rows check, 2 rows twill. Top shaped by plaiting 2 elements as single element in 13 rows of check	two-braid, ends knotted together on outside to form rough handle	used to block mouths of fish weirs
Kete [illegible]	Cb151	18" long, 12" deep, 6" wide at top	discontinuous strip, lower strip containing 23 leaflets, engaging with 7 discontinuous strips of 2 or 3 leaflets each (fig. 15,b)	check	two-braided tail, free end tucked under crossing wefts at one side	used for holding talo

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A small receptacle or container of coconut leaf is sometimes made to transport young birds from the reserve islets to Wale. The containers function also as bird cages.

Receptacle C8144 (*papa manu*) is made from a length of coconut midrib, 14 inches long and carrying 19 leaflets, cut from the tip end of a coconut leaf. The plaiter works with the midrib base uppermost, and starting from either end plaits the leaflets in a close check to form a cone 20 inches long, base diameter 4 inches (fig. 16). The base is finished with a three-ply braid, and the two free ends of the braid are knotted together. When a bird is placed inside the cone, the base is fastened together by interlacing a leaflet from side to side through and under the base braiding. If the receptacle is used to transport flowers or plants from the islets, the cone-shaped container is plaited round the objects.

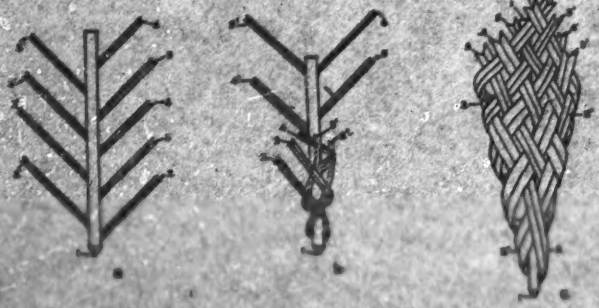

FIGURE 16.—Commencement of cone-shaped receptacle (*papa manu*). *a*, section of midrib (1), carrying nine leaflets (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1′, 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′): broad base of midrib uppermost. *b*, commencement of plaiting: leaflet 1′ carries across from left to right and engages leaflets 1, 2, curved across to left; leaflet 3′ carries to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, 4: process continues, alternately bending left side leaflets to right, right side leaflets to left, plaiting leaflets in check. *c*, result after several plaiting strokes: leaflet 1′ has engaged leaflets 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and has passed around under cone; similarly, leaflet 2 has engaged leaflets 1′, 3′, 4′, 5′ and passed to either side of cone; other leaflets, those from left side functioning as dextrals, those from right side as sinistrals, plaited together in open leaf check; only six leaflets on each side figured, but process continued with all leaflets on midrib base; when cone is large enough, free ends of leaflets braided in three-ply braid, and two ends of braid knotted together, forming finishing edge for mouth of receptacle.

Platters (*laolao*) on which food is served are characterized by a natural concavity formed by the dull side of the coconut leaflets when plaited or folded together. All pudding platters for the talo dish called *ulo* have the braided finishing edge; all fish platters have the overhand knot finish; all platters for the talo dish called *loloi* have the non-braided, double-knot finish. All platters are approximately 18 inches wide and 9 to 10 inches deep.

Platter C8181, *laolao ulo ulo*, is used for serving the talo pudding (*ulo*). The platter has the Pukapukan curved-back, two-strip commencement. It is plaited in open

285 leaf shade for 6 years. The shoots are gathered together and bundled in three-ply,
#15 and finished with a knot; the shoots are similarly treated.

Fishing Chalk (*kaulau ana ika*) is a plaster for curing fish. It has a single-ply commencement in which four leaflets from the left direction of shoots and four leaflets on the right are turned back to leaflets on shoots. Two leaflets curled on one side are added to make the plaiting shoot. The plait is in chalk for a depth of 10 leaflets; then shoots and shoots are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered ends from the other side.

Plaster Chalk (*kaulau ana tuki*) is a plaster for curing the disease called *tuki*. It has the usual back, two-ply commencement, and the body of the plaster is plaited in open leaf chalk for a depth of 12 leaflets. In finishing the edge all the shoots are curled across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the shoots are all curled across to the left side and knotted.

HALO

294 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukans was the coconut-
285 leaf mats (*mala kanaia*), made by ordinary plaiting techniques. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following chalk is typical:

Mala Chalk (*mala kanaia*) is made from a strip of which 1364 leaflets long, covering 24 leaflets (pl. 5,B). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close chalk to a depth of 1364 leaflets, with 7 leaflets. What is really a small coconut shoot is surrounded by plaiting four elements on one for five rows and then four elements on one for one row, the ends being gathered together and bundled in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 1364 leaflets long and finished with an overhand knot. The shoot gathered has a second commencement on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into four longitudinally and bundled in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 leaflets long on one side, 20 leaflets long on the other. The commencement strip is covered with the mats and coloured before starting.

FANS

285 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ifi*) are made by the women and
292 used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 632 and pl. LV, *E*. 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka.

This fan (*Ifaya*), *ifi* [illegible] *kanaia* is to this, is plaited in chalk with ends of the mid leaflets *pukapuka* (pl. 5,*A*,1). It is 7 leaflets square and mounted on a handle of pandanus wood 14 leaflets long and 3½ leaflets wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the starting edge a chalk is made the width of the fan. A long strip of the material, the width of the leaflets, is laid in the chalk, passing underneath and back over the last element of the chalk. The handle, which has been subjected down to half its thickness, is laid in the chalk on top of the fan. The strip of fan is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the fan strip projecting beyond the projected end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then grasped by the opening weave, or alternate elements forming the chalk are laid down and others up. The fan is then turned so that the pandanus left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

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283 The new functioning left edge of the fan is now plaited and the top edge finished off with the customary mat finishing technique (*ikiikinga*), the projecting sinistrals being
293 cut off flush with the top. The dextrals are pushed underneath crossing wefts and cut off close to the right edge of the fan. The free ends of the *lito* strip are tied round the handle with a double overhand knot to prevent the fan from coming off the handle when in use.

Coconut-leaf fans of characteristic Polynesian shape, base of triangle at the top, apex at the bottom, are made either with midribs to which the leaflets are attached or else with leaflets stripped from the midrib.

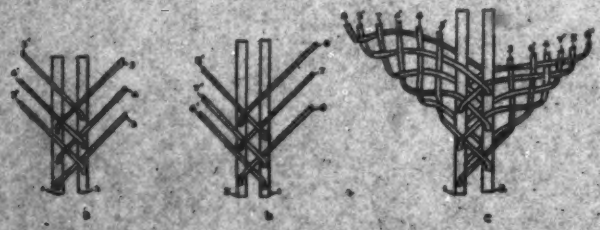

FIGURE 17.—Commencement of coconut-leaf fan (*ili yukayuku*). *a*, midrib strips (1, 2) shown with only three upper leaflets on each to avoid confusion: leaflet 3 carried across to opposite side, opposing leaflet 3′ being carried across to its opposite side on top of leaflet 3; leaflet 4 carried across, and right leaflet 4′ similarly carried across, passing on top of leaflet 4; similarly with leaflets 5, 5′; each leaflet crosses alternately until all are crossed. *b*, under leaflets of midrib cross as in *a*: midribs turned over so that left midrib (1) is to right and right midrib (2) is to left; each leaflet crosses alternately from either side as in *a*; leaflet 6, which is under leaflet corresponding to 3, crosses over leaflet 6′, corresponding to leaflet 3′. *c*, establishment of plaiting stroke: leaflet 3 from midrib 1 carried across and given forward half turn to engage with leaflet 6′ which has come across from underneath and is itself given a forward half turn to engage with leaflet 4 from midrib 1; similarly with leaflets 7′, 8′ and leaflet 5; on other side, leaflet 3′ engages with leaflet 6, leaflets 4′, 5′ with leaflets 7, 8 from opposite side; plaiting continued by carrying across all leaflets on either midrib to opposite side and plaiting in closed leaf check; when body of plaiting is large enough, top edge finishes with ordinary pandanus-mat finishing technique.

FAN C3174 (*ili yukayuku*) is made from two pieces of midrib cut from the tip end of the coconut leaf (pl.3,*A*,3). Each midrib is 13 inches long. The left midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 8 on the other; the right midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 7 on the other. In the finished fan, the butt ends of the midribs form the handle. Commencement and establishment of plaiting stroke are shown in figure 17. The fan is plaited in closed leaf check. At the top, each closed leaf is split into two and the finishing edge is plaited with five rows of check. Commencing with the top left corner, the edge is finished with the common mat technique (*ikiikinga*), the projecting sinistrals cut off; the free ends of the dextrals are cut off on the line where each weft was previously split into two. The fan is neat and compact, the *ikiikinga* finishing technique providing a strong, slightly curved finishing edge. This fan is 16½ inches long, 13½ inches wide across the top.

The same technique is employed with individual leaflets. The required number of leaflets, depending on the size of the fan, are stripped from the tip of the midrib and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The
280 butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ikiikinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl.3,*A*,2). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan C8189 (*iti yueyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wau* tree. *Wau*[6] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and [301] quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yuno*) are hung from the neck.

Wao fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wosole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the *wau* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pakai*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vale*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wao*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*vayiuyi*) into narrow widths (*yaka*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 Appliances used in *wao* bark preparation are:
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Scraping board C8047 (*papa vale wao*) is a board of *puapua* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper C8046 (*hoi*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 3¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber C8132 (*hiti wao*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wao* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[6] The tree is *wau*; fiber prepared from its bark, *wao*.

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feet 6 inches are braided together at one end. Braiding commences with three strips of bark. After braiding for 2½ inches, one strip (ply) is dropped and another added. After two more twists of the braiding, a second strip is dropped and another added to take its place. The braiding continues thus, dropping one and adding another strip until 28 plies are dropped. The braiding of the final three plies is stoppered by tying the two outer plies together with the first part of a reef knot.

Sennit fiber (*laukawa*) is prepared by macerating either the green or mature husk of the coconut in salt water. The coconut named *niu puhi vonu* is preferred for fiber, but any nut may be used if this is not available.

The husk is either buried in the wet sand on the beach or else placed in a basket which is submerged in shallow water. The husk is left until the interfibrous material is decayed (*papala*). One to two months is a usual time, but burial up to six months or more does not harm the fibers. On removal from the salt water, the husk is pounded (*taki*) on the beach to separate the decayed matter from the fibers. Any wood or stone serves as an anvil and a piece of wood as a mallet. After being thoroughly beaten, the fiber is washed in the sea and dried in the sun.

Before cordage is made, the bundle of fibers (*laukawa*) is sorted (*waa*) and the short, fluffy, thin fibers (*wanga*) are thrown away. The remaining fibers (*puhi kowa*) are separated into two types: long single fibers are picked out to be made into cordage termed *waa* used for especially strong fishlines and canoe lashings; the remaining fibers are divided into hanks (*ama*) of 10 to 12 fibers each, twisted at one end to hold the fibers together.

Twisting

Twisted cords are made of *waa* and coconut fibers. A fine two-ply twist of *waa* termed *alaala* is made for the lashings of composite pearl-shell fishhooks. The operation is known as *wilo:*

The worker takes two single threads of *waa* and rolls them separately on the sole of the foot (*papa vae*) with the palm of the hand (*papa lima*). At the finish of each forward and backward rub a slight twist is given to the thread by a sideways motion of the hand. Two twisted threads are laid together and twisted into a single cord by a forward and backward movement of the hand. The plies are termed *tauwa*. Strands are added to the shortening ply by direct overlapping.

Thicker cords varying from 1 to 3 mm in diameter are made from *waa* fiber in two- or three-ply twist, and used as snooda, secondary snooda, and bonito lines.

Two-ply sennit (*uha yae*) or three-ply sennit (*uha tautolu*) is used exclusively in lashing together rafters and purlins in the house framework and for lashing roof sheets to the rafters. Separate strands (*ama*) are twisted separately on the sole of the foot and then twisted together. Strands are added by direct overlapping on the shortening ply. Two-ply *uha* is about 3 mm thick, three-ply about 5 mm.

Braiding

The material used for braided cords is invariably sennit fiber. This braiding is either three-ply for fishlines or lashing lines, or five-ply for

283 sennit malos. Four-ply braid is not used for cordage. Braided sennit is termed *kawa*. Sennit made from the selected, long pieces of fiber is *kawa unu;* from unselected strands (*amo*), *kawa wili.* Ordinary three-ply braiding which produces a fairly long, loose braid is termed *kawa wili yaeyae* and is used for ordinary anchor line (*kawatau*) or fishline. Careful three-ply braiding, in which each twist of the plies is pulled very tight to form a close, round braid, is termed *kawa wili tuki;* when made of the long strands (*unu*), it produces especially strong braid used for strong fishlines and canoe lashings.

Braiding is always done toward the body. The commencement end of the plies is knotted and tied to a stake set in the ground before the worker or else coiled round the toe (*iko ki te mangamanga vae*). In three-ply braid, the outside plies are brought over the middle ply in succession, each ply taking in turn the middle position. A shortening or thinning ply is reenforced by direct overlapping on the specific ply affected or else by the addition of a new strand from below, the short end of which is folded back over the middle ply (fig.18,*b*). When it is temporarily abandoned, the braiding is stoppered by twisting plies together or by tying the two outer plies together with an overhand knot. Braiding is permanently finished by gradually reducing the size of the strands until they are very thin and then rolling the three plies together on the sole of the foot to produce about 3 inches of three-ply twist. Shreds of fiber (*wulunulu*) left on the cord after braiding is finished are carefully cut off with a knife (*taku*) to give a smooth, neat appearance to the cord.

[804] Finished cord is measured by stretching it from tip to tip of outstretched arms across the chest. One such measurement is equal to a fathom (*ngawa*). When the worker has made a sufficient number of *ngawa* for his purposes, he winds the cord into a coil of fathom loops and stores it until needed. Lengths of cord for canoe lashings are made fairly short because the cord must be used uncoiled when lashing through holes in the canoe hull. Working coils for house lashings are made by winding the sennit over the back and palm of the hand. The sennit is taken from the hand, the free end is wound several times round the middle of the coil and fastened with half hitches. The commencement end is pulled from the center of the coil and the lashing started with this end. As the lashing proceeds the coil unwinds itself, but the coiling prevents the sennit from becoming tangled and hard to use.

Examples of three-ply braided cords for various purposes are:

Anchor line C8198 (*kawa tau*): three-ply braid, 6 mm thick, 11 mm wide. The plies thin down to 4 × 2 mm at the finishing end and are twisted into two plies (two plies being twisted as a single element) for 2½ inches and knotted.

Other lengths of braid used as deep-sea fishlines and anchor lines (C8107, C8199, C8198), have thicknesses of 4 × 7, 4 × 8, and 5 × 10 mm. They are all loosely braided pieces of sennit (*kawa wili yaeyae*).

Canoe lashing sennit C8103 (*kawa unu ki vaka*) is a flat three-ply braid, in which each ply is composed of 13 long coconut fibers. Short plies are lengthened by direct overlapping, the slight backward projection of the short end of the added strand being trimmed off later. The finished braid is 3 mm thick, 6 mm wide; the flatness and strength of this braid make it ideal for lashing together hull parts.

283 Five-ply (*wili lima*) braiding is reserved exclusively for the making of
292 sennit malos (*kawa malo*). The braiding technique is similar to three-ply braiding save that the outer ply from either side crosses two plies instead

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

283 of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the
292 five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*tuakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kawa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3C). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kawa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

283 The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from
240 strips of coconut midrib (*kalasu*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing band-
223 age (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅝ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

283 Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uao* fiber
461 for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European
177 fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men
439 back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings).
177 Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wukakawu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalava*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8192 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these
283 girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or
[764] was wound round the waist (*papalu hi te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*koha uie*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalava*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *ambamala vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Clothing for Special Occasions

292 Both men and women wore special clothes for festivals. The dress of the man for sports contests consisted of the malo of pandanus or the malo of sennit, or both. A non-contestant might also wear a poncho-like garment called *la kupenga*, and a sennit malo with attached feathers. The sennit malo (*malo kauu*) and the pandanus malo (*malo kie*) are described elsewhere (pp. 133, 146). Both are worn for wrestling contests, formerly also in warfare. The sennit malo alone is worn for other contests like spear throwing. The method of donning the two malos (*pelu te malo*) is as follows:

First each fringed edge of the pandanus malo is turned in to make a longitudinal fold about ¾ inch deep. The malo is then folded longitudinally a second time along the mesial line so that the final width of the malo is about 3½ inches. An assistant takes the malo at the middle section and passes it round the waist from back to front crossing the two free ends above the navel. The malo is pulled tight; one free end is passed down over the genitals, through the legs, and brought up the back to hang over the shoulder. The other free end is brought up over the chest and also hung over the shoulder. The assistant takes the commencement end of the sennit malo, places this loop over the pandanus malo at the navel, and winds the sennit malo round the waist on top of the free end (thus burying it) and over the pandanus malo. Five or six transverse turns are made down, then a similar number of turns made up and over the first turns. The assistant continues to wind the malo round the waist until the twisted sennit end is reached. This end is passed down on the outside of the transverse turns, pushed under, and brought up underneath the transverse turns and over to the front again. The free end is pushed through and caught over the downward turn of the sennit cord, pulled tight, and the free end passed along the malo for about 8 inches, and bound round it again. This binding is continued until the transverse turns of the sennit malo are secure, the free end of the binding cord being fastened with a knot to the last transverse binding. One free end of the pandanus malo is now brought down from the front shoulder, passed down over the sennit malo, pushed up and underneath the sennit, then obliquely down and under again, continuing to bind the pandanus malo round the sennit malo until the middle of the back is reached, when the free end of the pandanus malo is tucked under the sennit. At the back, the second free end of the pandanus malo that has passed through the legs is similarly bound round the sennit malo and worked round to the front where the free end is tucked under the sennit malo. Depending on the length of the pandanus malo, the binding turns will be spaced or contiguous. For composite dart throwing contests, the sennit malo alone is girt on as described. One man always helps another to gird on either malo. An alternative method of donning the two malos is given by Macgregor (20, p. 48 and pl.4).1

292 There is a reference in a chant to a malo termed *malo kula*. Informants
285 could give little information about this garment, though they suggested it was not necessarily worn by the chief alone but might be worn by any man who was fortunate enough to own one. It consisted of the ordinary five-ply sennit braiding, but at each twist of the braiding, the quills of small red feathers were inserted and caught by this twist. The name of the bird
292 from which the feathers were obtained had been forgotten.

[765] Some braided five-ply malos were formerly made from human hair, possibly the hair of a beloved child who had died. Presumably these malos

1. [See 2: McGregor, pp. 48, 52.-- Analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

392 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued
763 today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
178 C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
797 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
285 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or
292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wa*).
828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
787 fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to
539 teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawa ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia oua wakaevoevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

392 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamanea* or *mea wahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takavo*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

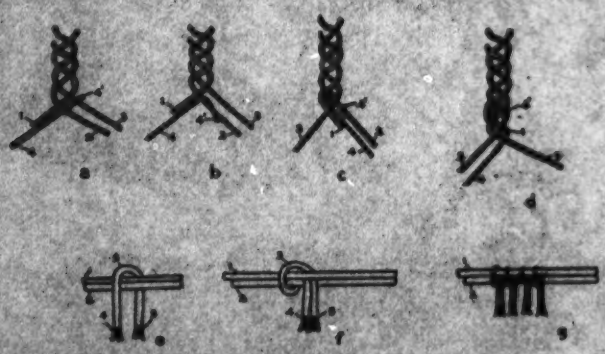
292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
643 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted
7 78 sennit and called *epa kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *welo* fiber (*epa welo*); that of Tua
776 for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa lauliki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828] whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorised person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata kowa* or *taumata aliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat Cloya (*tamata kuru*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4,*A*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ¾ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*lauhoua*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*sasia mekalabalaba*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*sasa*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*lauoula pakapaka*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Marshallese technique noted by Buck (op. p. 138, fig. 47).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

288 294 19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uelo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

292 793 178 [776 787] The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

292 793 302 776 613 The headdress of priests of Maliwutu was called *oumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Langaga. Two strips of red-dyed *uelo* bark (*uuti uelo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 3 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulow*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uelo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uelo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *oumanga pakayau hoturu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *uuti uelo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hajonga ya*. The headdress probably [609 778] resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putihi kehoo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaeloa and Te Alongaua. The long hair was oiled and braided

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *W'elo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle 292 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the 793 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamenga was also called *mamanga*, but was associated with Te Mangiro and Talimanamku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of 776 which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this 613 turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn 304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or 302 another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*tamata*), necklace (*yei*), or 832 waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports 621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake 293 make their decoration of *mako uale* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *tamanohoanko*, or *polo puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *mailo* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basic garment.

292 The *titi mako uale* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spines are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split 294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain mat of prepared pandanus (*ifo*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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292 girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects
294 above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *mako* *mola* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tuamakomako*, *hakau yili*, *fala pako*, and *mako* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

293 Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the
301 head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *nau* fiber were termed *nau titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basic garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to
[764] give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

Edge-Partington (8, 2*d* ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

301 Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl
431 shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

301 Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

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301 type, termed *taumanaa*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of *moo*. There is no example of the *taumanaa* on the atoll today, but Talainga reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *taumanaa*.

301 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yuus*) shown in figure 19,*b*, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for
643 ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yuus* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (24,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the uncut hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (16,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Pukapuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to uncut hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

Ear Ornaments

301 Ear ornaments are termed *mahoroverenga*. The ear lobes of an infant
304 are pierced with a bone of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf. A piece of *puhenga* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*mahoroverenga ngaiya talinga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19,*c*) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Pukapukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *kahalisi* is made by lowering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*kahalisi*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

Head Ornaments

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *pihi*; a headband is a *putihi*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*kaupua*) of the pandanus tree

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361 into thin strips which are then braided into a three-ply braid long enough to go round the head, the two free ends knotted together. The chaplet is sweet-smelling and is a favorite with both children and adults.

The coconut fiber fringes used to decorate the net hat of the chief are also worn separately as part of the decorative costume of Yato village. The fringe is fastened to a strip of pandanus leaf which is tied round the forehead. Fringes are fastened round the brim of the modern hat. The decoration is sometimes completed by more fringes worn round the neck and across the breast.

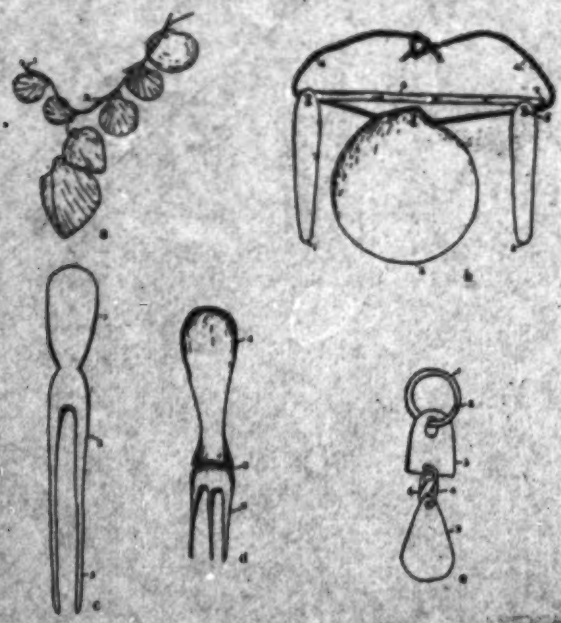

FIGURE 19.—Ornaments. *a*, section of shell neck ornament (*yoi lihi ui*); original (C8158) consists of 32 small shells (*Pinctada; Chlamys; Cardium fragum*; and *Cedabla, Jagonia bella*); *Chlamys* are mainly yellow (some pink), *Pinctada* mottled blue and green, and other shells white; necklet cord (1), 34 inches long, made of two-ply twisted tuao cord 1 mm in diameter; holes bored in hinges of shells attached to necklet cord by single-ply strand of twisted tuao fiber (2), passing through hinge holes and making transverse turns around necklet cord. *b*, pearl-shell breast ornament (*yano*) (C8033): two side pendants (1, 3) of polished gold-lipped shell are shaped like a composite hook pearl-shell shank; shank (1) 4 inches long, ⅛ inch thick at distal end, ¼ inch thick at

301 proximal end; shank (2) 3¼ inches long, ¼ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ¼ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; center shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¼ inches, greatest width 3¾ inches, thickness at hinge ¼ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ¼ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6¾ inches long, ¼ inch wide, ¼ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted wee cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yola*) (Cb134) with two teeth (*matatoka*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9¾ inches long; handle (1) averages ⅜ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ¼ inch thick at 2, ¼ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*matatola*) (Cb135) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1⅜ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅞ inches long and average ¼ inch thick. *e*, earring (*mahawewenga*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (Cb140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅜ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at a so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (2), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (3) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 3/16 inch high, ¼ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (3) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c,d*). The two-pronged comb (*yola mata lua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yola mata tolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*pungu*), coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), and coral pebbles (*kikili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

Paths

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

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Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokere-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle
836 of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet
564 wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats
717 were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used
552 for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (*ab*, p. 25) that the idea of these seats
114 was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayako and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support
778 from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states
324 was used by the bird man Wata-manava-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of
133 coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the
177 lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

413 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at
417 the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

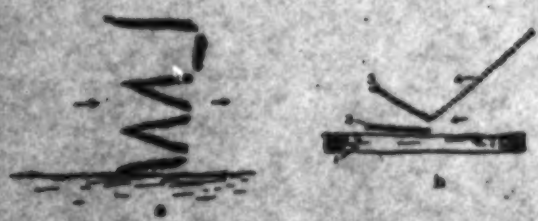
House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Wells

312 Deep wells dug close to the beach were always faced with coral slabs.
332 Shallow wells, 1 or 2 feet deep, were not faced unless they were in constant
595 use. Slabs at the bottom of the well were stood on edge and forced into the sand; the sand was dug out inside these upright slabs and the bottom of the well paved with coral gravel. Above water level, the sides of the well were faced with horizontal slabs set one above the other. The edge of the well at ground level was faced with especially large blocks of stone to give a firm foothold to the drawer of water and to ensure that the top of the well would not cave in.



226 Figure 20.—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village; walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish swept into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*ala ika*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

Stone fishweirs are found in the reef shallows opposite the northwest beach of Wale, between the beach and the reef passage. One weir is about 100 yards from the beach and consists of stones piled in line to make an enlarged W-shape; the second weir is close to the beach and consists of stones forming a W-shaped trap contiguous with a second trap in the shape of a large square-bottomed U (fig.20,*a*). The weirs face north and south; the exits are at the northern end, that is, at the points of the W and at the two sides of the bottom of the U. The ebbing tide sweeps through the weirs on its way out over the reef and carries the fish along into the weirs blocked with hand scoop nets.

A combination stone and coconut-sweep weir (fig. 20,*b*) is built in the small lagoon indentation cut off from the main lagoon by the causeway that joins the two sections of Yato village. The fishermen seated on the causeway is able to block the exit of the weir with a scoop net.

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Stone Implements

324 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukiuki*)
412 of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

778 Religious enclosures (*managa*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed
344 on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*aua*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Taua, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village.
778 Two of these sites were cleared.

172 At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaua there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 30 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tuikaio. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tuikaio was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaua. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tuamiveiaka and Te Matakiaua are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tuamiveiaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakiaua. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

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778 No other place visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the tale swamp, to make
172 walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the
791 mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice
778 Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative
346 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted
[361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred man standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularise these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*ploaga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or also several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pots*) of the priests in the god house (*sale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a
613 lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*sale matenga*). On one foundaa-
341 tion are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[177] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly
565 to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners
764 (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*ariki sale* and *uel ariki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

764 the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*yula*) was
565 marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the foot; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*wola*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the foot; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a single headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are undressed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to 2 feet wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

764 Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills
554 or peculiarities of the deceased:

[826] Veti, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *kaupefe* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *punga* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that skulls of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, Te Apa, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,*B*). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*toa*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pau made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*matu toshinokino*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

764 A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Taupulou, on the boundary between Vato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

164 the stones are of unbroken coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipolo, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangalaala is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[165] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matangu. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[166] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuaoa who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautia, of a man named Walelaala and his two companions who broke the taga of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are unbroken, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangalaala. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangau, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Atangaua.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*mauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual unbroken coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the
775 fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that
[778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the
172 two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough
964 sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz, several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks; two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *ruu titi ai*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngakipoyuu*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fg.13). They were attached directly to the haft (fg.21).
177 No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements
λ [See 2: McGregor, p.46 — analysis.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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and from their scarcity. The quadrangular basaltic adz figured by Macgregor (20,fig.14) was picked up on the outer beach of Wale. It is similar to Samoan type I adzes (27,p.334) and was perhaps imported from Samoa. A second basaltic adz was seen by Talainga in the old grave unintentionally opened. From Talainga's description and rough sketch this adz appears to be a triangular one, perhaps corresponding in shape to the Samoan type VII or VIII (27,p.351). It was 10 inches long, the back ground smooth, the front roughly chipped, and the poll rounded. The depth of the bevel was about 2 inches.

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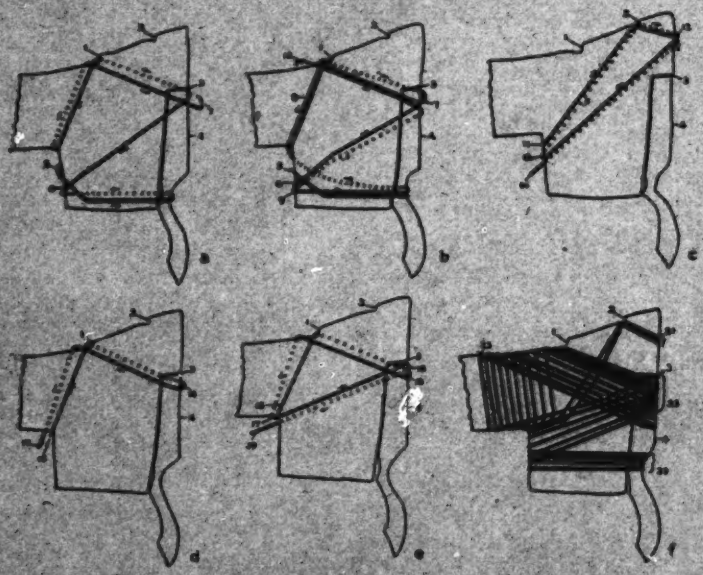

FIGURE 21.—*Tridacna* shell adz (C8105) with haft of *uakaora* wood; length of haft from toe angle to slightly flared butt, 19 inches; haft round in cross section, average diameter being 1½ inches; at heel angle a prominent longitudinal ridge runs up to point of heel; above heel angle (see *a*) is cut a notch (1) to prevent lashing from slipping; ¾ inch below point of heel a second notch (2) is cut, also to prevent lashing from slipping; 1¼ inches below point of heel on foot of haft is cut ¾ inch deep shoulder (3), against which adz (4) fits to avert slipping when in use; because of irregular shape of poll of adz, shoulder is cut transversely on foot, so that distance from heel point on one side is 1¾ inches, other side 2¼ inches; lashing material three-ply cannit braid ⅛ inch thick. *a*, lashing commencement: commencement end of cannit (5) laid under toe angle, free end passing transversely around near side of toe and back across far side of toe and brought across toe angle to near side; grips commence-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

412 ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips
284 poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

321 The pump drill (*uou*) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and
322 shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for
419 this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open
171 half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reinforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

[197]

To drill is also *uou*. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 A craftsman took great care of his drill. He rubbed the shaft, crossbar and balance smooth with coral, smoked the wood over the cooking fire and oiled it afterward with coconut oil. The fortunate possessor of a drill with an iron guard point guarded his implement jealously because as a time saver it was of the greatest value to him.

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Awl

322 The shell awl (*yuki vaka*), a shell *Terebra cranulata*, was used for making holes in a canoe hull or washstrake where the drill could not be used, or for enlarging holes made by the drill. (See p. 173.) The use of coral mallets for hammering caulking wedges is also described in that context.

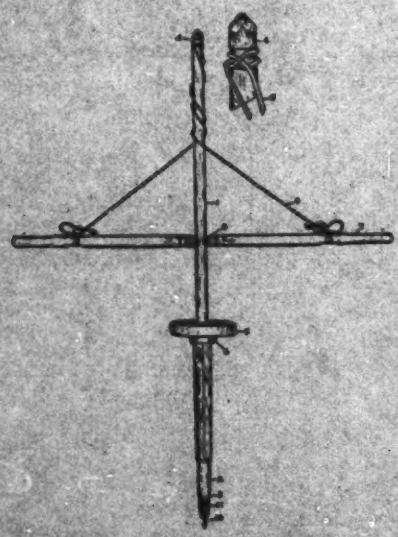

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FIGURE 22.—Pump drill, *uwu* (C8124): 1, shaft (*lakau tu*) of *wotau* wood 2 feet 6 inches long, round in cross section and ¾ inch in diameter above balance, square-sided below with sides ⅝ inch wide; 2, distal end of shaft is round, ½ inch in diameter, narrowing to distal point (3) ⅜ inch in diameter; 4, head (*ulu uwu*) of shaft blunt and notched to receive pump cord (*uka uwu*); 5, balance (*poteka*), 4 inches in diameter and ⅝ inch thick, cut from same block of wood as shaft; 6, secondary balance 1⅝ inches square, ½ inch thick; 7, crossbar (*lakau uwu*) of *makaneru* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, has wide groove (8) to fit against shaft; each end also grooved to receive ends of pump cord; 9, pump cord of two-ply twisted sennit, fastened with clove hitch to head of shaft and to each end of crossbar; 10, point (*maia*) section of iron forced into end of shaft and lashed tight with 11 transverse turns of three-ply sennit braid; 11, buried commencement and finishing ends.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done
322 with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood. The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a
177 piece of *kona* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *ai*. Other bivalve shells of about the
321 same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *ai* with an added adjective, as in *ai pukeyau alango*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the sinuacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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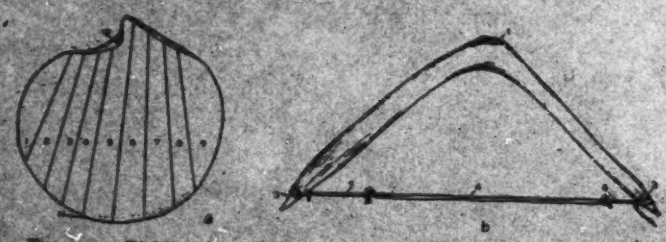

Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11): preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tauo*; 2, *patauu*; 3, *pa ki te uua*; 4, *wyoloto*; 5, 6, 7, *wyoleto*; 8, *iyumotu*; 9, *ohuuo*. *b*, shell file (*kauna*) of shark skin (C8037): 1, frame, small branch of *wukauna* wood with limbs 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of limbs pointed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9¼ inches long, ¼ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of limbs three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*itu ai*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (fig. 23, *a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito points.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kasana*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut
281 into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kasana ole* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kasana sunga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23,*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*sui kaw*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for
511 fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

The single-piece dugout (*poti pukawa*) does not seem to be an old style
179 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
501 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of
322 informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a single hull balanced by outrigger and two cross beams.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole 2-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tutui*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*waka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*waka tui outali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*tualua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[825] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale
173 and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan
180 canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they
322 engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui outali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *mahoaua* and *mutua* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukoma* for the outrigger float; *ngangia* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukoma* (hence its name, *poti pukoma*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangia* wood.

322 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through
501 method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 22, fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-beam canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover section; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting seat, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yoto, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotowa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 22, fig. 9.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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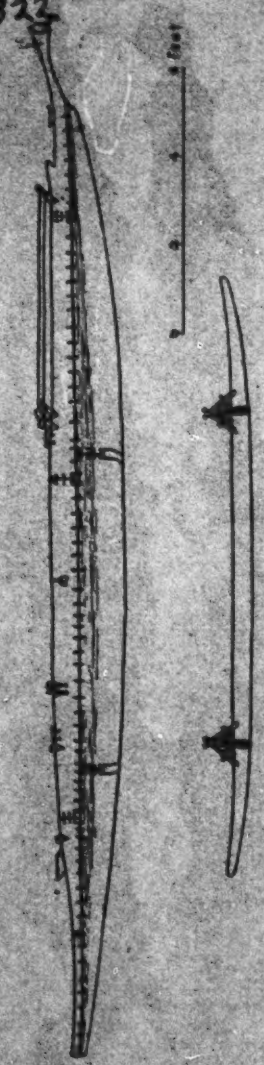

FIGURE 24.

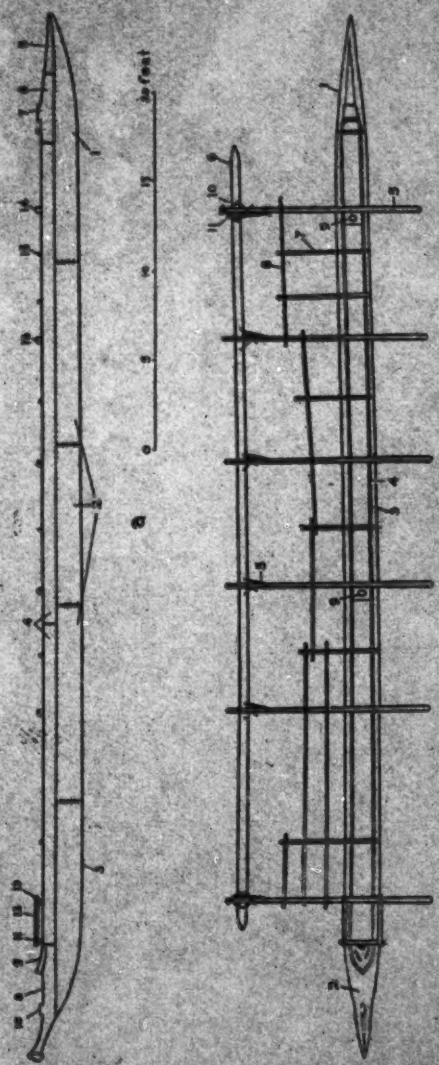

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FIGURE 25.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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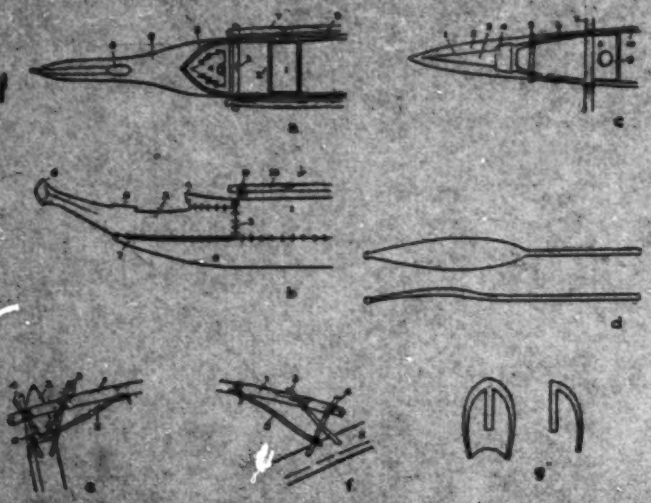

PLATE 28.—Details of six-boom canoe. *a*, stern, top view: 1, stern seat; 2, groove under after edge of stern seat for holding bonito rod in place, scenit grommet in which handle of pole rests not shown; 3, groove cut in aft crossbar against which rod rests; 4, bait deck; 5, stern wave guard; 6, cleat on stern cover; 7, short longitudinal spar; 8, stern cover; 9, gunwale. *b*, view of starboard side: 1, washstrake; 2, stern cover; 3, through-and-through lashed join of washstrake and stern cover; 4, raised side piece of wave guard lashed to stern cover; 5, cleat; 6, fishtail-shaped stern cover; 7, outer rod caulking over join between stern cover and (8) after section of hull; 9, bar rest for trolling rod; 10, short longitudinal spar between which and top of washstrake (1) lifting poles are inserted. *c*, bow: 1, fore section of bow cover; 2, after section of bow cover, lashed join between fore and after sections not shown; 3, deck of bow cover; 4, bow wave guard; 5, forward cross lifting bar; 6, lashing of aft end of bow cover to forward end of washstrake; 7, bow outrigger boom, lashed across washstrake; 8, bow seat with hole (9) for forward mast (modern technique of stepping mast); 10, washstrake. *d*, canoe paddle (*vaa*) of *pukaua* wood, face and side view: handle 2 feet 4 inches long, about 1½ inches in diameter; blade 2 feet 7 inches long, greatest width 5½ inches; terminal knob 1¾ inches long, 1 inch thick; weight of paddle 3 pounds; one side of paddle blade convex transversely, slightly concave longitudinally; other side slightly convex longitudinally, flat or faintly concave transversely; distal end of blade with faint mesial transverse ridge which meets two edges (*kauiua*) of blade to produce terminal knob with four sides and blunt point; paddles range in length from 4 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, blades 5 to 6 inches wide; size and weight depend on choice and strength of maker. *e*, outrigger boom, end attachment: 1, bow boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner pair of connecting pegs, crossed above boom and running obliquely outward to float; 4, outer pair of pegs; 5, diagonal brace between boom and after connecting pegs of inner and outer pairs; 6, suspensory lashing holding float to boom. *f*, middle boom attachments found only on larger canoes such as this six-boom canoe; 1, outrigger boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner connecting peg; 4, outer connecting peg; 5, diagonal brace between boom and outer connecting peg. *g*, canoe bailer (*uata*) of *wahawaa* wood top view and longitudinal section; handle projects from mesial line of top of back; sides and bottom rounded and inset at back in slight mesial longitudinal ridge which continues along outside bottom of bailer to meet customarily beveled lip (not shown); bailer 14 inches long, 6½ inches wide, 3 inches deep; lip bevel ⅜ inch wide; weight of bailer 2 pounds. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 22, fig. 16.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The Pukapukan *twi tuta* canoe is shown in figures 24, 25, 26 and plate
192 5*A*. The native names for parts of the plank canoe are given in the following list:

Mua vaka: fore section of hull.
Wualoto: central section of hull.
Muli vaka: aft section of hull.
Oa: washstrakes.
Velo: stern cover, shaped like fishtail.
Laulau velo: after projection of stern cover.
Talamoko: raised cleat on stern cover.
Wakakauvae wonu: raised bait deck on stern cover, fashioned from cover or built up with extra wood.
Tuku: place inside wakakauvae wonu where bait and line are laid.
Kalemu: extreme after point of after section of hull.
Tala tuki: point of bow.
Tuki: forward part of bow cover.
Puka: second section of bow cover.
Tala puka: wave guard on bow cover.
Malae puka: top of wave guard.
Pa oyo: place covered by bow cover where provisions and fishing gear are stored.
Kaukau: outrigger cross booms.
Kaukau mua vaka: forward outrigger boom.
Kaukau muli vaka: aft outrigger boom.
Kisto: longitudinal spar supporting cross booms.
Mana poto: additional short cross booms, supporting kisto and running from strakes to spar.
Ama: outrigger float.
Mata ama: bow and stern points of outrigger float.
Tutuki: connecting pegs between outrigger float and cross booms.
Tutuki tokai: diagonal bracing strut running from inner pair of pegs to boom.
Ounga: suspensory lashing supporting outrigger float.
Mana ki mua: forward lifting bar.
Mana ki muli: stern lifting bar.
Mana a lua: crossbar aft of after cross boom.
Pulepale langaya: short longitudinal spars lashed on either side of washstrake to lifting bar and cross boom.
Lakau iki: lifting pole.
Tainga iki: sennit lifting loops fastened to starboard washstrake just aft of cross booms.
Yele: seats formed by cross booms and lifting bars.
Tau muli: rear seat just forward of rear lifting bar.
Kaukau kaua: starboard side.
Kaukau aua: port side.

322 The hull is in three sections lashed together (*tuta*) with three-ply braid which passes through holes (*pu*) bored (*yuki*) through the hull with the shell implement
501 termed *yuki vaka*. A shell borer might be lashed to a wooden holder about 6 inches
284 long, to make the implement called *wuae*. The point of the shell was held against the wood with the left hand and the wooden holder tapped smartly (*paopao* or *tukituki*) with a mallet of *kaupapa* coral or a whale's tooth (*tukituki paopao vaka*). The point was then worked gently from side to side (*luchae* or *wakiwaki*) to enlarge the hole. Tapping and working from side to side continued until a hole was made through the wood. The *wuae* was then twisted (*yuki*) and worked back and forth until the hole was of the required size. The lashing forms a criss-cross pattern (*te kaupu kae*, fig. 27*A*). Washstrakes (*oa*) are added to the hull sections with a single diagonal lashing (*te kaupu tai*, fig. 27*A*). Where the *oa* are in several sections, the edges of contiguous

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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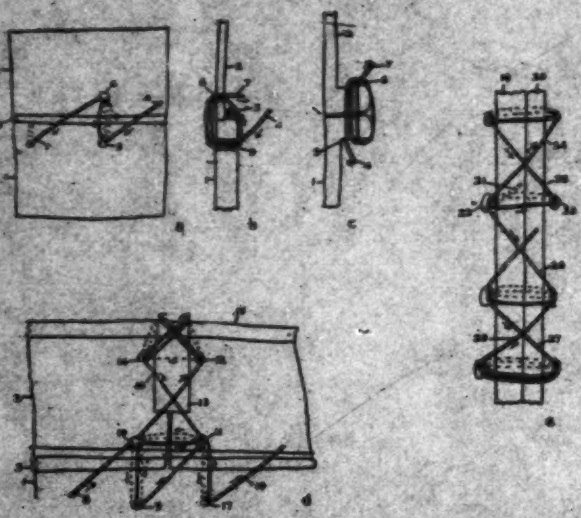

FIGURE 27.—Lashing of washstrake to hull: *a-c*, single diagonal lashing (*la kowa lua*); *d*, double diagonal lashing (*la kowa lua*); *e*, inside flange lashing. *a*, view of single diagonal lashing from hull interior: 1, hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, caulking stick (*taka*) placed against caulking husk material; 4, commencement end of sennit passes from preceding hole down to inferior hole (5), through to hull exterior, and up to superior hole (6), then back through 6 to hull interior, down to inferior hole; makes one more turn and when brought back through superior hole a second time, passes down to inferior hole (7) ready for next turns. *b*, cross section of same lashing on *tai tala* canoe (through-and-through lashing): sennit (4) makes two transverse turns through inferior and superior holes (5, 6), securely binding washstrake (2), hull (1), and caulking material (3); 7, free end ready to pass to next inferior hole. *c*, cross section of same lashing on inside flange canoe (*tai ou tala*): lashing (4) makes two transverse turns through holes (5) in hull and (6) in washstrake, and free end (7) passes to next pair of holes. *d*, lashing of contiguous sections of washstrakes by double diagonal lashing: commencement end of sennit (8) makes two transverse turns through holes 10 and 9 of washstrake and hull; free end passes to inferior hole (11) in contiguous washstrake section; one transverse turn made between holes 11 and 10, and on second turn sennit passes on outside of canoe, through to inside at hole 10 and diagonally up to superior right hole (12), securely gripping gasketness material (13) which is laid over join of washstrake sections as caulking; sennit passes through hole 12 and along on outside of washstrake to hole 14, back through 14 and diagonally up and over edge of washstrake (15); sennit continues down on outside of washstrake to hole 12, through to inside and diagonally up, over washstrake edge, down to and through hole 14; two more diagonal cross turns made over washstrake edge and free end of sennit brought back and through hole 14 to inside of washstrake; sennit (16) continues diagonally down and across to hole 11, passes through 11 and makes two transverse turns around hull and washstrake between holes 11 and 17; free end (18) passes up to next pair of holes

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sections are lashed by the *te hanu* bar lashing (fig. 27,*d*). Caulking material of dried coconut husk (*pulu pae*) is hammered into the joints of hull sections with a cone-shaped wooden caulker (*uaouaou*). The lower edge of the washstrake is set on the upper edge of the hull, flush with its outer surface. Sennit (*hanu uaki ulu*) or coconut husk fiber is laid on the lower edge of the hull; on top of this caulking material is laid a fiber stick (*tuke*). The lashing of strake to hull holds the caulking securely in place (fig. 27,*b*). The holes through which the lashing passes are caulked with coconut husk or wooden plugs hammered in from the outside with a rectangular-shaped wooden caulker (*ulu*). These plugs keep the lashing tight and prevent leakage and rotting of the lashing. The raised hull deck, which is fastened from the stern cover or after hatch up with outer wood is shown in figure 28,*a*. The stern cover is lashed to the hull by through and through lashings (*te hanu tui*) and caulked on the outside by fiber sticks (*pulipuki*). The two-piece bow cover is lashed to the forward section of the hull by through and through lashings.

The outrigger is attached to the canoe by cross beams lashed to washstrakes with the common alternating curved lashing which passes over the beams and through holes bored in the strakes. The longitudinal spar is also lashed to cross beams with the alternating curved lashing. The outrigger is fastened to cross beams by connecting pegs (*tutuki*). Bow and stern cross beams are connected by four pegs; additional cross beams by two pegs. The points of the pegs are driven into the outrigger, but not lashed to it. The lashing of pegs to cross beams is shown in figures 28,*c*,*f*, and 28,*h*. A diagonal bracing strut (*tutuki tafai*) runs from the inner pair of pegs to the beam. The attachment of this strut to pegs and beam is shown in figure 28,*c*. A supporting lashing (*uaga*) supports the outrigger and prevents it from separating from the pegs when the canoe is lifted. This lashing is shown in figure 29. The forward cross beam is shorter than the after cross beam. This enables the outrigger float to be fixed so that the fore end of the float is nearer the canoe hull than the after end (see canoe-measurements, p. 184), an arrangement which makes the canoe easier to steer.

The fore lifting bar is lashed across the washstrakes forward of the forward cross beam. A stern lifting attachment is made by fastening a lifting bar across the strakes just forward of the rear hull deck. Short longitudinal spars are lashed on either side of the washstrake to the second cross bar and cross beam (fig. 30,*a*). To lift the canoe, lifting poles are thrust between these spars and the washstrake from the starboard side and the canoe is lifted by upward pressure on the lifting pole. In large canoes, a lifting pole is also thrust through the lifting loop (fig. 30,*b*) and when the weight is taken, the distal end of the lifting pole rests on the port side of the washstrake. All Pukapukan canoes have an extension fore and aft of the hull spar beyond the fore and aft cross beams, which is a certain advance in paddling on the port side of the canoe because the paddle, in being raised from the water, often strikes against this extension. However, to take a canoe through shallow water over the reef, the crew wades and drags or

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to combine single diagonal lashing of washstrake to hull as shown in *a*. *r*, inside flange lashing of hull sections in fore or aft stem; *19* and *20* represent contiguous raised flanges of contiguous hull sections; *21*, buried commencement end of sennit on outside of hull; sennit makes one transverse turn through holes *22* and *23*, then passes diagonally up (*24*) to superior pair of holes; makes transverse turns through holes and passes diagonally down (*25*) to hole *23*, makes one turn through holes *23* and *22*, again binding commencement end (*21*); sennit passes diagonally down (*26*) to next pair of flange holes in hull, makes one turn through holes, passes (*27*) to next pair; two transverse turns made through lowest pair of holes and sennit brought back to pass diagonally upward (*28*) to next pair of holes, makes turn through holes, passed diagonally up to next pair; then end passes into hole *29*, where it fastened by hammering of caulking wood into flange hole on top of free end.

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pushes the canoe, using the washstrake and spar extension as shafts. The man in front stands between the side of the canoe and the spar extension, grasping the washstrake with his right hand and the *kiato* extension with his left. Similarly the man in the rear stands and pushes the canoe before him.

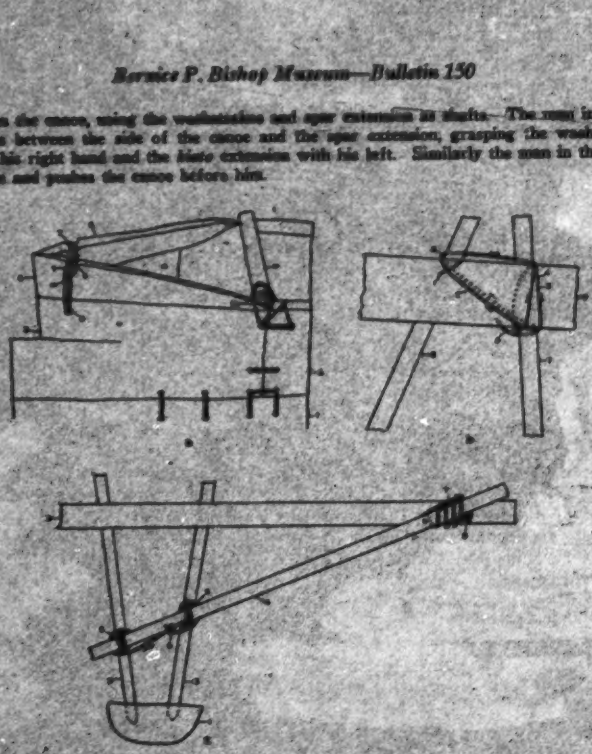

FIGURE 28.—Canoe construction. *a*, two-piece stern bale deck: 1, stern hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, section of stern cover (*velo*); 4, 5, fitted sections of wood placed on top of forward end of stern cover and lashed to cover by sennit which passes over notches 6 and 7 cut on edge of extra sections, and through hole 8, bored through head of stern cover; lashing consists of buried commencement (9), several transverse turns over notches and through hole, and buried finishing end (10); forward ends of added sections continued under first crossbar (11) lashed to washstrake on either side; lashing (12) securely binds in place added sections to washstrake; 13, platform of bale deck formed by top of stern cover. *b*, commencement lashing of connecting pegs to outrigger boom; diagram shows inner pair of pegs (7, 8) and outrigger boom (9); 1, buried lashing commencement; sennit passes around far side of inner peg (8), then diagonally down (2) and across boom to near side of outer peg; continues around far side of peg, then diagonally up and across far side of boom and around far side (3) of inner peg; continues across far side of boom, around far side of outer peg and down (4) near side of outer peg, passing over earlier turn; continues underneath and up far side of boom, down (5) again on near side of boom, underneath outer boom, then ready to pass diagonally up on far side of boom across to top of inner peg (8); lashing continues with 6 figure-of-eight turns around connecting pegs and boom, then two circumferential turns around connecting pegs superior to boom; actual connecting pegs brought close together above boom so that thick sennit must be forced between pegs for two circumferential turns, and closeness of pegs holds turns tight; free end of sennit passes along boom to outer pair

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of connecting pegs and repeats lashing; free end passes down outer connecting peg to commence suspensory lashing around float shown in figure 29. *c*, lashing of diagonal brace (*tunbi tokai*) to connecting pegs and cross boom of outrigger: 1, cross section of outrigger float into which connecting pegs (2) are driven; 3, outrigger boom; 4, diagonal brace lashed to connecting pegs by alternating curves pattern lashing (5); lashing has buried commencement on outer peg; after completing lashing of outer peg, free end of sennit continues to inner peg, completes similar lashing; free end (6) fastened by double overhand knot to sennit that came from outer peg; lashing of diagonal brace to outrigger boom has buried commencement (7); free end of cord makes three or more transverse turns around brace and boom, then one or more circumferential turns around lashing turns between brace and boom and finishes with overhand knot on last circumferential turn (8).

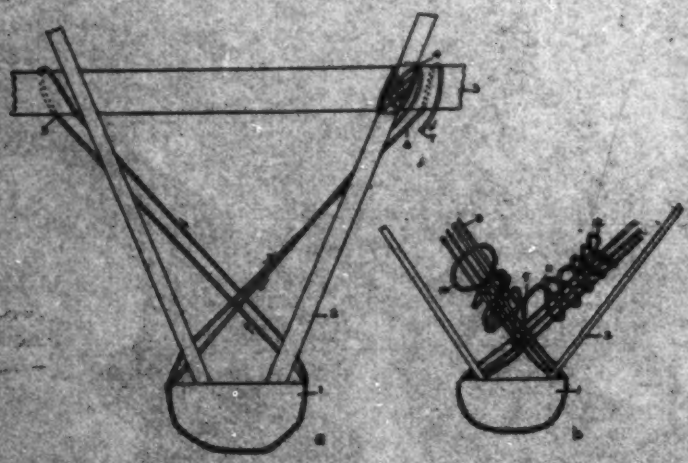

FIGURE 29.—Suspensory canoe lashing. *a*, commencement of lashing between outrigger boom and outrigger float: 1, outrigger float in cross section; 2, connecting peg between float and cross boom (3); when lashing (4) of outer connecting peg to cross boom is finished free end of sennit brought down between double pair of pegs (only outer pair shown in diagram) to inner side of float, passes around under float, up on outside of float and across to boom at 5, on hull side of inner peg; turn made over boom, and sennit brought down to outer side of float, around float, and up on inner side (6) to boom, making turn around boom on outer side of outer peg; sennit (7) continues down to float as before, making altogether five turns around boom and float (two turns only shown in diagram). *b*, continuation of suspensory lashing: after fifth turn (fourth in diagram), free end of sennit (8) brought down from hull side of inner connecting peg to pass around and under crossing of suspensory lashing (9) and continues up left hand suspension with two transverse turns; a complete final turn made around suspension, and sennit (10) brought back down suspension with two more transverse turns, continuing across to right hand suspension (11); five transverse turns made around right hand suspension with buried end finish (12).

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Flaws in the wood from which hull or strakes are made are cut out and in their place small sections of wood (*tapiki*) or larger sections (*ambakaubau*) are fitted in by hammering and lashed if necessary to the surrounding hull or washstrake wood. Where the washstrake wood is not sufficiently deep, additional sections (*ambapili tai*) are lashed with through and through lashing to the washstrake base until the required depth is attained. Small cylindrical plugs of wood (*tapiki* or *mono*) are hammered into small knot or flaw holes in the outrigger float to keep the salt water from lodging in these and rotting the wood.

When surfaces are being fitted together, whether hull sections, or washstrakes to hull, or small patch sections to hull or strakes, the parts to be joined are smeared with a marking material of coconut-shell charcoal mixed with water and applied with a brush made of the chewed fibrous material of the pandanus key. Irregularities in the fitting of the parts are brought out by black marks. These irregularities are then adzed down until a perfect fit (*aoa* or *tontonoa*) is secured.

In canoes used in bonito trolling, the rear seat is made of a block of wood which is lashed on either side with through and through lashings to each washstrake. A flange is cut on the under aft side of this seat and a small grommet (*ambapili*) is lashed to the seat in the middle of this flange. The butt holder (*tabau*) of the bonito pole (*matika ate*) rests in this grommet and the pole rests in a groove cut in the after lifting bar.

[501] The size of a canoe is indicated by the number of seats (*yaka*) it contains. But a *vaka yaka uwa* (four-seater canoe) holds only three men comfortably; a *vaka yaka lima* (five-seater canoe) holds four men comfortably or five men if the hull is especially wide; a *vaka yaka ono* (six-seater canoe) holds six men. From this number of seats upward, the number of crew becomes greater than the formal seating capacity, so that a 60-foot canoe, officially rated as a *vaka yaka kangauia ma tola* (thirteen seater), easily holds 30 or more men. Those that cannot be accommodated with formal seats rest on the edges of the strakes. The size in feet of the various canoes is given below (p. 185).

The hull of the *tatai* plank canoe is of one piece in very small one-man canoes or of three pieces in larger canoes. The hull sections are as before, *ama vaka*, *amaloto*, *muli vaka*. Washstrakes are added and a simple bow cover (*papai hi ama*) and a stern cover (*papai hi muli*). These covers are shaped pieces of wood lashed to hull and to washstrakes (fig.30,*c*). Very rarely, a small canoe of this type is fitted with the shaped stern piece (*tulo*) and the type bow covers (*tahi* and *paka*). Outrigger support consists of two cross booms, connecting pegs, and suspensory lashing. The *tatai* canoe differs from the simple one-piece dugout in the addition to the hull of washstrakes and stern and bow covers. The size of typical *tatai* canoes is given below.

The plank canoe termed *vaka tai matoli* (pl.5,*B*) is distinguished from the through and through lashed canoe (*vaka tai tata*) by the lashing of hull sections to each other, hull of washstrakes to hull, and washstrake sections to each other by means of raised inside flanges (*kongo ambatika* or *kongo tai matoli*). These flanges are about 2 inches high and the lashing is through

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322 holes drilled through each flange (*fig.27,c,e*). No lashing shows on the outside of the hull. This lashing method may be applied to plank canoes
501 of all sizes from the simple *tatoi* canoe to the largest canoe.

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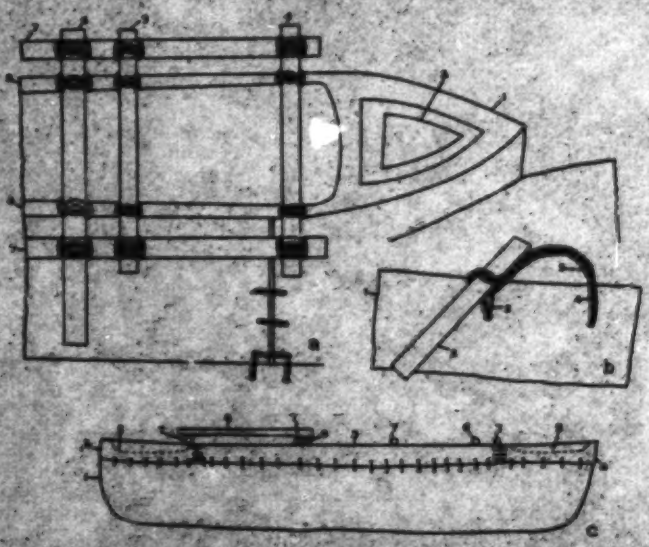

FIGURE 30.—Plank canoe. *a*, arrangement of lifting bars at stern of canoe: 1, raised bait deck (*mahakamu mana*); 2, bait receptacle (*tahu pakopako*); 3, washstrakes of canoe; 4, cross lifting bar (*mana hi mua*); 5, second cross bar (*mana a lua*); 6, cross boom supporting outrigger float; 7, longitudinal members (*pakopako langaya*) lashed to cross members; lashings all of alternating curves pattern. *b*, lifting loops of sennit (*hinga titi*): 1, section of washstrake; 2, cross boom; 3, lashing of boom to strake; 4, four turns of sennit made through hole in strake and around lashing of boom to strake; 5, seizing of these four turns, buried commencement and finish. *c*, *tatoi* canoe: 1, one-piece hull; 2, stern cover (*papani hi mua*); 3, washstrake; 4, bow cover (*pikipiki hi mua*); 5, dotted lines show lowered bait decks in covers; 6, cross booms to outrigger float; 7, short lifting bars; 8, short longitudinal spars (*pakopako langaya*) forming lifting supports for stern of canoe.

501 The *tai i mua* canoe has definite advantages for reef work over the
[226] through and through lashed canoe because of the absence on the outside of
322 the hull of lashings to be cut by sharp coral heads. It has this disadvantage, however, that the water seeps in through the hull joins and rots the wood about the joins of the hull sections. This seepage cannot be prevented by caulking as with the *waka tai tuta* lashing. If a canoe is used much, the wood

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501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood becomes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take
322 the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *vaka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *vaka tui tuta* lasts about seven
[283] years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*tualua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*kaukau*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *pumpuu* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were turned *tohei*. A platform (*papanga tualua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*uale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than
502 on the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reinforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

To change the direction of any canoe is *mali* or *uwewili*. The change of direction is to starboard (*hi katea*) or to port (*hi ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La ama!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tawi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan canoe are few:

322 In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger wave booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 spar parallel to the customary longitudinal spar (*hiato*) lashed to the cross booms on
322 the port side of the canoe. Informants also mentioned that formerly a big canoe made for fishing off the grounds by Tima Reef was fitted with two stern pieces (*vvlo*). The *vvlo* was cut from a single wide block of wood and two fish-tail ends were adzed out instead of one. This variation was characterised as a type of decoration (*tuka-manag*) without militarian function.

One canoe in active use had attached to the hull only half of the customary two-piece bow cover. The fore part of the bow, usually covered by the *tuki*, was open, but the after part of the cover, the *puka*, complete with wave guard (*malae puka*), was securely lashed to the hull. Informants remarked that this was an idiosyncrasy of the builder of the canoe. He had been faced by a shortage of wood during construction some years previously and had not since bothered to complete his canoe, but was on the contrary rather proud of its odd appearance.

Sails

501 Two types of sail, both said to be old, are in use today when canoes sail to the islets. The first is a triangular sail, *la mata keokeo* (*keokeo*, pointed);
285 the second, a gaff sail, *la liahi o Te Palo*, named after the Yayake navigator
322 who visited Pukapuka. Both types of sail were formerly made of pandanus (*lau mila*) plaited in single element check (*langa tai*). The sail was made large enough to allow for an overlap which is basted over the sennit becket rope (*uwuuti hi loto o te la*) by which the sail is supported on the mast. (See figs. 31, 32.) The basting was done (*tui*) with pandanus material (*tua hia*) through holes made with a bone of the *akula* fish or a piece of *ngangie* wood. Sheets (*tupoupou*) of two-ply twisted sennit are fastened to the becket ropes by overhand knots.

501 Formerly the mast (*tilo tu*) was made in two parts: a crotch (*tua manga*) was lashed to the mast pole (fig. 31,*b*). The mast was raised by resting the crotch end on
322 the forward cross boom (*hoakau hi mua*). Several turns of sennit were made around the boom to prevent the crotch from slipping sideways. Stays (*tuka*) supporting the
284 mast are shown in figure 31,*c*.

The sail is supported by the top of the mast in one of three ways: the guy (*uwuuti*) by which the sail is hauled aloft may be passed through a hole (*pu*) bored through the top of the mast; the guy may be passed over a natural branch cleft (*tua manga* or *kakeo*) at the top of the mast and passed down to the canoe; the becket (*pu*) in the peak of the sail may be passed over the top of the mast before the mast is raised—the mast is thick enough at this end to prevent the becket from slipping down. The last method is used only in small canoes. In all three methods when the sail is aloft the guy is fastened to the port side of the forward outrigger boom.

Today, the mast is usually long enough to rest against the bottom of the canoe. It is lashed to the forward cross boom with figure-of-eight turns of heavy sennit, or else the stay passing from masthead to forward lifting bar is continued back to the cross boom to make several turns around both mast and cross boom. Ultra-modern Pukapukan sailors step the mast in cup-shaped blocks cut out from the floor of the hull, or else lash to the washbrakes planks with holes in them through which the mast is stepped.

The sail is further supported by a horizontal boom (*tilo lalo*) with a crutch at one end, resting against the bottom of the mast just above the lashing of mast to cross boom. The other end of the boom (*tilo tilo lalo*) is fastened to the sail by a becket. A main sheet (*uwuuti*) of sennit is fastened by a clove hitch to the boom from which it runs to

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the head of the sailor. When the canoe is sailing before a steady wind, the main sheet is fastened to a cross beam or lifting bar, or else it is gripped underneath the feet of the sailor.

At the inner, lower end of the sail the bucket rope passes from the sail and is now forward sail in. It is fastened to the forward cross boom, or else its two ends are tied into a loop which is slipped over the crutch of the boom. Either method keeps the inner, lower end of the sail from ballying leave in a high wind.

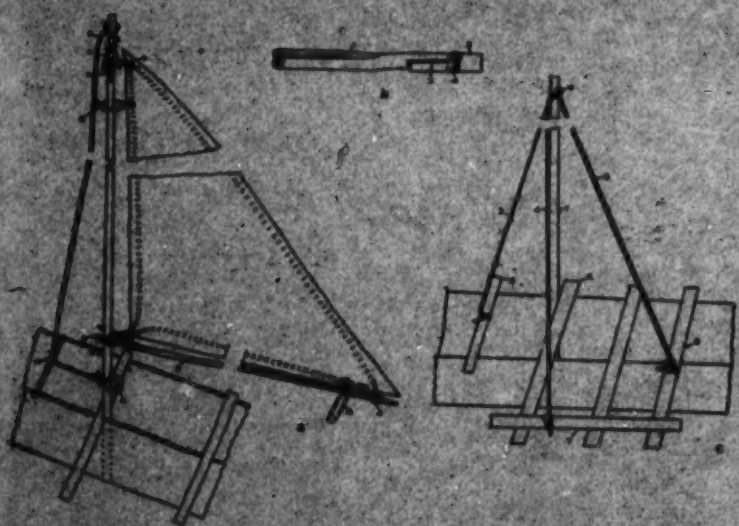
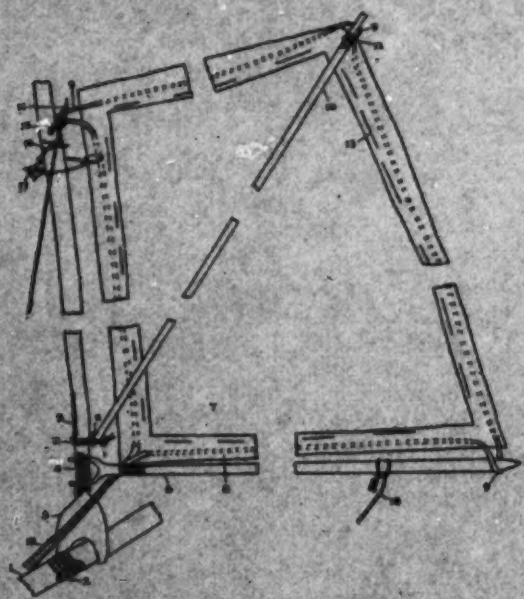


Figure 31.—Construction of mast and sail. a, mast and triangular sail (*le mata fenahu*): 1, cross boom; 2, mast; 3, boom with crutch and resting against mast; 4, outer bucket, hooked over end of boom; 5, inner bucket mast side, fastened with overhand knot in loop which passes over end of crutch to loop sail tent; 6, peak bucket, fastened to gaff by overhand knot; 7, gaff passes through hole in mast and down to cross beam where it fastens; 8, mast stays passing to after beams as shown in *c* below; third mast stay (9) passes down to forward lifting bar, makes two turns (10) around bar and passes again to cross beam to make two turns (11) around beam and mast, holding mast in place against boom; overhand knot finishes turns; 12, sheet, fastened to bucket mast side to mast by overhand knot; 13, main sheet, fastened to bucket mast by overhand knot and passes to canoe aft. *b*, attachment of crutch (*ver mauga*) to mast spar: crutch (1) scarfed and fits against scarf (2) cut in mast spar (3); commencement of wandering lashing turns (4) which bind crutch and mast at scarf join. *c*, staying of canoe mast: 1, mast stands inside of canoe, lashed to cross boom (2) (lashing not figured); 3, 4, 5, stays fastened to top of mast by clove hitch (6); 3, forward stay fastened to forward cross lifting bar (6); 4, stay fastened to longitudinal spar (7) aft of cross beam; 5, stay fastened to middle cross beam (8) as washstrain; stays fastened to beams by clove hitches; weight of sail, filled by wind, provides counter-balance on starboard side of canoe to part side pull of stays.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 In a heavy wind, the mast of a triangular sail is kept vertical. To catch the greatest amount of moderate or light wind, it is heeled over to an angle of about 30 degrees with the vertical. The boom runs from the mast at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the sail functions thus with its base upward and the apex down. This is the usual way of mounting the triangular sail.



501 FIGURE 32.—Mast and gaff sail (*la liaki a Te Pako*): 1, cross boom to outrigger, on which crotch (*ose mangai*) (3) of mast (5) rests; 2, lashing on crossbar to prevent
322 mast from slipping; 4, lashing binding crotch to mast spar (5); 6, boom with crotch resting against mast; 7, gaff sail; 8, becket sennit basted into overlap of sail; 9, beckets
284 which pass over end of supporting spars and keep sail taut; 10, sprit or gaff which extends outer peak of sail, resting at lower end in mortier (11) of sennit made by taking clove hitch around mast and tying free ends of sennit in overhand knot; at upper end of sprit, becket prevented from sliding down spar by lashing turns (12) taken around end of sprit; 13, heavy lines indicate sewing of overlap to hold becket sennit; 14, natural branch cleft (*ose mangai*), over which becket loops when sail is heeled up by means of guy (15) fastened to becket by clove hitch; 16, stays run to booms to support mast (see fig. 31, *c*); 17, sheet fastened to becket sennit with overhand knot and looped around mast with double overhand knot; only one sheet shown, but average sail has about six sheets for mast and for boom; 18, main sheet, fastened to boom by clove hitch, runs to sailor seated aft in canoe; 19, two ends of becket sennit (*mali la*) pass to, and are fastened around, cross boom (1).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 3a). This sprit is named *tohe*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*tuhauanga no te tohe*) fastened to the
502 mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*haiaua*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being inveriably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unstepping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*haiali* or *yolo*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*vaoe*, fig. 26d) has a projecting knob (*maea*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau vaoe*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact
[226 with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*hoa taugi te vaoe*), used to attract fish
536] to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*tua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ulo tua*) is reserved today for short sports and for making the paddle resound, the front (*alaalo* or *vaivaiuke*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*tohe*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko beg the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

501 The bailer (*tata*, fig. 26g) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with
415 carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and
171 continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

501 The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater
322 canoe shown in figure 25.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

501 for judging this amount, but said that they judged by the eye. Kennedy discovered from
922 a study of canoes of Vaitupu that the "footing amount by which the forward end of the float is set to starboard is about one hand's breadth from a line through the after end of the float parallel with the hull" (19, p. 94); this amount agrees closely with the Pukapukan average for this starboard set, though there seems to be little correlation between the size of the canoe and the amount of starboard set considered necessary. The required balance weight of the float seems to be obtained almost entirely by length using the float, for the width and depth of the float do not vary greatly save for the larger canoes. The length of the float in relation to the overall length of the canoe indicates that the Pukapukan builders unconsciously judged the float length by some such rule as Kennedy (19, p. 79) gives for Vaitupu where the outrigger is given a length such that the forward end will be laterally opposite the foot of the bow paddler and the after end opposite the foot of the rearmost paddler. Again, Pukapukan builders could give no rule for judging the proper length of the outrigger float save an eye judgment.

501 Table 3. Canoe Measurements

Type	1 Overall Length	2 Beam (Gunwales)	3 Beam (Hull)	4 Depth (Canoe Only)	5 Length, Bow Paddle Seat to Stern	6 Distance Over Hull, Bow Paddle Seat to Stern	7 Hull Over Bow Paddle Seat to Bow	8 Length, Outrigger Float	9 Length, Outrigger Spar	10 Width, Depth, Outrigger Float	11 Length, Bow Paddle Seat to Outrigger Spar	12 Length, Bow Paddle Seat to Outrigger Float
Single canoe (large)	30'	14"	14"	16"	7' 3"	6' 3"	6' 7"	9' 10"	12'	5½"×4½"	—	—
Third colonial	18' 6"	10"	8"	17"	5' 3"	4' 7"	4' 5"	6' 4"	7' 8"	3"×3"	—	—
Third colonial	19'	11"	9"	18"	6' 6"	5' 7"	5' 10"	9'	12' 3"	4"×4"	4' 3"	5' 3"
Yaka tuki	16' 6"	11"	7"	15½"	5' 6"	4' 10"	5'	9' 6"	12'	5"×3½"	3' 6"	5' 3"
Yaka nui	21' 11"	14"	11"	18"	6' 6"	4' 8"	5' 1"	10' 4"	16' 4"	8½"×4"	5' 11"	5' 4"
Yaka nuku	20' 6"	15"	11"	20"	8' 1"	5' 10"	5' 10"	13'	23' 6"	7"×4"	5' 2"	5' 7"
Yaka fou	31'	22"	14"	25"	8' 6"	7' 8"	6' 3"	25' 6"	32' 8"	7"×7"	—	—

FISHING EQUIPMENT

227 Besides fishnets (p. 208) and hooks (p. 191), fishing equipment includes lines, fishing rods, composite fishing apparatus, sinks, fish spears, and bait containers.

FISHLINES

226 Lines of sour fibre are used on composite pearl-shell fishhooks where quality rather than length of line is important. Three-ply braided sennit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 lines are used for deep-sea fishing where both length and strength are desirable. These are made in three lengths, each from 50 to 75 fathoms long. The three lengths, called respectively *kaau lalo, kaau loto, kaau lungo* (sennit bottom, middle, top), are tied together with prominent knots. In paying out his line the fisherman feels the knots as the line runs through his hands to gauge the depth at which he is fishing, and is then able to fish at the depth at which he believes the particular fish bite best. Anchor lines of thick three-ply sennit braid are in continual use for deep-sea fishing. For tiny fish such as *lupo* a line of single pieces of coconut fiber is used with a gorge of pandanus spine.

227 One such line (C8043) wound round a wooden holder consists of 34 lengths of
284 coconut fiber, each about 10 inches long, knotted together; the line is finished with one length of very fine two-ply twisted *uwe* and a snood of the finest single ply twisted *uwe*, total length being 30 feet.

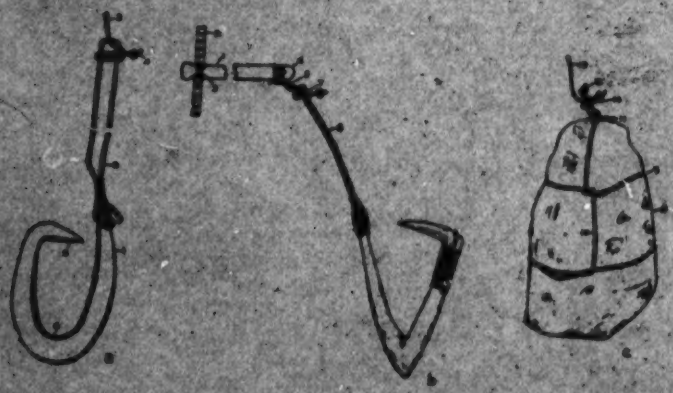


FIGURE 33.—Fishing equipment. *a*, attachment of double snood to fishline (shown diagrammatically): looped double snood (2) lashed to shank of coconut-shell fishhook (1) with descending figure-of-eight turns; end of fishline (3) knotted (4); free end passes around loop and back on far side of loop, then over near side, through top of loop and pulls tight. Coconut-shell hook (*tope upaipu*) (C8186) 3¼ inches high, 1⅝ inches in greatest width with point-shank clearance of ¾ inch; band ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick; inner edges of point (5), band (6), and shank (1) beveled slightly. *b*, composite fishing apparatus (*taumakoumako*) (C8190): spreader stick (1) attached to secondary snood (2); snood lashed with diagonal turns (3) of fine *uwe*; at distal end of stick (4), short piece of *uwe* (5) doubled and lashed to stick with transverse turns; snood (6) of hook is knotted to doubled *uwe* (7); wooden hook (*kau*) small with scarf join accentuated. *c*, sinker for apparatus: sinker (8) block of coral (*punga*); one end of anchor line (9) makes two transverse turns around sinker, other end (10) caught by turns; at top, two free ends fasten with double overhand knot (11), then looped, and ends fastened again with overhand knot (12); sinker line proper (13) from fishing apparatus knotted in loop (14).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapuka

227 Secondary snoods (*matai*) are made of twisted *uso*. They are either
284 single or double. Single snoods are fastened to fishline by knotting. Double snoods seem to be a feature of coconut-shell fishhooks. The attachment of these snoods to the fishline is shown in figure 33,*a*.

Many lines used in fishing from the beach (*uakanoe* system) are wound on a wooden holder (*muli pokai*), their hooks supported by floats.

Rods

226 For *kaloma* fishing, reef and lagoon angling, and trolling with a composite
284 pearl-shell hook, the fishing line is attached to a rod (*matila*). The total length of fishline attached to the rod is several feet longer than the amount of line necessary for a cast.

The fisherman judges the length necessary for a cast and makes at this point a clove hitch round the distal end of the rod. The free end of the attachment line he carries down the rod, making a single transverse turn with a single overhand knot round the rod at equal intervals. Toward the proximal end of the rod, he makes several transverse turns round the rod and fastens the free end of the line to the standing line with an overhand knot. For carrying to and from the fishing ground, the casting line with hook attached is laid along the rod, a transverse turn fixed with a single overhand knot is made round the rod toward the proximal end, and the free end of the casting line carried up the rod again; the hook is caught in one of the transverse turns made round the rod by the attachment line.

227 The *kaloma* rod, *matila kaloma* (C8137), is made of *puapua* wood, 4 feet 6 inches
284 long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅝ inch diameter at distal end. The line is very fine two-ply twisted *uso* (about the thickness of no. 50 cotton thread). The casting line is about 4 feet 6 inches long, the attachment line 14 inches long.

A larger fish rod for needle fish (*matila ni akuaka*) and reef fish is also made of *puapua* wood (C8098); it is 8 feet 9½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅝ inch in diameter at the distal end. The line is fine two-ply twisted *uso* (about the thickness of coarse thread). The casting line is 12 feet long, the attachment line 5 feet long.

The attachment of bonito hook line to the bonito trolling rod (*matila atu*) is by a clove hitch to the distal end of the rod. Where more than one hook is attached to the same rod, the several clove hitches are fastened round the rod below each other (fig. 34,*a*). The bonito line, of thick three-ply twisted *uso*, is about 20 feet long and is attached to the rod at a point about 10 to 12 feet from the hook, depending on the length of casting line that the fisherman desires. The free end of the line is wound round the rod with oblique downward spiral transverse turns and tied about the middle of the rod with an overhand knot. The free ends of several attached hooks wound thus round the rod produce a pleasing pattern lashing on the rod.

The bonito rod is fitted into a wooden handle (*tukau*) which has an upper grooved part into which the proximal end of the rod fits, a raised flat projection (*malae tukau*) covered with netting, and a handgrip (*mali tukau*) at the end. The shape of the handle and the method of lashing the rod are shown in figure 34,*b*. The completed lashing resembles the completed Samoan lashing of bonito rod to handle (27, p. 303) though the technique of lashing differs slightly.

The netting covering the flat projection above the handgrip is made by the ordinary netting technique and is fastened round the handle by transverse cords that pass through the marginal meshes above and below the projection. When lines and hooks are attached to the rod, the casting line is carried down the rod and the hooks caught through the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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netting meshes. For use, an appropriate hook is selected, disengaged from the netting meshes and allowed to hang free from the distal end of the rod. If fish do not bite this hook, it is replaced in the net and another hook disengaged. With six or more hooks attached to the rod at one time, the fisherman is able with maximum speed and minimum trouble to select the hook which the fish prefer to bite.

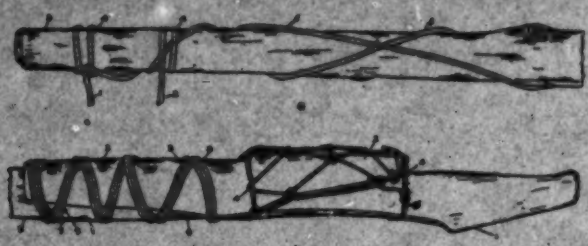

FIGURE 34.—Bonito rod. *a*, attachment of casting line: 1, 2, casting lines attach two hooks to distal end of rod (3); 4, clove hitches made around end of rod; casting lines hang free; attachment lines (5) wound spirally around rod and fastened halfway down rod. *b*, attachment to handle (*tuhau*), side view: 1, handle of *uakoaoa* wood with handgrip (*mali tuhau*); 2, raised flat projection (*matai tuhau*); 3, hollowed out upper part; raised projection covered with netting (*ripu*) fastened to handle by cords passing through marginal meshes (4); rod (5) pushed into hollowed upper part, chocked if necessary with small wedges of wood (6); lashing of three-ply braided sennit commences with buried end (7) at upper end of handle, then wound around handle and rod descending spirally, then up handle and rod ascending spirally; continues alternate spirals, descending and ascending, for three turns each way (8), and finishes with buried end (9).

NOOSES

Noosing apparatus consists of a line of three-ply twisted *uao* about 18 feet long and a stick (*kau*) by which the noose is brought near the fish.

The stick (CB150) is of *pangpu* wood, 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅜ inch in diameter at the distal end (fig. 4*c*). The distal end is notched to provide a running groove for the line on which a running noose (*matapiki*) is made with a slip noose (*mari*). Line and handle together are termed *kauyeki*.

COMPOSITE FISHING APPARATUS

For deep-sea hand line fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef (*tukumoana* system), a composite fishing apparatus (*tumakomako*) consisting of a number of hooks attached to one line is used.

Of two types of *tumakomako* in use, one (CB150) has a secondary snood (*matai karu*) of three-ply sennit 6 feet 8 inches long. At a point 2 feet from the proximal end of this snood a *ngangie* spreader stick, 5½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, is lashed. The proximal end of the stick is grooved circumferentially and the snood fastened to the stick by four oblique transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted *uao*, followed by three circumferential turns between stick and snood, the finishing end being buried

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 in three transverse turns round the snood (fig. 33.*b*). Five spreader sticks 9 inches apart
284 are attached to the snood in this way, being lashed so that the distal ends of the sticks project alternately to the left and to the right of the snood. The distal end of each spreader stick is also grooved circumferentially, and a length of twisted sinn, 1¾ inches long, is doubled and the free ends fastened to the spreader stick groove by transverse turns of fine sinn. To this double spreader stick snood, the fishhook snood proper is fastened by the method of knotting illustrated in figure 33.*b*. Five fishhooks are attached to the five spreader sticks. By making these sticks project alternately to left and to right, the danger of tangling the hooks in use is avoided.

Informants mentioned another type of *tumakomako* formerly in use. It consisted of two crossed spreader sticks of *ngangie* wood, each stick about 18 inches long, with a cross section diameter of about 1½ inches. To the ends of each spreader a snood was seived. The four snoods ranged in length from 2½ to 6 feet so that four fish caught on wooden hooks knotted to each snood would not tangle the snood lines. At the intersection of the spreaders, a sinker line (*kowatau tuku masne*), 12 inches long, was fastened to suspend the sinker (*masne*) of *punga* coral. Also at the intersection of the spreaders was knotted a secondary snood (*matai*) 12 feet long. To the *matai* was fastened small fishline about 200 fathoms long.

Sinkers

For fishing at moderate depths of 50 or 75 fathoms, sinkers (*masne*) consist of any coral stones of suitable weight picked up on the beach. Be-
[226] cause these sinkers are disengaged from the line and fall to the bottom when the hook has reached the required depth it is pointless to use any but rough stones. In *tukumoana* fishing, one sinker weighing about 9 pounds is used repeatedly. Even for this the Pukapukan fisherman has apparently felt no incentive to make well-shaped or bored sinkers. He chooses as a sinker stone a block of coral that is roughly rectangular or cone-shaped. If the surface is not rough enough to hold the sinker line without slipping, it is chipped slightly to form two transverse grooves into which the sinker line fits. This line is attached to the sinker by transverse turns and knotted to the secondary snood (see figure 33.*c*).

Fish Club

227 Fish clubs (*patu ika*) are made of *ngangie* wood; their size and weight depend on the fish which it is proposed to kill with them. A small club is used for *patuki* and other reef fish caught in reef angling or canoe fishing.

This club (C8163) is shaped like a small talo pounder with a blunt proximal end. It is 16 inches long, 2 inches in diameter at the distal end, 1 inch in diameter at the proximal end. The distal end is slightly convex. The club weighs 1¾ pounds. Larger clubs weighing up to 5 pounds are used for larger deep-sea fish. Today a section of iron bar is often used as a fish club.

Hook Containers

[415] When not in use, small, valuable single and composite pearl-shell hooks are kept in the house stored in the double satchel (*tuluma pu*) described elsewhere (p. 134). Hooks and small fishing gear when taken into a canoe are kept for safety in a coconut-shell container (*puhu*).

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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An example of this type of container (Ch23) is a smoothly polished coconut shell, the eye end of which has been cut off to make a container 4 inches high, 2¼ inches in diameter at the mouth. The mouth is covered with another half coconut shell (*pupuni*), which fits tightly over the container.

Fishbone gorges used in fishing needle fish are kept when not in use by sticking them into a gorge cushion (*papa ao*) which consists of a small cylindrical section of shaped coconut husk. The gorge cushion may itself be kept in the coconut container by the fisherman out in his canoe.

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FIGURE 35—Fishing equipment. *a*, fish spear (*tao ika*) (Ch125): 1, shaft of *pandanus* wood 10 feet 3 inches long, diameter at proximal end (*mutimuti*) ¾ inch, widest diameter of haft 1¼ inches; 2, 3, barb (*matatala*) of *aganaia* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 3, point (*mata*) of barb 2 inches long, cut in ½ inch; sharpened stem of barb forced (5) into pithy core of *pandanus* wood for 3 or more inches and held tight with 73 turns of two-ply twisted sennit (4); commencing and finishing ends buried; at point (5), observable projection above lashing of haft. Second fish spear, examined in field, was one-piece point and haft of *aganaia* wood, 8 feet long; barb 6½ inches long; proximal end finished with small terminal knob. *b*, gorge of pandanus spine (*matatala*) (Ch245): 1, 2, two spines (thorns) stripped from pandanus leaf and placed together so that barbs project on either side; spines joined together by sinnet (3) of finest sennit fiber with two pairs of half hitches (4, 5); 6, free end of sinnet serves as bait tying string (*tahale ouanu*); length of gorge ½ inch, width ⅛ inch.

Fish Spear

Most fish spears in use today are thin iron rods or wooden shafts with iron points. Formerly both shaft and barbed point were of wood. A typical spear is shown in figure 35,*a*.

Gorges

Two types of gorge (*ao*) are in common use: one of fishbone is used for catching the needle fish; the other, of pandanus spine, is used for the tiny *lupo* fish.

The fishbone gorge is a bone of the *tolao* fish about 1 inch long. The sinnet of fine two-ply twisted sennit (*ahale*) is fastened to the hook below the head by four half hitches (*ma pelenge*). The free end of the sinnet serves as a bait string (*tahale ouanu*).

227 A bait of bolsous shell is wrapped round the bone and the bait fastened with several turns of the bait string. When not in use, the gorge is pushed into the gorge cushion. The gorge of pandanus spine (*matatala* type) is described in figure 32A.

Hooks

Pukapukan fishhooks are made of wood, coconut shell, pearl shell, and turtle shell. The generic name for a wooden hook is *kou*; for a shell hook, *pasala* or *matau*; for a composite hook, *pe*. Single-piece hooks are further named according to their size and shape. The hook is conveniently divided into shank, bend, point limb, and point. The Pukapukan equivalents for these and other terms are shank or point limb, *kaukau*; outside of the bend, *mali*; inner curve of bend, *lio*; point, *mata*; barb, *wakatala*; shank knob, *laka*; terminal or proximal end of shank above knob, *tiao*.

227 In use, each hook has a snood (*taka*) lashed to the proximal end of the shank. The
234 end of the three-ply twisted or braided snood is unravelled and laid against the inner side of the shank knob with the end of the braided section resting against the proximal end of the shank. One ply is placed to the right; the other two plies, which are treated as a single element, to the left. The first ply is passed transversely round the shank to the right, under the knob on the outer side, then round to the inner side again to pass diagonally upward to the snood where the free end of the ply is laid against the braided portion of the snood. The other two unravelled plies pass to the left, transversely round the shank, under the knob but on top of the already wrapped first ply, round to the inner side of the shank to pass diagonally up to lie against the braided portion of the snood.

The lashing of snood wrapping to shank is done with braided sennit or sinnet cord. The lashing pattern is figure-of-eight turns in which crossings are on the inner side of the shank and the loops are alternately above and below the shank knob. The figure-of-eight turns are either ascending or descending (*ti alongo*) according to the choice of the worker. The Pukapukan lashing technique corresponds to that described for Manihiki (29, pp. 172-173, figs. 84, 85). In the ascending pattern lashing, the commencement end is buried and the free finishing end makes raising turns round the snood to bind the unravelled ends of the snood securely to the length of the snood. The finishing end is buried under several of the transverse raising turns. In the descending pattern lashing, the commencement end may be buried under raising turns round snood and free end ends before the figure-of-eight turns are commenced; the finishing end is buried beneath the last two descending turns. Alternately, the lashing commencement may be buried below the free ends of the snood, but after the lashing turns are completed, the free end of the lashing cord is carried up to the snood and the raising turns made before the finishing end is buried. A third variation occurs when the wrapped unravelled snood plies are too short to lie against the snood; in this case, the commencement is below the snood, the finishing end is buried beneath the last two turns, and there is no need for raising turns round snood.

The use of bait strings (*taka mauma*) is a common feature of most hooks. If the buried end of the lashing cord is long enough, it is not cut off flush with the finishing turns, but is allowed to hang free. If the free end of the lashing cord is not long enough to serve as a bait string, an additional piece of fine cord is fastened to the head of the hook with a slip knot. In use, the bait is laid on the hook and several turns are taken round bait and hook with the bait string.

k:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-8 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

WOODEN HOOKS

227 Wooden hooks vary greatly in size according to the fish they are designed to catch. Small wooden hooks are used interchangeably with the single-piece pearl-shell hook (*tope*) for catching in deep water the smaller reef groupers. Large wooden hooks are used to catch *Ruvettus* and other large deep-sea fish. All wooden hooks are termed *kau*; the largest V-shaped hook is sometimes distinguished by the name *yemo*, the largest U-shaped hook by the name *yowe*.

Wooden hooks are of two shapes, the U-shape and the V-shape. All the hooks are made from *ngangie* wood; most of them from forked branches, some of the U-shaped ones from branches that have been artificially bent and made to grow in this position. The hooks are two-pieces, the point being fitted to the point limb with a lashed scarf join. The upper end of the shank is narrowed and provided with a shank knob to support the lashing of snood to shank.

[245]

227 In larger hooks used for *Ruvettus* and other deep-sea fish, the lashing of point to point limb may be in two or three separate sections. This occurs in five of the eight deep-sea fishhooks available for study. The remaining three hooks are freshly lashed, probably by inexpert fishermen who knew that the hooks, intended for a museum collection, would never be used for fishing. The middle of three lashings is put on the smaller hooks about 1 inch below the bend of the functional point, 2 or more inches below this point on larger hooks. After the transverse turns completing this lashing have been made, the lashing is covered by tough fish scales (*unoui*) of the *mulotea* fish which project above and below the lashing. The ends that project below are caught with the transverse turns of the lowest lashing, those that project above are caught with the turns of the topmost lashing. The fish-scale covering protects the middle lashing from being destroyed by the biting teeth of a hooked fish. Because it is usual to protect only this middle lashing, one may assume that a hooked *Ruvettus*, for example, is expected to swallow a hook to the point where his jaws close on this middle lashing, not on the lowest or topmost lashing. The free end of the lowest lashing is carried up over the fish scale covering to commence the topmost lashing; even if this longitudinal thread is severed, the topmost lashing can not become unravelled because the free end is effectively buried in the descending turns. (See lashing in figure 37*c*.)

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The clearance between the point and the shank limb varies greatly among the hooks. In small wooden hooks the clearance ranges from ⅜ to ⅝ inch, in the larger hooks from 1⅝ to 3¼ inches. Kennedy states that the required clearance is equivalent to the thickness of the edgewise thumb with the point against the middle of the nail (19, p. 17). Four out of 12 hooks have approximately this clearance, four small hooks have less than this clearance (about ⅜ inch), four large hooks have a much greater clearance (up to 3⅝ inches). Leaving aside the four smallest hooks used to catch smaller deep-sea fish, I presume that four of the remaining eight wooden hooks used for large deep-sea fish were probably made for ordinary fishermen, the other four for expert fishermen who prefer the hook with the wide clearance. Both types of hook, those with wide and those with narrow clearance, were in common use.

In several of the hooks the point is directed away from the medial longitudinal line of the shank limb. Presumably the explanation for this in the Pukapukan hooks is the same as that given by Kennedy for Ellice Islands hooks (19, p. 16), that is, the manner in which the scarf surface was cut on the point limb, previously with an adz, today with knife or saw.

[322]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 Of six V-shaped wooden hooks available for study, four are small hooks attached
to the *tawakonoko* apparatus used to catch small deep-water fish. (See figure 33, *b*.)
These hooks are about 2¾ inches high (from the outside bottom of the bend to the top
284 point of the shank) and 1¾ inches in greatest width (from outside of point limb to
outside of shank limb). The clearance between functional point and shank limb is
about ⅜ inch. In two hooks, the shank leaves the point at an angle of 40 degrees; in
the other two, at an angle of 45 degrees. In all four hooks, the snood is three-ply
twisted ooa cord which is attached to the shank by descending figure-of-eight lashings
of fine ooa cord. The free end of this lashing is carried up to the snood and seizes it
with several transverse turns. The single lashing of point to point limb is by transverse
turns with buried commencement and finishing ends. The lashing of a larger hook is
shown in figure 36.

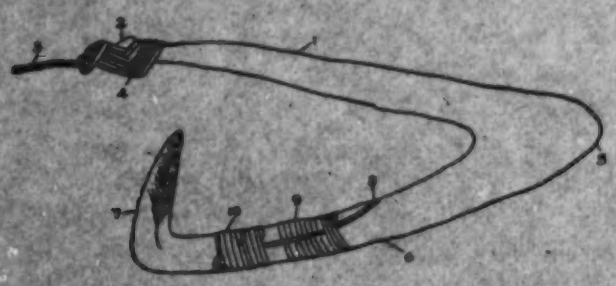

FIGURE 36.—Wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (Cf.126): hook 5 inches high, 2¾ inches in greatest width, and ⅜ inch clearance between point and shank; diameter of shank (1) above bend ⅝ inch, thickness of bend (5) from outside bottom of curve to inner curve 1⅜ inches; angle of shank limb with point limb 50 degrees; snood (3) of three-ply sennit braid attached to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns (4) around shank knob (2); point limb (6) and point (7) scarfed (8) and fastened with two separate sinnings; lower lashing (9) made first with simple transverse turns, free end being carried up to commence second upper lashing (10); functional point (7) transversely convex on top, beveled underneath, and projects slightly downward. (Redrawn from Macgregor, 20, fig. 7.)

227 A larger V-shaped hook (termed *yawa*) with a rounded and downward curving
point is shown in figure 37*a*.

Between the V-shaped and the U-shaped hook may be distinguished an intermediate type of which there is one specimen for study (fig. 37*b*). This is an old hook which has been relashed. Owing to a natural twist in the shank limb, the top of the shank is twisted out of the mesial longitudinal plane running through the bend and point. It is this twist and not that of the point which makes the point appear to be directed away from the mesial longitudinal line of the shank limb.

Of five U-shaped hooks, four appear to have been made from artificially bent wood, one from a forked branch that had a natural inner curve to the bend. The naturally curved hook is shown in figure 37*c*.

Of the three other U-shaped hooks, the smallest is 4⅜ inches high, 3 inches in greatest width, ⅜ inch between point and shank; the second hook is 8¼ inches high, 4¾ inches wide, 1⅜ inches between point and shank; the third hook (termed *yoyo*) is 12⅝ inches high, 8 inches wide, and 3¾ inches between point and shank.

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SINGLE-PIECE HOOKS

Pearl-shell Hooks

Single-piece pearl-shell hooks are made in many sizes to catch all varieties of lagoon fish and most of the smaller deep-sea fish. The hooks are named according to their size and shape. For accurate classification, the name of the fish which the hook is made to catch is usually added to the type name

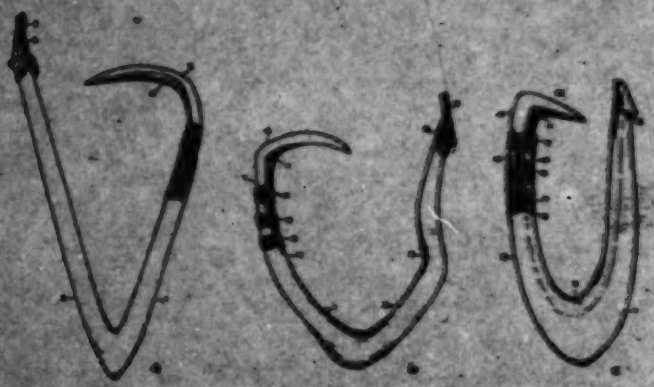

FIGURE 37.—Wooden fishhooks. *a*, large V-shaped hook (*pauu*) of *ngangie* wood (Cleos): hook 13½ inches high, 7 inches in greatest width, point-shank clearance 1¾ inches; diameter of point hook (1) and shank (2) above head, ¾ inch; height from outside bottom of head to inner curve, 1¾ inches; angle of point hook with shank hook 55 degrees; point hook and point (3) scarfed and lashed together with 30 turns of three-ply braided sennit; point flat on inner surface (4) and curves slightly downward; sennit (5) of thick three-ply braided sennit attached to shank with decorating figure-of-eight turns; free lashing end passes upward to cabo sennit (6). *b*, hammerhead type wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (Cleos): hook 10 inches high, 8¾ inches at greatest width, point-shank clearance 1¾ inches; diameter of point hook (1) and shank (2) above head, each 1 inch; thickness of head about 1¾ inches; shank has forward hook (3), above which shank hooks backward and away from sennit lashing; sennit (4) lashed with decorating figure-of-eight turns (5); point (6) and point hook (1) scarfed (7) and fastened together with three separate lashings (8, 9, 10); point slightly flat on inner curve of head (11), then curves up and down at point. *c*, narrow U-shaped wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (Cleos): hook 9¾ inches high, greatest width 2½ inches, point-shank clearance ¾ inch; shank (1) ¾ inch diameter above head, ¾ inch diameter immediately below shank hook (2); head of hook (3) 1¾ inches high from outside bottom of curve to inner head and 1 inch thick; point (4) lashed to point hook (5) with three separate lashings; middle lashing of six consecutive turns (6) made first, lowest lashing (7) second, free end (8) carried over middle lashing to make top lashing (9); remains of fish scale protective covering of middle lashing shown (10); point flat underneath (11), beveled on either side on top (12); dipped end of point points downward.

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227 of the hook. The hooks are made from black- or gold-lipped pearl shell and provided with snoods of sennit cord. They may be classified by shape into
254 three types: a U-shaped hook, a circular hook that is usually barbed, and a slanted U-shaped hook that may be barbed.

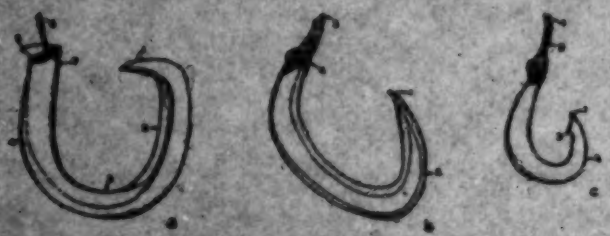

Figure 38—Shell fishhooks. a, pearl-shell hook (*yobi hakowa*) (Cb:38): hook [illegible] inch high, [illegible] inch wide, and [illegible] inch thick; point (1) short, making point-shank clearance comparatively wide; inner and outer surfaces of point limb (2), head (3), and [illegible] shank (4) beveled; shank barb (5) flush with greatest end of shank; snood of three-ply twisted sennit (6) fastened to shank by three transverse turns, with free end of snood line which effectively holds snood fast to shank; fastening end (7) tucked under [illegible] and held tight; bait string (not shown) of sennit fastened around head of hook. b, barbless, slanted U-hook (*tai wasa*) of gold-lipped shell (Cb:24): hook 1 inch high, [illegible] inch wide; edges beveled, but owing to irregular shape of shell, point directed away from median longitudinal line of shank; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); [illegible] point-shank clearance; snood (5) of sennit cord fastened to shank by looping snood [illegible] to his descending figure-of-eight turns, but very irregular (4) owing to fact that worker [illegible] from bad eyesight. c, pearl-shell hook (*wakaale yi hakoa*) for albacore (Cb:6): hook 2 inches high, 1¾ inches wide; edges beveled; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); barb (3) runs from point at acute angle, barb-point edge straight, beveled slightly; wide point-shank clearance; snood (4) of three-ply sennit cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; fastening end of bailing sennit snood for length of ¾ inch at 5.

[226 177] **U-shaped hooks.** Small U-shaped hooks (*yobi*) are used for bonito angling and for catching the smaller lagoon fish by other fishing methods.

An example of the *yobi* hook (fig. 38, a) is almost as wide as it is high. It was used for catching *hakowa* fish before European pins came into use. It is a beautifully made hook and shows craftsmanship of high order. The term *yobi* is applied to hooks of this general shape up to about 1 or 1¾ inches high when the name *tape* comes into use. *Tape* hooks are U-shaped, but tend to be higher than they are wide. The name is also applied to hooks of other material such as turtle shell or coconut shell which have this general shape. The type *tape* hook of pearl shell is shown in figure 39, a. Other *tape* hooks in the Bishop Museum collection range in height from 1¾ to 1¾ inches and in greatest outside width from 1 inch to 1¾ inches. They are made of gold- or black-lipped shell; descending or ascending figure-of-eight bindings attach the snood of two- or three-ply sennit cord to the shank of the hook. They are provided with bait strings.

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227 **Circular hooks.** Circular pearl-shell hooks (*matau* and *nukuroa*) are made with a barb (*wakatala*). Most of these hooks are as wide as they are
284 high, but the size of the barb varies considerably (fig.39,*b*). In most hooks, the functional point is level with the lowest transverse turn of the sinnet lashing, directly opposite a point about 3/16 inch below the proximal end of the shank.

In one hook examined in the field, however, the inner curve of the hook was almost a perfect circle, the functional point being on a level with the top of the sinnet lashing and the proximal end of the shank. Another unusual feature observed on an old hook of this type was a pronounced terminal knob at the proximal end of the shank, separate from, and other than, the customary shank knob which was also cut on the outside of the shank.

a b

FIGURE 39—One-piece shell hooks. *a*, U-shaped hook (*matau*): greatest length 2 inches, greatest width 1½ inches, point-shank clearance ¾ inch; *b*, circular hook (*matau* or *nukuroa*): greatest length 1½ inches, greatest width 1¼ inches, point-shank clearance ¼ inch; barb (*wakatala*) markedly concave and beveled; sinnet thick two-ply sinnet cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns. 1, shank; 2, shank knob; 3, bend; 4, point limb; 5, point; 6, sinnet; 7, sinnet lashings; 8, barb. (Reproduced from Mangaiapu, 20, fig. 4.)

226 There can be no doubt that the barbed hook is native to Pukapuka and antedates European influence. The first man to make the barbed hook is
176 said to have been Te Upe, a man of Loto who lived in the reign of Maiue, twelve generations ago. His name is mentioned in connection with barbed hooks in an old chant "Uiu taku tangi". Beasley (4, p. 34, pls. XLIX A and XLIX B) figures six hooks of this type apparently collected by Gill prior to 1877. Beasley attributes the hooks to "Pukapuka, Paumotu group", an evident mistake. The figured hooks range in height from 1⅓ to 2⅓ inches.

227 **Slanted-U hooks.** Slanted U-shaped hooks, large enough to be called *wakatala* or *nukuroa* and used for almacore fishing, have barbs. Small hooks of this type without barbs are called *tai uuat* (fig.38,*b*) and are used to catch the smaller reef fish.

These hooks are much higher than they are wide. The point limb is short compared with the length of the shank and the functional point bends slightly from the plane of the point limb. The barb runs from the point at a very acute angle making a large point-shank clearance (fig. 38,*b*, *c*).

Despite a superficial similarity in shape of the hook shown in figure 38,*c* to European fishhooks, informants were positive that this type of barbed fishhook was native

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227 Pukapukan. Their contention is supported by the fact that Gill collected a hook of this shape before 1877. Beasley (4, p. 34) figures the hook in plate XLIX A, no. 2.

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Turtle-shell Hooks

Single-piece hooks of turtle shell are made in two shapes. One shape corresponds in all respects to the *tope*, U-shaped hook of pearl shell, and is used for the same fish as the pearl-shell *tope*. The hook of turtle shell is termed *tope ana*. A characteristic hook of this type (C8223) is 2 inches high, 1⅜ inches wide and has a uniform thickness of ¼ inch.

A smaller turtle-shell hook termed *hauilo* is used in fishing for lagoon fish with a line from the beach. The type hook is about ⅜ inch high, ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick at the bend. The point-shank clearance is wide. Owing to the fine work necessary, the snood is attached to the shank only with three figure-of-eight turns.

Coconut-shell Hooks

Most hooks cut from coconut shell are made in the shape of the *tope* pearl-shell hook and are called *tope ngaipu*. They are used on the *taumako-mako* composite fishing apparatus and also singly in fishing for the smaller deep-sea fish outside the reef.

The hook is cut from the dry shell from the end opposite to the eyes. One side of the hook has the dark brown color of the outer surface of the coconut shell; the other side has the light brown color characteristic of the inner surface of the shell. The points (fig. 23*a*) have a pronounced longitudinal convexity and a slight transverse convexity on the dark brown side. The edges forming the inner curve of the hooks are beveled slightly. The hooks have double or looped snoods attached to the shank.

A small hook (C8285) is 2¼ inches high, 1⅜ inches in greatest width; it has a point-shank clearance of ⅜ inch. The inner curve is a pronounced U-shape, with a greatest inner width of 1 inch. The looped snood is attached to the shank with descending figure-of-eight turns, the finishing end being buried beneath the last two turns.

Composite Hooks

Composite pearl-shell or pearl-shell and turtle-shell hooks (*pa*) are used for trolling and for fishing reef fish. They fall naturally into two classes, the bonito hook (*pa atu*) and the small composite hook, distinguished from the bonito hook by the addition of the name of the fish caught with them to the generic word *pa*.

Bonito Hooks

The bonito hook is a two-piece hook consisting of shank (*pa*) and point (*manga*). The point is pierced with holes (*pu*) through which it is lashed to the distal (*muli*) end of the shank, along with the heckle (*uakamauna uao*). The line or snood (*taka* or *uakamauna*) is passed through the proximal hole of the point, attached to the shank by a lashing that passes

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227 through a hole (*pa pu*) in the thick proximal end of the shank, and seized
284 (*pulinga*) by a lashing thread (*aiaia*) passing from the proximal hole of the point to the shank head. The distal end of the shank on the underneath side is cross-hatched (*kerikeri*) to prevent the point-shank lashings from slipping, and filler sticks (*tua niu*), short pieces of coconut leaflet midrib, are pushed underneath the point-shank lashings on either side of the point base to steady the point on the shank.

The following description of the type Pukapukan bonito hook (fig.40) is summarized from an examination of 28 Pukapukan bonito hooks, 11 of these in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 17 in the field. Terminology employed for parts of the hook is that established by Buck. Lashings are described with the hook horizontal, point to the right, shank head to the left.

FIGURE 40.—Type Pukapukan bonito hook (C8:38): point (1) of gold-tipped shell, beveled at functional point, head, and outer angle; proximal lashing (2) and sinnet (3) pass through proximal hole (4); oblique lashing turns on back of shank (5); lashing thread (6), after overhand binding knot around proximal lashing, makes two turns through head hole (7) and proximal hole (4); after last turn through proximal hole, thread seizes sinnet (3) and its previous turns through head hole; lower threads occasionally left on, for short distance and then included again in seizing of sinnet; toward head, lower threads (6') dropped and seizing continues to head hole; head lashing (8) consists of transverse turns around sinnet and through head hole, bound with circumferential turns; seizing of sinnet continues for about 1 inch above head hole (9); distal lashing (10) of point fluke buckle (11) with oblique transverse turns; half hitch binding (12) of distal lashing; thread passes around distal end of point; makes another binding around far side distal lashing, loop knotted (13) and cut to make secondary buckle (14); buckle (11) consists of number of fine threads of sinnet; filler sticks (15) of coconut leaflet midrib pass under both lashings on near and far sides; shank 3¾ inches long; greatest width of head ⅝ inch, height of head ⅝ inch; width at tail ⅜ inch; thickness of tail ⅛ inch; length of filler sticks 1¾ and 1⅛ inches; length of point base ⅞ inch; thickness of point ⅛ inch.

227 The shank is made of strips of shell cut radially through the shell so as to include
321 part of the hinge at one end. The shank length ranges from 3 to 4¾ inches. The length of the hinge-head section in relation to the total length of the shank varies according to the size and thickness of the part of the shell from which the shank is cut. In the hooks examined, length of the hinge-head section of the hooks ranges from [illegible] to 3 inches (fig. 41). The width of the tail end of the shank ranges from ⅛ to ⅜ inch, thickness from ⅛ to ⅛ inch.

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The narrow inner surface of the shell forms the front of the shank, the rough outer surface of the shell, the back of the shank. The back is sometimes longitudinally flat, more often convex with a slight transverse convexity also. It is ground down to remove the dull rough material and to bring out a clear shiny iridescent or golden surface toward the distal end of the tail. Different surfaces are described in the ordinary color terms: *ma mele lotu*, a deep gold shank back; *ma kmu*, a light iridescent color; *ma pula*, a pronounced rainbow iridescent color.

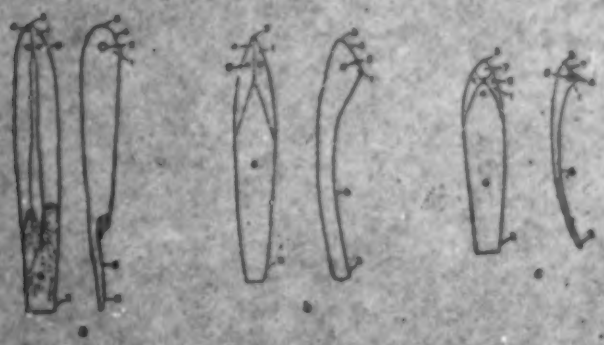

FIGURE 41.—Variation in bonito hook shanks, front and side views. *a*, long shank (C8276) with usual ridge, slight grinding of head end, short tail section; *b*, type shank (C8287) with well-marked head, tail thicker than usual; *c*, small shank, head has short ridge caused by grinding of proximal end. 1, head; 2, tail; 3, head point; 4, mesial edge; 5, head hole; 6, front nacreous surface; 7, head point ground into concave surface.

A hole is bored transversely from side to side about midway down the thickness of the head. In one shank two such holes were bored, one at the extreme proximal end of the shank, the other nearer the maximum thickness of the head. Only the distal of the two holes carries the head wood lashing and it is evident that the proximal hole was bored by mistake too far back on the head to function properly.

The tails of the shanks are uniformly smooth on front, back, and lateral surfaces. In the opened grave (p. 164), however, Talaitoga saw a bonito shank that had two paired lateral projections at the tail end of a narrowing shank. He could give no information about the shape of the head of this shank, but the lateral projections are suggestive of similar projections on Melanesian hooks of the Solomon Islands. None could give any information about the shank type. All the hooks examined save one have a cross-hatching scratched on the back of the tail end of the shank.

The point of the bonito hook is shaped from shell cut from the lip edge of the pearl shell. One side shows the inner surface of the shell, the other side the black or gold outer surface which is smoothed down and sometimes polished. Eight points have been made of turtle shell, one of bone, the rest of pearl shell. In all the points the base is prolonged proximally to carry the technical head of the hook. In 26 points, two holes are drilled through the base of the point to carry the point-shank lashings; two points only have three holes. In none of the points has the proximal hole broken through the upper edge of the point base. Characteristic point shapes are shown in figure 42.

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The snood consists of three-ply twisted ure cord about ⅛ inch thick and 20 or more feet long. It is attached directly to the trolling rod without the mediation of a fishline

127 proper (p. 188). It is lashed to the hook with fine two-ply twisted sinn. The lashing is made of short lengths (1 to 1½ inches) of sinn cord; the number of separate lengths ranges from 10, if of fine cord, to 28 lengths if of fine thread. Pukapukan fishermen have never used lashing of any material other than sinn.

284

Figure 46—Bonito hook points (*mango*). *a*, common shape, rounded back, point almost parallel with base line; *b*, another common point, similar to *a*, but with longer point base; *c*, point with square back, acute angle at top right edge of base; *d*, short functional point and base, with head; *e*, point with well-rounded head, decreased projecting functional point. 1, functional point; 2, head; 3, base; 4, distal hole (*po hi uea*); 5, proximal hole (*po hi mua*).

No ceremonial is associated with the lashing together of the parts of the bonito hook. Considerable variation exists in lashing methods employed. Some fishermen employ separate lashings for the proximal and distal point holes in fastening point to shank, others employ a continuous lashing. The lashing of shank head to mouni is also variable; some lashings consist of simple transverse turns, others of transverse and figure-of-eight turns.

A single hole lashing commences at the proximal hole with the middle of a long piece of thread. One end of the thread is left free to make the mouni sinnaga, the other end is used to make transverse turns through the proximal hole of the point and round the shank. On the back of the shank, these turns make oblique crossings (*mahuriri*). On one hook only are the crossings parallel and not oblique. After six or eight transverse turns are made, they are bound on one side with the finishing end of the thread and fastened with overhand knots. On the other side, the free commencement end also binds the turns and is knotted, but the free end is passed backward and forward between the head hole and the proximal hole of the point for two or three turns and held aside.

The mouni is now laid on the front of the shank. One end of the mouni is passed through the proximal hole of the point and doubled back along its length for the whole or part of the distance between point hole and head hole. The free end of the proximal hole lashing which has just made the turns between point hole and head hole is now wound round both the doubled mouni and its previous turns through head hole with oblique turns. The point-head hole turns may be left out of the winding for a few turns and then caught up again, or they may be continuously included in the winding turns. In any case, toward the head, the point-head hole turns are dropped from the winding which is continued to a point above the head hole. Most point-head hole lashings consist of transverse turns between the hole and the mouni followed by figure-of-eight turns over the mouni, corresponding to the Manihiki method (*op. cit.*, p. 183, fig. 97).

[171]

With a separate length of thread transverse turns are made through the distal hole and round the tail of the shank, doing the lashing in this lashing with oblique turns according to the Manihiki method (*op. cit.*, p. 179, fig. 91), with the exception, however, that the lashing thread, after making 12 and ten oblique transverse turns, makes half hitch side bindings round the near side lashing of the distal hole. The free end of the thread is passed through the distal hole to the far side, again makes half hitch side bindings round the far side lashing. The free end is then brought back round the distal end of the point, passed under the near side lashing, up, back over it to make a distal point

227 loop, and is finally fastened with overhand knots to the distal point loop. This loop
is stretched and knotted on itself with an overhand knot. The loop is cut below the
284 knot and each end knotted again to prevent unravelling. This method of making the
secondary buckle was the one illustrated to me, but it is possible that the Samoan method
(op, p. 320) is also employed.

[171] If the base of the point is narrow and the point, after lashing, appears to be loose,
fiber sticks, ranging from 1 to 2¼ inches long, are inserted between the point base and
the point-shank lashings to fill this space and tighten up the point. They are used in
17 books, absent in 11 books.

Variations on type book. The previous description summarizes the type bonito hook. Variations, especially in lashings, are common.

Continuous lashing of the two point holes to the shank is done with a very long lashing thread. The worker measures this into three sections. Commencing with the middle section, he lashes the proximal hole with transverse, oblique turns, binds this lashing with half hitches and passes one end of the thread up to the head hole. The head hole-point turns may be simple turns passing from the near side proximal point hole to the near side head hole, through the head hole and back to the far side point hole, or they may be oblique figure-of-eight turns, passing from the near side point hole to the far side head hole, through this hole and back to the far side point hole. In either case, after finally passing through the point hole, the raising of the head hole-point turns continues as before. When the lashing of the sneed to the head is completed, the free end of the third section of lashing thread is passed along the base of the point to the distal hole and completes the distal hole lashing, hackle fixation, and secondary hackle as before. Alternately, in one hook, the free end passes through the proximal hole, to the far side, makes a half hitch side binding, then passes back to the near side distal hole between the base of the point and the front of the shank.

The turns between head hole and point in one hook are made by passing the lashing thread from the near side proximal hole of the point up to the head hole, down to the point again, round the far side proximal hole lashing at the side of the point base, up to the head hole, through this, down the near side and round the near side proximal hole lashing. This is continued for the customary three turns and the free end continues with the sneed raising. In yet another hook, the turns between head hole and point have been added after the sneed was lashed to the head and instead of passing through the head hole, pass round the head sneed lashing between the sneed and the head of the shank. The third downward turn on the near side passes obliquely underneath the sneed to the far side proximal hole and through this hole to the near side to complete the lashing.

Several hooks have a simpler lashing of sneed to the head of the shank. The thread makes transverse turns through the head hole and over the sneed, binding these turns with circumferential turns between the head of the shank and the sneed. This lashing corresponds to the simple Manihiki techniques (op, p. 183, fig. 56).

[171] Most side bindings of point lashings are made with the regular lashing thread. In one hook, however, this is done with a separate short length of thread. The commencement end of this thread is knotted round the near side distal point hole lashing, passes to the near side proximal hole lashing, makes one turn round this, is then pushed through the proximal hole to the far side, binds the far side proximal hole lashing with one turn and passes down to the far side distal hole lashing round which it is knotted.

All but three hooks have the secondary hackle. One has nothing to take the place of this hackle. The second has a thread about 3 inches long knotted an inch from one end round the near side distal hole lashing, the two ends of the thread serving as a sort of secondary hackle. On the far side distal hole lashing, the finishing end of the thread lashing, after being knotted round the distal lashing, is cut off about 1½ inches from

227 the lashing not serves as a single secondary buckle for the distal side. The third hook
has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing
284 and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted
round this and cut off about 1¾ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a
thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but this has subsequently broken.

227 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both
of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man
284 long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary
buckle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and
171 head hole are added as in customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized
far on the head with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole
lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is
the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 82r), and was done presumably for
the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle
hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle instead
of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The
addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an inter-
estingly hybrid hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures
fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the
fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal
hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise
lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached
284 from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from
cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods
are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound trans-
versely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has
reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped
from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front
of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then
passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank
and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand
knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is
required again.

227 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant
171 features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito
114 hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood
to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions
drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194).
Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves,
merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (20, pp. 30-31)[1] from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice
P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features
other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western
Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor
proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western
group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

1. [See 21 McGregor-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Raiatanga, Fagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that
171 of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the
114 remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Macgregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig. 43, *a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *komuli* fish and are named generically *pa tahi komuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malau* fish and are termed *pa malau*.

227 FIGURE 43.—Small trolling hook (*pa tahi komuli*) (C8133). *a*, composite hook:
284 point (1) first lashed to shank (2) through proximal hole (3); sinnet (4) passed through proximal hole and seized with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing continues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (5) around shank and binds them with circumferential turns (6), then seizes sinnet for about 1 inch beyond head; distal hole (7) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal hole underneath shank (8) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal hole and around shank to fix hackle (9) of sisa fiber with oblique turns; no secondary hackle on this hook; filler sticks (10) inserted between lashings and sides of point base. *b*, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend, and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, widest part; 3, tail.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 Shanks of these hooks are of uniform thickness. They do not have the raised head of the bonito shank. Instead, the head consists of a notched projection (*mulimuli*). The shank widens below the head, then narrows and flares slightly to form the tail (*pitu*; fig. 43*c*). The greatest width of the shank in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ⅜ inch; the width of the tail in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ⅜ inch; average thickness of all hooks is about ⅜ inch.

Shanks are made of both black-lipped and gold-lipped shell. The inner narrow surface of the shell forms the front of the shank; the outer rough surface, the back of the shank. This rough surface is smoothed and polished, but the black surface is not ground away as in bonito hooks. [321]

All points are of turtle shell. Characteristic shapes are shown in figure 43*b*. The points range from ⅜ to ⅜ inch in base length and from ⅛ to ⅜ inch in thickness. Two holes only are bored through the base; none of these was broken in the eleven hooks examined.

227 The lashing together of the small composite hook corresponds exactly to
284 the method described for the larger bonito hook.

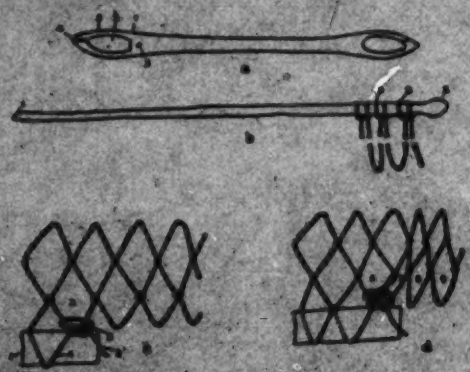
A typical lashing is shown in figure 43*e*. Lashing of point to tail of the shank may be with a single thread for each hole or with a continuous thread. After the proximal hole is lashed with transverse turns which cross obliquely on the back of the shank, the free end of the thread seizes the snood as far as the head of the shank. In these small composite hooks, no thread is run between proximal hole and the head of the shank. The distal lashing is often bound at the side with the finishing thread to make the characteristic secondary hackle of the bonito hook.

Several slight variations may be noted on this fundamental lashing pattern:

Filler sticks are not used in six out of eleven hooks; in three, the filler sticks are coconut midrib and in two the fillers are short fishbones wedged between the distal lashing and the side of the point base. In one hook, the point is lashed with a continuous thread which commences with the proximal hole. A half hitch side binding is made round the far side proximal hole lashing and the free end of the thread is passed underneath and diagonally across the back of the shank, then up to the near side distal hole to commence the lashing of this hole. In a second hook, the proximal hole lashing is completed and the lashing bound on the near side; the free end of the thread is then passed on the near side to the distal hole to make the distal hole lashing. The snood is passed through the proximal hole, but it is seized with a special lashing thread that is knotted round the far side proximal hole lashing, passes from this through the snood loop, and commences the seizing of the snood on the near side.

Secondary hackles are found on four out of eleven hooks. In two hooks the hackle is made according to the bonito hook pattern. In the remaining three hooks, it is made in slightly different fashion. In the first hook, the near side distal hole lashing is bound with the free finishing end of the lashing thread and the thread is cut about 1 inch from the distal hole. At the far side of the distal hole a thread about 2 inches long is passed through, up, back over the distal hole lashing. In one hook, the two free ends of this thread are twisted together and are knotted with the free end of the projecting finishing thread from the near side hole. In the second hook, the two free ends are tied in a double overhand knot effectively binding the far side distal lashing, and these two ends, together with the free finishing end from the near side, are knotted together to form the secondary hackle. In the third hook, both near side proximal and distal hole lashings are bound with a separate thread that is knotted round proximal side lashing, passes to distal lashing, is knotted round this, and passes again beyond the distal end of the point base where it is knotted with the double ends of a second thread that has been knotted round the far side distal hole lashing.

227 284 In one hook only does the point lashing commence with the distal hole. Transverse oblique turns fix the buckle, and the lashing is bound with the finishing end of the lashing thread, which passes round the lashing and is knotted on itself. The commencement end of the separate lashing thread for the proximal hole is knotted to the near side distal lashing end and serves as a binder for this lashing. The free end passes to the proximal hole on the near side and makes four transverse oblique turns through this hole and round the shank. When these turns are completed, the free end passes up to seize the snood, lashes the snood to the head of the shank, and again seizes the snood for about 1 inch beyond the head lashing.



227 281 FIGURE 41.—Netting needles and netting technique. *a*, netting needle (*ramo*) of unknown wood (*Chaol*): needle 14¼ inches long; 1, expanded end 1¼ inch wide; 2, central longitudinal slot (*ga*); 3, sides of slots (*mango*); 4, slit (*ramo*) through which netting cord passes; 5, hole (*ga*) through which commencement end of netting cord knots; cord wound longitudinally between two slots. *b*, netting needle (*tai* or *yuki*) (*Chiro*) of coconut midrib: needle 6¾ inches long, about ¼ inch diameter; 1, blunt end; 2, terminal knob; proximal end (3) slightly notched (*unkulaiaru*) and three lengths of sennit cord attached by clove hitches; when loaded, needle carries 10 or more lengths of netting cord attached to proximal end. *c*, netting technique: to make mesh by ordinary technique, mesh gauge (1) is placed in position so that upper edge touches completed mesh (2); netting cord (3) brought down behind gauge and up around lower edge to form lower loop (4); needle passes through loop of mesh (2), crossing drawn taut on upper edge of gauge where it is held with left thumb while netting knot (5) is made. *d*, to narrow net, same technique followed, but two completed meshes (6,7) brought together by superimposing 7 over 6 with netting knot made as before; in practice, meshes 6, 7, 8, 9 would be brought together by superimposing 7 over 6, 8 over 7, and 9 over 8, with netting knot made around all four gathered meshes (only two superimposed meshes are shown).

NETTING

Nets are made from two-ply twisted *uao* fiber, two-ply twisted sennit (*uho*), and from fibers prepared from the aerial roots of the *yulu* pandanus tree. The methods of preparing these netting cords are described on page 143.

[See Category 283 or 116 -- analyst.]

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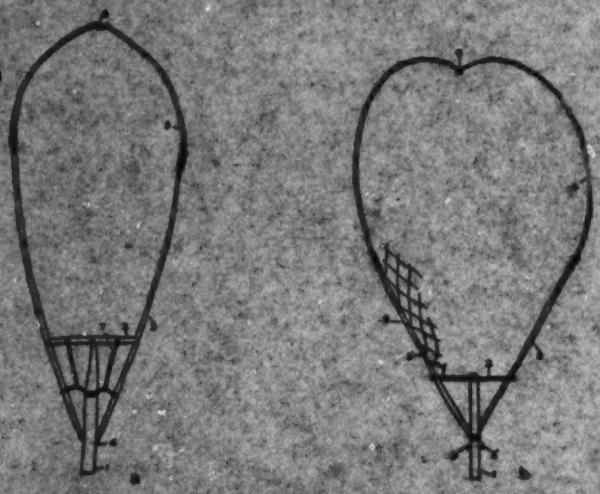

FIGURE 49.—Flying fish and bird nets. *a*, framework of flying fish net (*ear mulolo*) (Cb167): 1, handle (*kurtar*) of *pumpus* wood, 7 feet 2 inches long, greatest diameter 1¾ inches, diameter at crossbar ¾ inch; head of handle slotted (*utapo*) to hold crossbar (*iaka*) of *tukanuru* wood (2) which is 10½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; crossbar slotted at each end to receive rods (*suspensonga*) of pandanus wood (3) 3 feet long and ¼ inch in diameter at ends where they fit against handle (4); other ends of rods are ¼ inch in diameter and are joined to lighter rods (*uutei*) (5) of *lakau yili* by scarf joins; each *uutei* is 10 inches long and ¾ inch in diameter; the other two ends of two *uutei* are notched, brought closely together (6) and joined by continuous transverse turns of cord; lashing of crossbar to handle strengthened by suspensory lashings (7). The lashing of stout rods (*suspensonga*) to handle, shown in figure 46, *a*, *b*, *c*; lashing of head of handle to crossbar and of ends of crossbar to stout rods is in common alternating curves pattern; lashing of stout rods to lighter rods is by transverse turns around scarf join, commencement ends and finishing ends being buried. The suspensory lashing consists of transverse turns around handle and across to stout rods on either side, then transverse turns around cross lashing and crossbar; cross turns and suspensory turns are seized to make lashing taut. Net is 18 inches deep, with greatest width at mouth 19 inches. *b*, bird net (*uuetu*) (Cb145): 1, handle of *pumpus* wood 10 feet long, 1¾ inches at widest diameter, and 1 inch in diameter at head; 2, crossbar of *ngangie* wood is 11½ inches long, ½ inch in diameter; 3, 3', stout rods of pandanus wood, 2 feet 6 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; 4, lighter rods of *lakau yili* wood, 3 feet long, ¼ inch in diameter at join with stout rods, ¾ inch in diameter at distal point (5) of frame; in attaching frame to handle, crossbar (2) is first lashed to upper side of handle; both stout rods (3, 3') laid over upper sides of crossbar and under handle, two ends of rods projecting slightly beyond handle, 3' to right, 3 to left; lashing of rods to handle, of rods to crossbar ends, and of crossbar to head of handle are all of alternate curves pattern; crossbar first lashed to head of handle; free end of cord carried to left end of crossbar and lashes rod 3 to crossbar; free end carried back across crossbar to opposite end of crossbar and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

223 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of
284 rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3') by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 Netting needles (*tui* or *wawa*) and mesh gauges (*yika*) are used. Of two types of
227 needle, the *wawa* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia.
286 One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob end in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yika* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (C8131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅞ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Puka-
227 pukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method
286 described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole F-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

171 method corresponds to the Samoan technique of "dropping meshes in the various rows" (27, p. 472): gathering together two or more meshes in one row to function as a single
227 mesh means that in the next row there will be fewer meshes with which to work, hence the technique is equivalent to dropping meshes from subsequent working rows.

282

TYPES OF NETS

The seine net (*kupenga*) and the large hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) have been
227 described (pp. 57-58). The flying-fish dip net (*tae malolo*) consists of a long handle, a crossbar and framework (figs. 45,*a*, 46). Its use is described on
282 page 58.

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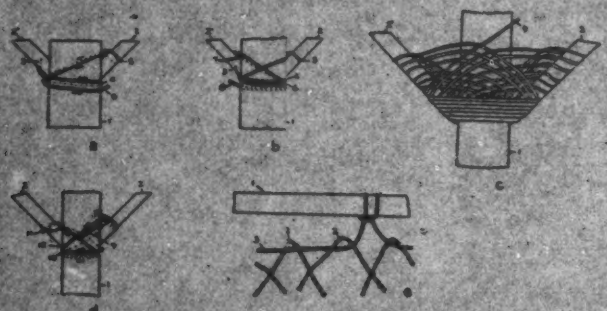


FIGURE 46.—Lashing of flying-fish net framework. *a*, commencement of lashing of stout rods (2, 2′) to handle (1): commencement end of sennit cord (3) laid on far side of left rod; cord brought around in front of handle and transversely (4) around to back, across to far side, then up diagonally across near side, passing between rod (2) and handle, across front of rod (5), then diagonally down far side of handle, passing around and across front of handle (6). *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (6) passes to back of handle, diagonally up and across to rod (2′), around front of rod (7), behind it and diagonally down and across front of handle, and around back of handle (8); this establishes lashing pattern, which is continued for about 12 or more complete diagonal turns passing to each rod. *c*, completed lashing pattern is here shown with six turns only; *d*, on top of pattern are superimposed four superior diagonal lashing turns; method of making turns shown here (inferior lashings omitted); free end of cord (9) passes diagonally down far side of handle around to front (10), across handle, diagonally up far side (11), around rod (2′), diagonally down near side, around far side of handle again, up diagonally across near side (12) to rod (2), around this rod and diagonally down across far side of handle; lashing pattern is continued until there are two diagonal lashings up and down handle; finishing end of cord carried diagonally across near side of handle to rod (2), makes two transverse turns around rod and buries finishing end underneath these two turns; finished lashing is of neat and pleasing design. *e*, attachment of flying-fish net to frame: 1, rod of framework; 2, marginal net meshes; 3, marginal cord passes through meshes, then up to frame, making a clove hitch around rod, passing down to pick up more marginal meshes; process continued until all marginal meshes are picked up on cord, rod clove hitches 6 to 8 inches apart, free ends of cord wound round handle just below cross-lashing holding suspensory lashing of crossbar to handle; second cord passes through marginal meshes at proximal end of net and is fastened to stout rods above lashing of crossbar.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The
[284] lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yuki* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
223 puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

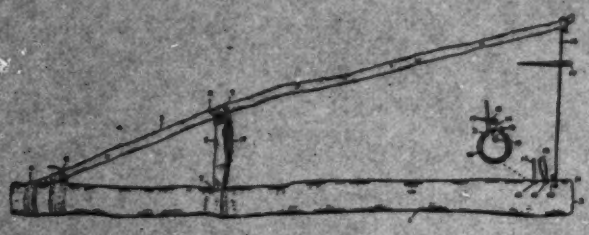
The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukonu* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 turtles. There are about three of these enclosures in each village. When the people of Ngake go to Motu Ko for the copra-making season, they take with them their small
231 turtles and put them in temporary enclosures erected on the lagoon frontage of the copra settlements.

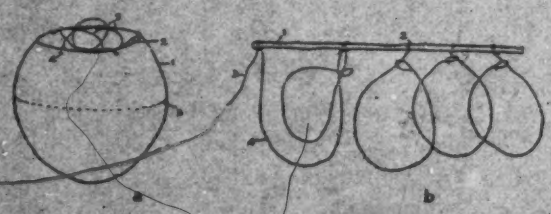


227
284 FIGURE 47.—Rat trap (*vaka hiole*) (C8171): trap (1) 2 feet 7½ inches long and 7½ inches in diameter at larger end, made of a section of pandanus wood, hollowed out at one end (2) into a hole 2 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep; a springy piece of *agungie* wood (3) 2 feet 8 inches long and ½ inch in diameter tied to pandanus wood at one end (4) and supported by upright (5) 4½ inches high and ¾ inch in diameter; lashing of spring to trap (4) consists of 7 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around end of spring and trap; free end of sennit carried 1 inch up spring to make eight figure-of-eight turns (6) around spring and trap; finishing end buried, but not cut off flush with previous turns; upright (5) rests at one end in a natural depression (7) on upper surface of trap; upper end lashed to spring with common alternate curves pattern lashing (8); suspensory brace (9) consists of 4 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around spring and trap, transverse turns being seized with 23 transverse turns (10) finished off with half hitches; on either side of middle line at open end of trap, holes large enough to allow run of two-ply twisted sennit are bored through roof of trap just inside entrance (11); a little farther in, two holes (12, 13) are bored in median line; straight stick (14) pushed down through innermost hole (12) to support bait (19); loop of sennit (15) knotted inside trap so that it projects above trap to height of bait stick; length of sennit (16) knotted around free end of spring; after testing tension, a light stick (17) is fastened by clove hitches to sennit so that it passes through noose (15) and rests its pointed end on top of bait stick (14); end of sennit (16) pushed through hole (11), passed around inner circumference of trap hole, and pushed out through another hole where it knots (18); cross section shows sennit (16) passing around inner circumference of trap (2), knotted at 18, bait stick (14) baited (19), and light stick (17) passing through loop (15) and resting on top of bait stick (14); trap set by pulling down spring and passing stick (17), attached to sennit, through loop (15) and resting its point on upper end of bait stick (14) (see cross section). In this position, as long as upper end of bait stick remains immovable spring stick cannot fly back; sennit loop within trap spreads out so that a rat entering trap must step over loop to nibble at bait which is fastened to pointed end of bait stick before trap is set. Rat nibbling bait moves bait stick which releases light stick, spring flies up and catches rat against roof of tube by tightened loop. In use, trap is propped in position by stones and sand packed around and alongside it.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

774 Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan
775 culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul
417 trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the cen-
284 tral portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian
114 Digby of the British Museum.



[223
284] Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *mao* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *mao* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut-leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique
824 described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*vivo*), the windmill (*poteko launiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wakatangitangi*),
171 and the leaflet spinner (*wakaki matangi* or *wuri lole launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig.49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the mesial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *wakanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by cover-
171 ing a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes.
526 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-
527 making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by chil-
177 dren.

The toy bow (*uenq*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs
524 is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *uetea* tree.

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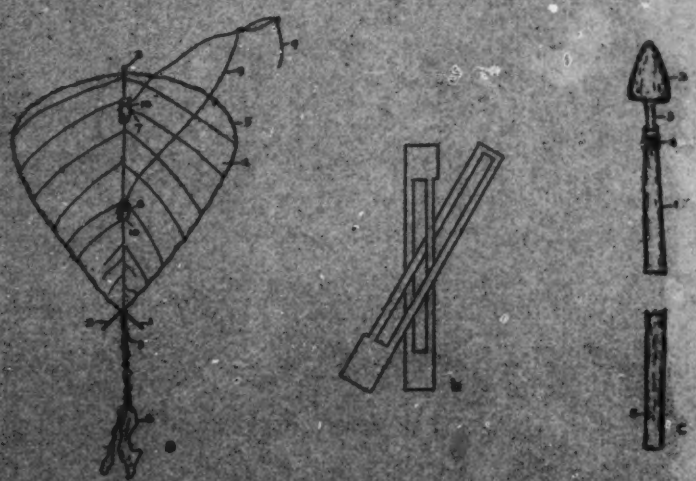
524 Swings (*talakalaka*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangia* wood
by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed
171 to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wua on his return to
Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngaya* branch. The seed of the *taeyinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupu* bird, a piston of *puapua* wood, and *taeyinu* seed or *ipiipi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*papa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length
on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards
are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524 Figure 49.—Toys and composite dart. *a*, kite (*kolle*) of *puapua* leaf (Cl.99);
coconut leaflet midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib
284 (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*helem*); edges of large *puapua* leaf (4) bent over this
frame and fastened to it by continuous thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf
and around frame midrib; center midrib (3) extends below apex of kite and to this a
tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by transverse turns of fiber; at two points

524 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal mesial line and a trailer cord (9) is
284 knotted to midrib over small wads of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8038) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tiongo a Maui*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*velo*) of *ngayu* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutea*) of *ngangie* wood 1¾ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *uao* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutea* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*ziku*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutea* head 4¾ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *uao* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig.49,*a*). The tail (*kave*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo iga*: a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kalawalava*.

The only tops in use are teetotum tops (*potskatoka*). These are *taupulepule* shells (*Conus abbreviatus*) which are spun (*takoailiwili*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *mulimuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potskaweka wutu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *punga* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¼ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *wakapotekateka* or *wakatateka*.

Discs for the game of *tupe* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8194), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3¾ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tika*) is made of *ngayu* wood:

526 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and heated over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two
322 pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*putika*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tika*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

The composite dart (*velo*, C8100) is made of *ngayu* wood with a head (*ulu tea*) of *ngangie* wood (fig.49,*c*):

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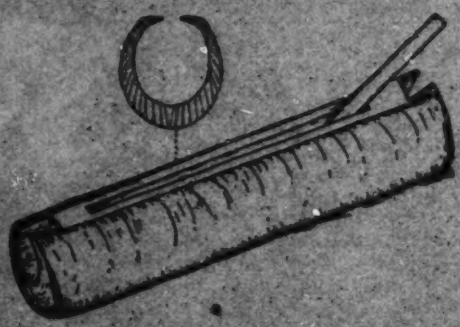
526 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is
922 rubbed (*mokomoko*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is termed *vele tuta*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *vele* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.



a

b

634 FIGURE 50.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden silt gong (CB111): diameter from slot to
284 bottom 3¾ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¾ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (CB112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (CB054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (CB055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *uvea*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*Ayyu*) (CB01): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*mata hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tau hounala*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (8) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was not too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting
202 off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nonu*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nonu* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa uawaa*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched
533 sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kawia*). Formerly, when a large chanting and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*nuu waka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an "orthestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chant-
534 ing on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of ambonoro or ovoro wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two sides. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *lulu hi te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drums are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

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533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used
537 to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and
531 arrow, and shield were unknown.

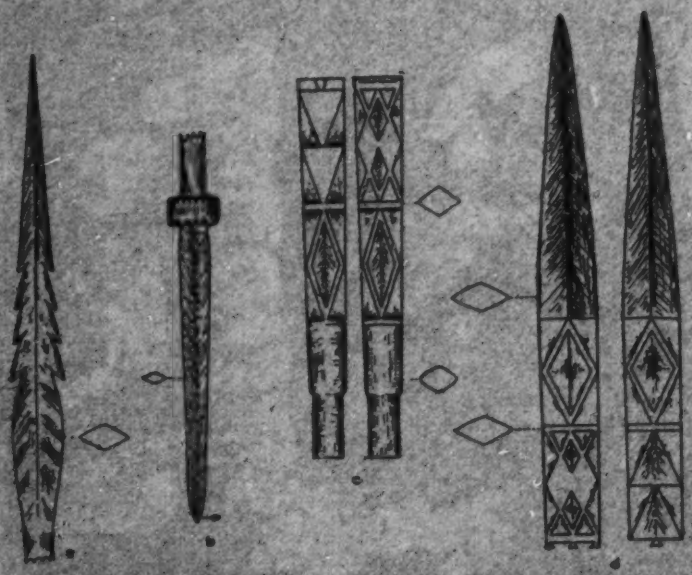

FIGURE 31.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of coconut wood spear (*tao*) (C8109): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt mesial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¾ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6½ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*yuukevele*) of *makanoa* wood (C8066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wahatele*), single large lozenges (*paichiole*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and mesial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 2¼ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

411 Spears (*tao* and *yuvelovelo*; fig. 51) were both thrusting (*yoha*) and throwing (*velo*) weapons. When thrown they were always hurled by hand, a spear thrower being unknown. The heavy throwing stick (*koko*; fig. 52,*a*) was usually thrown at an opponent, the aim being to pierce a vital organ with its sharp point. At close quarters, it might also be gripped in the hand and used as a short stabbing weapon.

The favorite weapon seems to have been the long billet club (*kaio*; fig. 52,*b*). This was often decorated with streamers of *kie* pandanus. It was dipped in salt water before use to ensure a non-slip handgrip. When on guard (*aposapo*), the weapon was grasped in both hands and held horizontal at the waist. The technical stroke with the club was to strike the ankles of the opponent with a sweeping side blow (*te kanu yele*, the tying blow), fell him to earth, and then finish him off with heavy blows on the head. The *kaio* club was also used as a parrying (*alai*) weapon to strike aside spears and throwing sticks flying through the air.

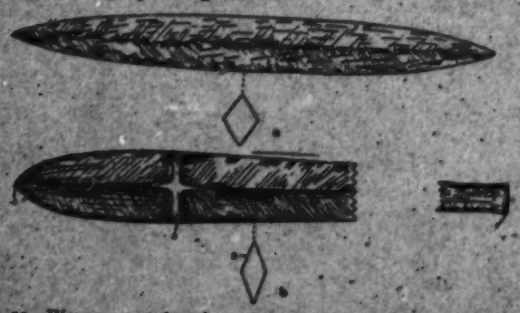

FIGURE 52.—Weapons. *a*, throwing stick (*koko*) of coconut wood (C8108): 27 inches long, width of each of four edges shown in cross section above *2* inches; each end sharply pointed; sharp lateral and mesial longitudinal ridges; weight 3 pounds. A second *koko* (C8107) of same shape is also of coconut wood; 34 inches long, edges about 2¼ inches wide, weighs 5 pounds. *b*, billet club (*kaio*) of coconut wood (C8141): over-all length 6 feet 3¼ inches; proximal end (1) slightly flared, 1½ inches in diameter; round in cross section up to 2 feet 6 inches from end where four blunt edges, lateral and mesial, start; width of each edge at cross section (*2*) about 2 inches; perceptible transverse ridge (3) intersects longitudinal ridges; four edges come to blunt point at distal end (4); weight 7 pounds. Second club (C3986) also of coconut wood; 4 feet 9½ inches long; diameter of proximal end about 2 inches, cross section edges of distal end about 2½ inches wide; pronounced lateral ridges, very blunt mesial ridges, no transverse ridge; weight 10 pounds.

For good aim in the use of all four weapons, the skilled warrior was careful to gain a firm foothold before engaging his opponent (p. 398). Informants were unable to elaborate on the technical strokes employed in using the *kaio* or other weapon.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the lineal and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-vaka. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Puka-
101 pukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping
of father, mother, and children. *Wanan* refers to a man's or a woman's family of
children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *fanu*, not
including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikanga*, the precise meaning
of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikanga* is also applied to the estate
element of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof.
When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "ia tangata o te
yikanga a nana i te *aganuku* o Mea" (the people of the *yikanga* residing in the pri-
vate house of So-and-so). The word *aganuku* refers to one of the several separate
household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikanga*. Analysis
of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in
each *aganuku*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic
consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic func-
tions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *kaili*, *matanga*, or
pulipuli. *Kaili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's
paternal and maternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organi-
zation a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yata
villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest
member of each household. In Yata, where my knowledge of the house-
hold grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house
canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were re-
ferred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*tuia*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions.
Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the
food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Mea i wea?" (Where
does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau
i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because
the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate
through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further ques-
tion is, "Ko ai ko tana?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
599 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its
blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom his sponsors in this fashion as his *tamaga*
tua. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless
continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom
the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is
closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A
man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tamaga*
tua, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 393.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
three villages; persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share
262 of its food, including its *tamaga* products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's
sugar cane; or Ngalu's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from
591 the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
261 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tamaga tua* child takes
621 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*tasi tamaga tua*). The food
share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so
592 must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children
to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this
exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 298) is sponsored in Loto by
her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngalu by her mother's second brother,
592 who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who
also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant rela-
tive of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a
tamaga tua of that man in Ngalu. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of
residence, is a *tamaga tua* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in
Ngalu with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household,
the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum
share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngalu, the two vil-
lages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties
with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman
makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her
old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the
same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by
change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing
food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and con-
test teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affilia-
tion or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the
village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the
village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the
village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *nofo* of the

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatane, makaveine*), a young man or woman may change (*uilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving

[578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *uilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wsu* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *kainanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wsu* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wsu* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wsu* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *wsu* was discussed with informants on several different

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[124] 613 773 616 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *uma*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lelei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau koa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te uila mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wonu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kiliotawaki, te ataoluea, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauumui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i lotó o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolotunga,—te wui manu e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuanga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rutettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliotawaki*, the *ataoluea*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauumui*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *uma* was given, the *uma* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[835]

*The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

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539 Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te mea ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai koa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe la oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu koa te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called *wua*. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a *wua* also which grew from them. The *wua* grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the *wua* of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua manga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wunga, tupu mai. Peia oki i a Yeitae.

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau o te moana.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na nanu ki nganta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; peia oki te wanau a Kenakena, peia oki te wanau a Pukapuka, peia oki te wanau a Malemu, peia oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanau a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 Note: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga
773 Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other
539 informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mataliki were
616 humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their now transformed brothers and sisters and these names

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613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an [555] important social group.

773 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all 616 land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua 773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it 613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this 773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was 611 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*keinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. 616 Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*keinanga, momo,* or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Loloa c. Kenaloena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	d. Pukapuka e. Malemu f. Lawala g. Walawale
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Mango—Keinanga	h. Kava i. Lokie j. Yeitae
	4. Wua Tawola—Keinanga	k. Yalo l. Yelu m. Manu

Informants tended to visualize the matter in terms of a tree with spreading branches and limbs (fig. 53). The names of the sub-lineages as given in this figure represent a final decision by informants. Other lists, procured at an earlier period of field work, differ a little in the given names. A second list of lineages and sub-lineages, probably for a later date when some sub-lineages had died out or were displaced by other named groups, is given below. The first list is probably the classic list; the second is the grouping as some understand it today.

Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Kenaloena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	c. Malemu d. Lawala e. Pukapuka
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Lulu—Keinanga	f. Mango g. Kava h. Lokie i. Yeitae j. Lakawanga
	4. Wua Layo or Yalo—Keinanga	k. Yelu l. Tawola m. Manu

An analysis of the lineage membership of 160 adults showed 89 members of the Wua Lulu, 69 of the Wua Kati, 1 of Layo, and 1 member of Yalo.

The individual who first gave his membership as Wua Layo, Keinanga Tawola, later gave his affiliation as Wua Lulu, Keinanga Kava. Sixteen who said they belong to Keinanga Lakawanga gave Lulu as their major maternal grouping; one member of Keinanga Lakawanga gave Yalo as his major maternal grouping; this last is either a mistake or else Wua Lulu is to be understood as moiety Lulu, which is more likely. The three persons who gave their grouping as Uila, Keinanga Kiole, are brothers and a sister; a third brother said he was a member of Wua Kati, Keinanga Kati. Kati was given as the major maternal grouping of 16 other members of the Keinanga Kiole; here again Kati must have the sense of moiety. The point to note, however, is that the large majority, 155 out of 160, gave as their *wua* either Lulu or Kati, thus giving the very definite impression that these two groupings are still functioning in Pukapukan society as effective moiety groupings of the maternal lineages.

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Each of the 160 adults professed membership in one of 12 different sub-lineages (this excepting the person who gave a double identification, first, Layo, Tawola; then Lulu, Kava). The active sub-lineages in the moiety Lulu are: Mango, Lakawanga, Yelu, Kava, Yeitae, Lokie; those in the moiety Kati: Kiole, Pukapuka, Kenakena, Lawala, Kati. The relative numerical strength of the sub-lineages is: Kava (L) 36; Yelu (L) 24; Kati (K) 20; Kiole (K) 18; Lakawanga (L) 18; Pukapuka (K) 12; Kenakena (K) 11; Mango (L) 7; Lawala (K) 5; Yeitae (L) 4; Lokie (L) 4. The relative numerical strength of these sub-lineages might possibly be altered by adding in figures from Loto village, but, because there seems to be an equality in the village distributions of the sub-lineages, the relative strengths would not differ materially from the serial order given above.

Twenty individuals gave their affiliation as Keinanga Kati, Wua Kati, either because they did not know their sub-lineage and gave only their moiety, an unlikely matter, or else because some individuals claim descent through a major maternal lineage directly and not through any sub-lineage. When the smaller groups were formed by the breaking away of lineages, some individuals remained members of the original *wua* grouping, so that the four *wua* must be considered both as groupings of smaller sub-lineages and also as single lineages in their own right. This single *wua* descent is noted for both Kati and Mango in the above list of membership strength. No examples are on record for Tawola or Lulu, but doubtless they do occur also.

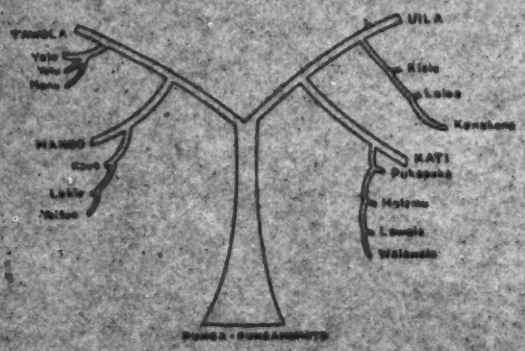

FIGURE 33.—Branching of maternal sub-lineages (*keinanga*), from informant's drawing. Main trunk of tree represents total population; main branches four main groupings of maternal lineages (*wua*); remaining smaller branches, individual sub-lineages.

The *wua* membership of the 38 heads of households in Ngake village was noted; 16 belong to the Lulu division, 20 to the Kati division. This shows a reasonable amount of moiety equality, and seems to indicate in fact that there is no tendency to either moiety or lineage localization. This is presumably explained by the rule of patrilocal marital residence.

The internal organization of each maternal lineage is simple. The head (*tuka'aulu* or *unholelu*) of the lineage is the oldest man or woman in the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest
616 member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *wacle* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

[776 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.
771] Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panenu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *weteu* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wale*, "house eating" or *kai*
582 *kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would
684 punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling
from a tree; and Matalíki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish
776 a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
613 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may
intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules
616 of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as units.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uwa*, the *uwa* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uwa*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
171 so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
(each called for this purpose *tuakau*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
226 to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
a selected warrior (*too*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
578 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting
in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group,
petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts
over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety
division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time
more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is
merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns,
represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of impor-
tance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth
and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course,
the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided
among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning
is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that
they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose
majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered.
That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is
charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relation-
ship ties based on maternal descent.

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PATERNAL LINEAGES

613 There are seven principal paternal lineages in Pukapuka. Each lineage
764 is a *po*. The word *haingu* is used synonymously with *po*, but informants thought this usage modern. The term *po* is also applied to the burial ground associated with each paternal group. Other meanings of *po* are "night" and the "Underworld". When a man talks of his *po*, he means his paternal lineage and the piece of ground where he will be buried. The importance of the burial ground as giving a symbolic locus of reference for the varied functions of the lineage is shown by the fact that when asking the paternal lineage membership of a person one does not say: "What is his *po*?" but, "Where will he be buried?" (*Ko tanu i wea?*) The answer always provides the name of the burial ground. On the other hand, in narrative the name of the *po* is always used as an adjective to indicate paternal descent affiliation, as, "Ko Pakula, e tane Matanga" (Pakula was a man of Matanga *po*).

Membership in a paternal lineage is by birth or adoption. An individual is buried in the cemetery of his sociological father. A woman is buried in the cemetery of her father; her children, male and female, are buried in the cemetery of her husband. Each of the paternal lineages is divided into a number of smaller paternal sub-lineages called *wakavae*. Each major cemetery of the lineage is divided into a corresponding number of sections, also called *wakavae*. Hence a man and his children belong to a *po* but also to a *wakavae*. The *wakavae* may be regarded as a paternal sub-lineage, the *po* as a grouping of paternal sub-lineages into what is here termed a lineage. A final list of Pukapukan lineages and their sub-lineages is as follows:

613

Villages	Paternal Lineage (Po)	Paternal Sub-lineage (Wakavae)
Ngake	Muliwutu	Yalou, Aliki, Alia
	Matanga	Paku-i-tua, Te Manako, Waka-moe-ki-te-loto, Angialuka
Loto	Yangalipule or Tilotilowia	Wakavae-ki-mua, Yangaliponepone, Yamanala
	i Tua	Wakavae Aliki, Wakavae-ki-muli, i Tua, Walanga-kula
Yato	Yamaunga	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-ki-muli
	Yayi	Tolelau, Matanga
	Yalongo	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-muli-vae, Wakepia

NOTE: Various lists of the lineages and sub-lineages were collected during our stay. The above list represents the names procured toward the end of our visit, and is a clarification of earlier lists. As with the names of maternal lineages (*aua*) and sub-lineages (*hainanga*), there was a progressive clarification in the minds of informants as our investigation proceeded. Common, uninstructed opinion tends to confuse paternal lineage and sub-lineage, a natural tendency, perhaps, to promote one's sub-lineage to the status of a lineage. It is likely that the relative numerical strength of lineage and sub-lineage, and also their status, have fluctuated during the course of Pukapukan history owing to natural causes and to the predominance of certain personalities at certain times.

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
591 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[323] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another.
577 X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and he herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into
764 which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the
177 father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the
764 story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some
613 cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the
179 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited
364 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the
186 already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural
613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*wui aliki*). (See pp. 234-
192 237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *wui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matairapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*wua*
618 unit) or village membership (*matayinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kahai*),
621 depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

612 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yolongo* units. Village membership
616 is the rule for *tama* organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Infor-
797 mants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
621 born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofe*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
578 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolongo*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve land-produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however,
616 between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal
618 grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
498 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
641 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period,
> 561 which is then called *te takalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te takalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulukai o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meine utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *meine yo* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *meine utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kelépapai (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Koumoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kauliki (children).
Taumalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwanagalua: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matiyaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *tuwine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
868 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tungunga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *amunga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *wola*. The *wola* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
693 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wolo o Te Uhu-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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te uui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

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The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Nassau	Mulivaea	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	Tuai	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipula	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamanga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Mulwutu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamanuga	Two langatila

643 613

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*amanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

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Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

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The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *unkayomoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

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643

In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief 644 had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukavu*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to [610] their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last 613 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special 571 salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *tuhakouvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these 793 chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly 643 lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu- 645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was [171] the pattern of appointing a *moyakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born 613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite. From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te uale* ya
613 *o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

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> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *uale* berries, a headband of *uale* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yuki yukio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Ui", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*ume*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te uai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia[10] wai mail wauia | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wowolo te wawa | Let the talo tubers grow big |
> | Kia tuinugatanga | (Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request) |
> | Kia nanala te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (food) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ale te wawa | Until the load sinks |
> | Kawa ye te tangata | Constitute the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koe tangata wau koe ki uau" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*teuai* or *tauia*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
[302] choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal
643 fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *matau*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries.
643 From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga matali*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked on it to show herself (*uakayawa*) to the populace. Then the commoners
[195]

[10] Kia, an archaic particle used in preferring requests to the god.

613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status by walking with uplifted palms.

643 The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e unkaemaemu te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

502 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Malwatu lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto by the people of the lineage:

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The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late
597 chief, or to an adopted son (*ao kohoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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613 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male
643 child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yana*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they
597 disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament
[776 (*yana*) round the neck of the successor and the *tomonaro* ornament (a string of pearl-
782] shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

613 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated
643 by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.
173 The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional
773 founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakanyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakanyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakanyika could find a champion (*tou*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakanyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *lafe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

(*before*, first), *loto* (*middle*), *muli* (*behind*, *after*) it is possible sufficiently to indicate seniority differences according to the Pukapukan pattern. The word *tuatua* is occasionally applied by an older brother or sister to a younger sibling of the same or opposite sex. There are no special terms other than the descriptive words *ʻoe* given indicating seniority in cross sex reference; thus a younger brother calls an older sister *tuatua* *ʻoe* *waeine* *mua*. Today, with the breakdown of the native system, Rarotongan kinship terms indicating seniority are commonly used. Sex differences on the zero stratum are indicated by the use of the terms *taina* between siblings of the same sex, *tuaʻane* or *tuaʻwaeine* between siblings of the opposite sex. Some informants tend to apply the term *kainga* (to be distinguished from the term *kainga* *ʻuaʻane*, which indicates cousins of opposite sex) to siblings of opposite sex. In this sense the term is constantly used in folk stories, but one at least of our best informants did not agree with this use of the term, and others changed their opinion several times during the course of temporally separate discussions about the matter. Sex differences for other terms are indicated by the words *tane* and *waeine* for male and female respectively.

Descriptive terms are used to indicate remote relationships on each stratum if exactness of reference is required. Affinal relatives generally, at the zero and minus one stratum, are called *ito* *tangata* and *ito* *ngaia* respectively. These words refer to close relatives by marriage connection, not by blood. A child of an unmarried mother is a *taina* to *taʻo*; spouse's child by another man or woman is *taina* *ito* *tabuna*. Conversely, blood mother or father's mate is *matua* *ito* *tabuna*. Blood parents are *matua* *waeine* as opposed to adoptive parents, *matua* *tane*.

The eldest child, male or female, in a family is called the *tuaʻati*. *Ngaiote* is applied to the second child in a family of three or four children; to the second and third children in a family of five children; to the second, third, and fourth children in a family of six children. *Teina* is used for the next to last child in a family of more than three children. *Ifaʻamuli* is the last child in any family. *Ruhiwa* is the heir apparent in the chiefly family, the heir either chosen by the father or generally reckoned to be the child likely to succeed to the title. *Ngaseale* (*grandchild*) is a term with more effectiveness feeling tone than the colorless word *mokopuna*.

In spite of the strong matrilineal in Pukapukan society, there is no special term for mother's brother, nor any indication of special obligations or privileges between mother's brother and sister's child, corresponding to the *tamaʻe* or *tuaʻu* relationships of Samoa and Fiji. The word *tamaʻe*, however, has meaning for the Pukapukans.

It is now an archaic word, found only in old chants, and not in current usage. A man's adopted child (*taina* *hoiri*) of either sex who is the blood child of a female blood relative of his own generation—that is, of his elder or younger blood sister, or of his

relationship, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities. Local lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and strictly kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The extension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; as all other kinsmen, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

Table 7. Kinship Terms

Relation	Generation	Lineal	Avunkul
2	Tupuna tane (great male). Tupuna wahine (great man)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (parent's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (male). Matua wahine (man)	Matua tane (father). Matua wahine (mother)	Matua nuparal tane (father-in-law). Matua nuparal wahine (mother-in-law)
0	Ovaiko of same sex as speaker, taina; ovaiko of opposite sex to speaker, hungo wahine or wahine aina	Siblingy of same sex as speaker, taina; siblingy of opposite sex to speaker, tua tane (w. s.). tua wahine (m. s.). hungo (m. or w. s.)	Taukiaia tane (husband-in-law). taukiaia wahine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tua tangata
−1	Tumutuna (nephew). tumutuna wahine (niece)	Tumutuna (son). tumutuna wahine (daughter)	Hungo tane (son-in-law). hungo wahine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives of this level generally, hungo tangata, as tua tangata, brothers of son-in-law and daughter-in-law.
−2	Mokopuna tane (great nephew). Mokopuna wahine (great niece)	Mokopuna tane (grandson). mokopuna wahine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, as marriage an tane tane. hungo tane, wife of my male grandchild.

One important characteristic of the Pukapuka system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother taina mua. By the use of the terms mua

maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kaiori* or *tama wanga*, and *mama kaiori* or *kaw* or *mama wanga*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kaiori* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationship of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, where, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice titbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

Polynesian kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

To repair a breach in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the same kaloti of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the girl adoption.

A woman has adopted a same kaloti from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a same kaloti from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called yeel, and is apparently a type of girl matriotated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (ual tatai). It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a major quarrel to a distant land boy, where the couple remained hidden from the searching of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, powered the exchange of children.

In complete adoption, the patrilineal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of matrilineal descent line (uso) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the matrilineal lineage of the same kaloti to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the same kaloti is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the matrilineal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the same kaloti's children will revert to the blood mother's matrilineal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Genua matrilineal, however, includes these adopted children (in Bonerlolab 3, 5, 6), each a female, who become members not only of the adopting father's patrilineal lineage but of his (not his wife's) matrilineal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (Bonerlolab 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's matrilineal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) matrilineal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's matrilineal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's matrilineal descent line. That her children revert to the matrilineal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the breach of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his matrilineal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's matrilineal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

Adopting Parent	Child: Kindred	Child: Wahdal
PATERNAL		
1. Father's brother	4	–
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	–
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	–
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	–
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	–
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	–
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	–
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	–
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	–
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	2	–
15. Father's mother's paternal relative, detail lacking	2	–
Father's adopted paternal relative:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	–
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	–
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	–
MATERNAL		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	–
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	–
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	–
Mother's paternal relative:		
23. Mother's paternal relative, detail lacking	11	–
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	–
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	–
Mother's maternal relative:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	–
Mother's adopted maternal relative:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	–
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	–	1
Totals	77	14

The census records three examples of adoption of same kaiwi, the adopting parent then giving the child (now is time) to another paternal lineage not the parents' own.

the feeling relationship into a permanent foster relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a remaking of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his same kototi. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to kototi and nonpui children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationship is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

Two men, Lepenuu and Tiele, are cross cousins. Lepenuu adopted as kototi the son of Tiele. Tiele in turn decided to adopt from Lepenuu. He contracted for Lepenuu's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiele's sorrow, Lepenuu's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

The exchange is termed yeesi (gift), yeesi mai (to receive in exchange), or yeesi ata (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a semi-mystical tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned taio bush—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called yeesi. The practice of

while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven teens *hoboti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the teen *hoboti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a teen *hoboti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the ceremonies. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, money, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as teen *hoboti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a teen *hoboti*, the feeding child (*teen wanga*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household food in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents cease to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

defines, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second, from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, bairs to any member of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of course material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in house-hold residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (kobot, to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (wanpel, to feed). The adopting parents are mates kabot, the child tama kabot. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as matua wanpel, the child as tama wanpel. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 319–320.)

The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for tala lock and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent) have at some time been adopted by the foster adopters. Of 209 persons of a genera-tion below that of mother and father in the household, 42 (20.5 percent) are tama kabot. Of the remaining 139 persons, 13 (9.8 percent) are tama wanpel living with their feeding parents. The percentage of tama wanpel in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.2%. Of the 42 who are completely adopted (tama kabot) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the tama kabot is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meas-

occurred, both of leading children (*tama manga*) and of children "cut off" (*tama kahati*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

In these 29 households there is a total of 48 *tama kahati* and 10 *tama manga*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 3 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 29 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household dispositions nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriages. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choice and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

342 mants. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 18 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 42 is monogamous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the latter borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group comprising household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complex household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yaws by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Nassau.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
371 member of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her
372 blood parents.

The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the monogamous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	8	5	7	7	6	4	2	2	1	1	1

372 Households with a numerical membership of 5 to 8 persons account for
371 72.5 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the households, 52 households were studied in which adoptions

346 (c)

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1:Beaglebole and Beaglemole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Table 5. Household Composition (4)

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
														+			
							+										

Ipsaeglebole and Beaglebole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

348 (a)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	A	M	C	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+						+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
6	+	+	+												
7	+	+		+											
8	+		+		+			+	+	+					
9	+	+													
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63	+	+	+	+											
64	+	+	+	+											

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a wedding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or she fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The tale beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guardi, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guardi from Lavo came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing taro from Uia. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six taro mats or three pennies. She handed over the mats, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guardi mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (household 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 240.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

COMPOSITION

The relationships of the persons making up individual household studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngele and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

The households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother is household head being a widow, and in household 42, a divorcee.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 37 of the 54 households. In 12 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the man's wife. One man's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) live with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by informants.

go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a full in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born before or after the theft, would certainly die early death. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories of Nuanua and Kisiin show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. On night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipai, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipai, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipai himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipai confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kisiin was a noted warrior (toa) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (loto) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell him who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the people who lived about this pool were called *manuma ala* (red bellies). If one wished to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manuma ala*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Waina, concerning magic of theft and murder, illustrates particularly individual reflections (1).

Slander (*mala manu*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

the chief's executive (uwola), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (here in vernacular) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te ivo o ai'ili* or *te ivo o ai'ili* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te taiatia o ai'ili*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 386).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chief (*laupatia*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was led by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

SANCTIONS

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the goda. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the goda and by the wronged person (p. 389).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the goda. In the reign of the chief Tuiapuaga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reinforced by group action; the law of *pale per* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the goda would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reinforce the punishment of the goda. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the rights of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally preposterous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernatural powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have acquired a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the later-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Mulivera was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Mulivera behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods prominent over the other lineage gods. Matalili and Tuna, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngale, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be summarized as follows:

Village meetings (*nakapuno lala*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled inter-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*nakapuno* or *te tapuk*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*nakapuno* or *te uul ali*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the governance of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together on unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tapuk*). All decisions of the old men, very presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Nevertheless, the final veto seems to have rested with

through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.

Ngale genealogies of the chiefs of Mailiwaia and Matango lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals in the side succession would know before the Court set what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngale claimants.

The succession to title in these Ngale genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief succeeded as lady from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngale affiliated with Lau village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Lau, as the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sublineage and installed him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngale. This the son did, and when the chief died, the newcomer passed to the convert's son and has remained there since this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this genealogy lays claim to the title of chief, but because the relative never appeared in the city when its candidate had claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the genealogy.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

Inductions to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage. All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

Dressed in the costumes of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineage, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their ranks. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure proper. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (mea). The chief remained or rested on a stone seat (pew) placed in front of the sacred stone. He did a complete had decoration (kabu) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for rain, rain, and fish in abundance, for strong souls for his people and for their children and age, accompanied by gray hairs on their heads. The god therupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the fish of the chief to break out in green flesh. A celebrative stone hatchet in lieu of the usual stone was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been received by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thereafter the chief was a sage person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

A distribution (lasbow) of mats took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Mailiwaia was considered an infallible prediction; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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yesugo, but genealogies give some of his three wives as related to Talikiyaga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of aparoro chief. During about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ilifan, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wiola. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Te Ilenego, killed with the chief Aletofuga. Tuivo took the young Ilifan under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never exercise mercy, no matter what the provocation. Ilifan listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ilifan's son by his first wife, Kafai, was Xafi who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four aparoro chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

To Tia, a 55th generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Talikiyaga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuivo. He had been adopted by Xafai, Ilifan's first wife. To lover this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ilifan commanded her adopted son, To Tia, to be chief when Xafi his blood son, died. Yet died and To Tia became chief. But Fepu, blood son of Ilifan and Ulapu, his second wife, also claimed the title of aparoro chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Fepu nominated his son, Valiaka, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Xafi's wife, Yolawa, was descended from Malofili ancestry, Xafi's son, Malowala (Pilato Mowa) also had troops of Malofili blood in him. When Fepu nominated his son, Valiaka, as chief, the Yato man Tagi (another descendant from the Malofilitua), who then was the executive officer (yuk), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Valiaka, Fepu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowala, son of Xafi, as another chief of Loto.

Fepu was forced to agree to the demands of Tagi, and thus there arose the unusual situation in which there were four aparoro chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred mulberry of Malofili and all holding office at the same time. To Tia and Fepu were of one generation; Valiaka and Malowala were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amicable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakiotoa, son of To Tia, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowala, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1923. He was succeeded immediately by his brother, the present chief, Nawani, a man now about 100 years old. Nawani insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawani's sister, descendants of Pakiotoa, and descendants of Pakiotoa's two older sisters. Other lineages in Nyalo are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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L13 The members of Kamole's lineage were all wielding the tool, and when they saw
the evidence of Ku's power, they were afraid and spread immediately that the right
L43 of succession should go to Tuiatuaiva's sembene. Tuiatuaiva named Kalaea, her son, to
succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kalaea was her son by
1173 Kamole's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamole, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the
172 Ngale lineage of Malivatu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has
remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Malivatu descends from
Tamafili, probable son of Kamole.

The seventh chief, Kalaea, by his supernatural powers succeeded in driving away from Pulopulo the giant Tongalaivaea sent by the chiefs of Yapaka (p. 321). Wua, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and seafaring, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pulopulo many of the
gamos now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from
Pulopulo during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island,
returning only to visit his canoes and sail away again.

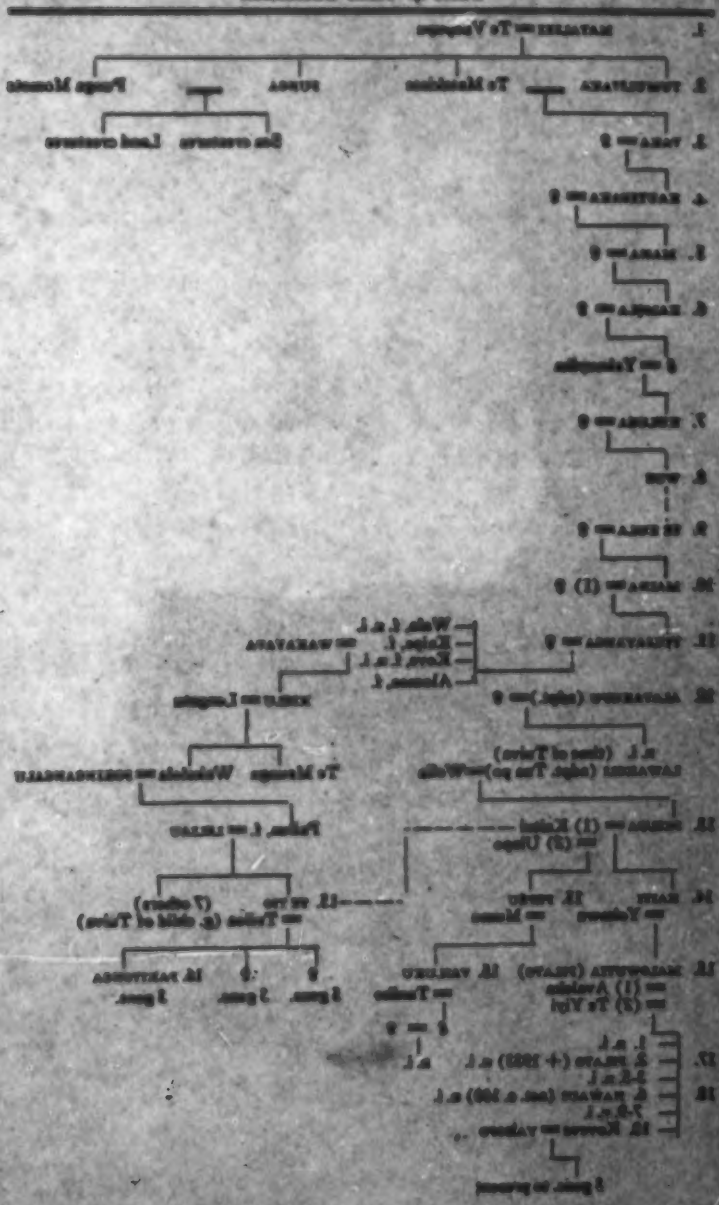
It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the women Wengwa assumed
much power and authority and led the people through a period of famine, superstition
and disharmony which was finally ended by the great atomic wave. Her informants
were confused as to whether Wengwa was contemporary with Wua, saying on one day
that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wengwa rose to
authority because of Wua's absence.

L13 Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of
Ngale. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which
L43 he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving
1173 children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups
might be restored, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's
lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became ninth chief. It is from the
first (pure sons) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the
supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuiayenga, the
eleventh chief. Tuiayenga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala,
became the second maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his
third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio,
fifteenth chief. Alatalupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's
first wife.

When Tuiayenga died without male issue, Alatalupu succeeded to the title. He
[L47] married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people
of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Mato Ka, all
his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether.
There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and
probably too desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the
supreme reign of Alatalupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He
moved his residence from Ngale to Lato without, however, changing his lineage affilia-
tion. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tuia-

Table 4. Ariki Succession



1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—in the man's *tamata*. The father calls the child *my tamata*; the child calls the father *my mama*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *iuahava* (*sic*) is the
603 term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The
114 word *yinahava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to
anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe
778 or a sacred structure is *yinahava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinahava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinahava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinahava*.

606 Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as
602 *hainga vaehaua* or as *vaele atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of
[m] relationship. The *vaele atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *vaele atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *vaele atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga vaehaua*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga vaehaua* are *vaele atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *vaele atua* are also *vaele atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga vaehaua* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *vaele atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *vaele atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *vaele atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *vaele atua* or *hainga vaehaua* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:

> Mata and Tuiaua are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotaga and Eliu, are *vaele atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Eliu and Lotaga, of the opposite sex, are *vaele atua* to each other.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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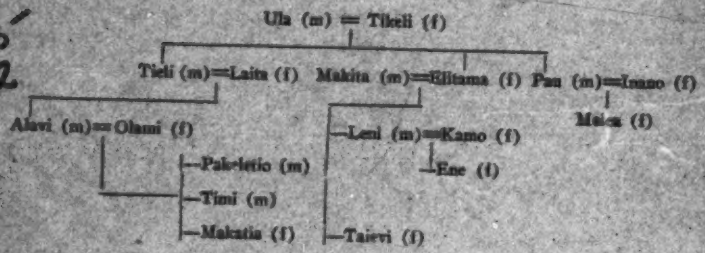

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wahama*. Melea is a *hainga wahama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wahama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wahama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga wahama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wahama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

[578] In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for
584 the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by
602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidance; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When
765 the *wale atua* is dying, the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become
881 sociological adults (*wahine* and *wahine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children too little to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live,
867 and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a
597 *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Elia and Lotoa (p. 259):

Lotoa is some years older than Elia. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Elia's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Elia retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

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605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Molingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uale*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense *tapu* that exists between *uale atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the *tapu* *uale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *uale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokala who married his *uale atua*, Woetau, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly
[171] assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uale atua*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old *tapus* were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

The attraction of *uale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
602 chants (*kupu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
539 consummated affection of one *uale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *uale atua* *tapu*, informants could only quote the two following sections from
835 *kupu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matalili ma, ko Tuke ma
Ko mana ma ko galoa

Wali mai, e tuke, tuke mana
E ginakava, e ginaga mana
Ko wakpowa ana manako;
Tuke tuke pana pa ia pana o ia manako ma.

Koe ana Matalili (the Pleiades), I ana Tuke (Orion)
(We lived) like two females together (as do these stars)
Turn to me, oh my *uale atua*
You are sacred, you are the *tapu* plate
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I see you) my pulse pounds like the beating (throbbing) of the Light whale.

The second chant runs:

Ko wakpowaai ahi ai ana
Ko yuke mana i ia manako

Wakmagalam mata ai ana
E ko mana i mata ia ia manako
Ma mata ko wakana kiwakana
I kai ia tuke tuke manako,
Ko tanki ia ia ma mai ia,
Kiko pili ia ia ia ia manako
Wali mai koe ko ia ia manako,
Wanaki ana mana manai: wakaga ma ko mana?

I had dared my desire (for my *uale atua*).
The first-born spear (herself to me) and satisfies my desire.
Dead is my heart (with grief).
I go to my ancestral land,
With my incest for you.
(Unmistakable is the desire of my heart,
I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
I return now (this place) by the main road.
You turn to me that we may talk,
I hide our secret understanding; we shall have intercourse, shall we)

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *male atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai malanga* (incest).

No reference to *male atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *male atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
548 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *male atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very least that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is manifested in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te mohoitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mohoilikinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
753 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the
833 ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Fau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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842 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly
827 from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no ideas as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *miti wakatiti tangata* (conception
787 dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful talo patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *miti wakatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks
[828] her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *wahangauhu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*ngakau kino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wawine punga*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*lopa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *titiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (nuhanuna) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the taro fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (pui), decorative kilts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and so likely to be choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hooks of fishlines, or rennet of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, mess dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for
261 special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *hauve* crab must gives her child crooked legs; eating *tupo* crab must gives her child bow legs. The body of the *haipea* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *hauve* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red labia *majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of [153] chronic skin sores on many bodies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the evidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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Eating fish with small mouths, such as *manini* or *kolowa*, produces a small mouth in the child. Eating the head of a fish with a large mouth, like the groupers, produces a large mouth. Eating a horned fish, like the *uwa*, unicorn fish, or the *kolili*, produces a bump on the forehead of the child or a horn on its back (*sale tua*) similar to the "horn" on the back of the *kolili*. Certain other fish, like the *ahuahu*, needle fish, the pregnant woman may eat with safety, provided she does not touch the head or the long tail. Eating a flat fish, such as the *ali* or the *pangipangi*, varieties of flounders, makes the baby grow long and flat. Eating the head of a fish with large teeth produces a baby with two very large incisor teeth. Eating a fish that has poison barbs or fins produces two bony nodules on the ankles of the child. *Pala* (*Acanthocybium*), albacore, bonito, red mullet, and snappers are considered good for the pregnant woman, but she must be careful to eat no fish which is beginning to spoil or has soft flesh, lest the skin of the child be soft and partly rotten.

In general, coconuts are good for the pregnant mother provided they are freshly picked from the tree. Eating or drinking nuts that are a day or more old produces sore spots on the skin of the child, for there is the presupposition that there are slightly affected spots on the shell or flesh of a nut one day old. If the drinking nut is very old, the skin of the child will be similarly rotten. Eating a very large nut produces a child with an abnormally large head. Drinking misshapen coconuts, of which a part of the shell is concave, produces concavities on the skull of the baby. Eating or drinking of a nut from the center of a large cluster of nuts, where the nuts have been tightly packed together in growing, compresses tightly or crushes the baby's head.

Eating the young shoots of the talo plant produces in the male child a birthmark on the forehead, in the female child a birthmark on the *labia majora*. Eating talo corms with large protuberances on them produces warts on the head of the child. Eating a tuber with a double root produces a male child with two membranes (*kolowa*) on the scrotum, a female child with two membranes joining the *labia majora* to the anus. Eating rotten talo causes the eyes and navel of the child to be infected with disease, and gives the child a general physical weakness. Eating talo tubers that have been gnawed by a rat or *kaipou* crab produces sores on the skin of the child.

Eating the bud shoots on the side of the pandanus key produces a child with two *ahi* seals (cartilaginous protuberances—*tangi*) in front of the ear. Eating over-ripe pandanus keys produces sores on the body of the child. Eating crooked or misshapen bananas produces a male child with a very big penis or a female child with a very wide membrane between *labia majora* and anus.

Eating a bird whose wing was broken when it was caught produces a baby with weak arms; a bird whose chest was injured in the catching gives the baby a weak and diseased chest; a bird with prominent breast bones produces a pigeon breast in the child. Uninjured birds in perfect condition are suitable food.

A final class of foods that must be eaten with care is shellfish and turtle. Eating periwinkles (*ahili*) produces warts (*ihonga ahili*) on the top of the baby's head. *Tridacna* seems to be the only safe shellfish that the mother may indulge in. Eating the head of the turtle produces two scars on the mesial sagittal plane of the head like the marks on the head of the turtle. Eating the plastron of the turtle makes the child suffer from respiratory defects and breathe in a noisy, labored fashion after the manner of the turtle. Eating the carapace of the turtle produces a hunch-backed child. Eating turtle eggs produces a child born with a hernia. Eating the green fat of the turtle renders the child liable to be born with a perennially running nose and eyes. With the above exceptions, the flesh of the turtle is a good food for the mother to eat.

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From the list of foods that she must take care not to eat, it is evident that the ideal diet for the pregnant woman consists of the general foods of the Pukapukan diet, with the caution that they must be fresh and sound in shape. Foods that have special peculiarities of shape are undesirable because

843 of possible marginal influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and it should then her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *lomi te uita* (pressure on the fetus) or *lomi tagata* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *mahoiki* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pati. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *lomilomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on observations of the mother's abdomen and on dreams. If the pregnant
787 woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli towilowiloaki*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli wawine*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives much certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—bar accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female, for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

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842 types of food divisions (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Pi pe ta taua taua e wai tamawaine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*uahatinga* or *uahatakataka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or cocoanut sheet placed on the ground.

No cocoanut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata uahomonau*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*hokomonga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata uahomonau* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tua muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*uuwali*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*yapu lakaia*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the
983 blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*itiiu*) all her sexual sins (*yala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata yila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papakinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu kalokalo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus leya. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *kokonunga* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such
773 force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Watu-manavanui (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*pito*) and
844 along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*uwuna*), the cord is then cut (*kokoti*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *tulwyi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu kaua*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*lua*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta
824 and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *puapua* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *puka* tree (the leaves to be used later for talo fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te uwuna o Mea* (the afterbirth of Sa-and-ao). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the
844 life of the child.

The parturient blood (*toto*) is tapu. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is tapu, nor were any cin-

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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *welo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauvila* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manoru*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

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The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *kokousi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*uwke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

844 As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the new-
831 born child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the
192 attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

844 The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulanga*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yua wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*wa wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

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853 end of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

846 Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls *off*, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau bino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama no mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*uyanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans.
517 No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be
845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-

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845 turient woman because she would not help by confessing her sins, the final arrival of the baby finding all present quite unprepared:

The patient was a young unmarried Ngake woman, in severe labor. She was a *tamaahe wou* (new to childbirth). Sitting outside the house at about 7 o'clock in the evening on some low, flat blocks of wood which were covered by a bundle of copra sacks, she was bracing herself by pushing down with stiff arms on coconut husks covered by mats piled on either side. She was assisted by five other women, her mother, her older sister, and three relatives. Other people came and went. The sister sat in front supporting the patient's feet under her legs, which gripped the patient's knees and held them tight. The other women held her limbs, her knees or legs, wherever there was room. From time to time the patient's father and classificatory brother came and supported her back, pushing down on her head, shoulders and back. When the labor pains came on, everyone present called out loudly: "Kokono, kokono ke ongo, kokono ke to!" (Bear down, bear down till it aches, bear down till it falls!) Everyone who could reach a hand to the woman gripped her limbs or body and pushed her legs downward and toward to her body, taking care to keep her legs well apart. Some pushed vigorously on her head and shoulders. At times there were at least ten persons all pushing parts of her body and calling to her to push the child out. She was accused of being afraid to press down and was continually scolded for not telling her attendants when the pains came on. The crowd not only remonstrated with her but also with each other, demonstrating in turn how the pushing should best be done and what type of groaning and grunting best helped the act of bearing down. Men made witticisms at every opportunity. Children became sleepy and drifted off to their homes. Gradually the crowd dispersed.

In the intervals between pains, one of the men or her sister sat behind the patient to hold her shoulders and support her back. For the rest of the time her back was unsupported, for she had been made to sit just far enough away from the framework of the house to be unable to lean against the house walls. She occasionally rose and walked to the beach, supported by her sister; her mother usually remained behind, giving those near by an opportunity to shout to her for not helping. Standing up brought on mild labor pains. The patient's hands and arms became very tired from leaning on them so long, but no change of position was suggested. She would squat low on her legs however or sit on her sister's knees for a change. Mosquitoes began to worry her until one of the attendants thought to fan her. At about 5 a.m. she went off to sleep.

In the morning an old woman of Loto who was reputed to possess special abilities for speeding up delayed deliveries arrived and everyone became noticeably more cheerful. She made up some special remedy for the patient, who refused to drink the rather muddy looking liquid. Later she yielded to pressure and swallowed several gulps. Then she was moved to a shady place on the beach under some coconut trees. The medicine woman placed her hands on the patient's abdomen and shook it up and down; she also exerted pressure with her finger tips on the abdomen in several places. Each time the patient pressed down she had vomiting fits, so she refused to bear down as much as the attending group thought necessary.

[517] There was a constant coming and going of people at this time. There had been a death in Yato early in the morning and the group was constantly changing as women went off to attend the death ceremonies, or returned from them bringing all the news. Children played round the group on the beach. When they became noisy, they were ordered away to play elsewhere or told to go to Yato to see the death.

Noon came with no sign of the baby. The women decided that the patient should confess her sins as the only remaining method of speeding up delivery, but she would say nothing. Soon it started to rain and the patient was removed to the veranda of the house. She drank coconut liquid and ate *ara*. About 4 p.m., after repeated urgings to confess, the girl broke down, burst into tears, and in a low voice interrupted by sobs, talked freely. One woman said she confessed to having sinned against her mother, but

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845 another said the girl had cried aby, was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *uto*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts and by the naming of the child:

574 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's
612 parents prepare food, first for the *puaki* feast. This is a small division of talo and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uhuki*),
574 the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *uuele* food division. If the *uhuki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The divi-
612 sion is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *taumamayunga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uuele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uuele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uuve*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or also a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If
[75] the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uale lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uale tamatamine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any content whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Moa (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apauun (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however mistaken, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

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551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives
854 most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given
853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The
854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first
[857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there
[152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and puts it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

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852 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words
195 that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

857 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wahamoto* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to
852 feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied
866 without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as
868 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

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871 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday
868 crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where
962 there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

857 Tiau, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time
857 they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tuteiage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all them is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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886 phrase *kos punis* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have
145 had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

561 The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as
881 *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to
864 the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village
561 meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the
881 parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and
291 make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

561 The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the opera-
881 tion of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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561 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general
381 domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

381 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, talo, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *mulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

381 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

561 Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next
526 graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
[274] boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matua* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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561 day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to
226 the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tanganga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tanganga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

261 Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a
881 paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau wakayawi*, an institution-
581 alized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

826 Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be
613 selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitau*) for each sex. The
[352] *wale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotowa* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*tuite*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *suka wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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613 When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same
884 time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau*
lukipoko contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post
of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his
788 hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent
their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group
crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and,
making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The
two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the
post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post.
The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to
the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him
round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined
weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported,
strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the
opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till
a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned
to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It
is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbol-
ism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests
were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* tech-
nique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is
obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own
speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation
following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present
generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the
591 youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to
engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently
575 with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature
enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might for-
merly leave the family house and live in *wale lapa* or *wale tamawine* (young
men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex.
It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated
with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing
obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's
house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his
parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obliga-
575 tions to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On
the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lapa*) or women
(*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or
daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without
[illegible]. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
171 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this
831 witticism.

Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis.
833 Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka uuwine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*uia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na uiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *makawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 / 461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that
830 it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
539 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetau*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*mai ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*seinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o naku hakale*) to tame her spirit (*makalata i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pele* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama hanagata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
195 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*hupu*) the composer is always at
[533] pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *mimosa* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the finest marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (*ati*). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
195 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngaya* bush or *kotaua* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native ter-
833 minology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting be-
533 fore or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

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833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual inter-
177 course. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

837 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in
152 Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

[586] Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife
152 or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he
had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of
831 extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and
girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their
836 marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *uia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uia ina*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
836 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakova* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
584 street on the lock-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kaiela* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoo* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
755 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual
587 men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Maliwata	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Maliwata, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the number of inter- and intra-lineage marriages in genealogies which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

[616] Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

595 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively
587 encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *uouine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only.
821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver-
832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *uukatapu* gifts of food, orna-
ments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both
585] groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakauafana*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakaacupa*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a
831 girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tungotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular
584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*wolhimwa*) and by the presentation
585 of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *wakamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's
431 house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts
[574] which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *mawa loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *mawu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wokawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*iau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wokawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wokawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wokawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*wokaipa*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

837 If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained
586 with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puki uenua*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and no punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of
837 individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island.
586 This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as
177 long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce (*maku*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned: where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly,
586 separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps
177 in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*e uenua maku tane*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

586 Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is an easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Disposition of Children

586 No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

764 Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*epueju*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of textile enclosure called *la* by sewing four pandanus mats (*hi*) together. They place the mat on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a male state, if a male—a short pandanus mat only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a yaus necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *tiki ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the mat and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the mat is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before it is obvious that death is imminent.

[763]

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the deceased corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*wale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*wukatwye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *wuhe-ewenge*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unusually, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*wutonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of mats or tolo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A Maori reminiscence. The Pukapukans greeting is both inhalative and nasal pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalations.

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to
764 the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uru*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanangu*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*lua* or *tulunu*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the
775 Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

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764 more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian
795 concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

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After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether
764 or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the cere-
574 mony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row
[245] or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niu tuhovale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

765 The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *tuupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale iuu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kuiyapu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*nuhaleles*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia uale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*uule kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*wakawai*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *tonis* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *puapua* wood called *te ami o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*pongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*aloa*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*sai*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

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their heads on upturned palms and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Tuya mauiangi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ufa ufa ai, ufa ufa ai	Up and down, up and down,
Kaukai, kaukai,	Undulate, undulate,
Kaiu ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kawa*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kawa* or *taukawa*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*niu tuakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kawa o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*ewanga*) of the old men's group (*tupele*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tarangi. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli wanie*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taboos or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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766 mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*hoitou*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general popu-
764 lace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*).
776 When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his pater-
778 nal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu
766 place reserved for the god.

764 The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

766 Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

765 Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*taupo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purifi-
764 cation rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse,
of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The
underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the
mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retire-
ment until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the
passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a ceme-
tery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a ceme-
tery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are
mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut
lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If
one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is
legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones,
rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the ceme-
tery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking
a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one
will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the
native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children
play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pan-
danus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the head-
stones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or
Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan
indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that
the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness
in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever
occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
626 behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names
but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for
instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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521 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
152 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with
children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
578 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due
to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which
626 is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his
wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without
permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers,
reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness,
from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such
a person is said to be *manavu poto* or *ngahau hiso*. He is condemned for his anger
because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
152 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalahapeka;* one who arro-
576 gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalaha-*
peka. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which
867 have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or
unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that
626 wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete
with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another
is said to *wahomitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the
resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no
uncertain terms for *wahomitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with
property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who
lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewulu-*
wulu tutuna. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business,
causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wahawa*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
person is a *tangata hakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of
261 food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be
shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *hopu yae;* a person who is given
621 to begging or wheedling food is *nunu;* a person who makes a point of eating at a
household other than his own is *hai yau;* one who steals food is *toyruyru;* one who is
generous at giving away food is *haikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person
158 who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and
takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapupa*, meaning
826 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *lumo:* a crippled person has a *lumo;* a bald-
626 headed man has a *lumo* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to
a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or
my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
152 or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or
making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *mai veia* (to make
152 enemies); to have favorites, *mai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering
not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye mai veia* (one who does not make enemies),
or *e ye mihanihi* (one who does not select people).

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183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psy-
774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the
869 tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman
828 to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
787 At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained
715 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the
[529] hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*)
828 which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the con-
787 ception of a child (*miti mahatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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828 789 [521] friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771 Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianised, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident, than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua pumpunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (wato manli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *pumpunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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776 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of
114 minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiho*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in
615 the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island.
562 He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Taua nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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776 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-
613 social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[175] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*pa valu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*nuhavae*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laubava* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

776 Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yama-
613 nga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a
226 talo swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamanga went fishing they prayed

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[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

776 Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

613 Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general

313 duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing

241 anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale

[262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776 Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776 Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the

821 four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu,
821 god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly
262 in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests
613 of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes asso-
613 ciated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangalula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to
[301] their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukis* for his male wor-

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776 801 613

shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *hie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 [372]

Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *uelo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

776 822 776 793

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

776 613

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nonu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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776 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and
613 was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the
226 sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest,
793 the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*poyua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

776 powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

776 Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons
821 for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu wangota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te wayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

776 A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or
775 *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of
776 the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when
613 Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Lauapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this
613 god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages.
Te Alongaoa, another Ngake-god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been
transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent
guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and
241 handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The
names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loea-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Nuu-ya-o-Mataliki (Nuu).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the
servant of Tuua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
828 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who
753 promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adven-
tures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki).
526 Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their hus-
bands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep,
twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase
of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest
threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to
live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the
opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical
moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te
773 Awuawu and Ngaliyeyen, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tiki-*
tiki, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngali-
yeyen to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
782 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
776 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any mem-
788 ber of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognise the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaine e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi manino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *ovanga*, *uale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* struc-
[776] ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewelu, the god of clams, was

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778 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
782 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Lewele e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Lewele o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

778 The god house (*uale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kowa*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*uakowa*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

778 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the
346 number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

778 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
793 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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778 the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it
793 seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated
778 with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Tana, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung
776 up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*ouanga ye*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today
778 the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone
[171] (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was
346 turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of
793 two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngoata;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his
778 servant (*tauta*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however,
793 men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this
358 or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *neuw*, not *ouanga*. These are *te*
778 *neuw o Tulikalo* and *te neuw o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *neuw* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *neuw* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *neuw* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *neuw* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and
613 clearings of Pukapuka is given below:
361

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale Vakayala Kai-matuila
	Mafowale	Tumulivaka ma Malla Te Vayi Yawanga	
	Matanga	Te Matahiate ma Malokitalangi ma Tumailangi Te Alangaoa Tulikale	
Loto			Kai Te Atua-ngato-uli Poive ma Tauleva Wakaherwiti
	¦Tua	Matalikl ma Tamayai Te Ulu-takagaa Tagafe Taua	
	Yangalipule	Kai	
Yalo			¦Te Unatulele ¦Lowia ¦Kailia
	Yamanaga	Te Managaia Tamalanga	
	Yalanga	Tawitonga Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of
114 uncut stone (*ana*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taua; this is a big block of *pungo* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

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778 that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of
114 secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

793 A priest was generally called a *usta*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata nui atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

793 The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and
613 then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uukayuringa*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to
793 experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would
787 surely be plagued by *ulu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uukayuringa*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from
793 the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uukayuringa*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from
[613] which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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[613] lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there
193 seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring
534 priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they
[787] might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did
156 either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

196 Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A
613 man who caught a *hakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The
188 method of *wakatete te tonga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on
187 the sacred clearing. The ritual of *tupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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188 To *tupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
193 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*tupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kikiliia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved
193 against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*ennunga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga matu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing concerts, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *malo* bark (*matai malo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yale*.

196 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
187 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

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196 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied
187 a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it
[182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.
609 When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure
182 on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and
[118] prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a
193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without
187 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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193 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods
116 of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

114 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and
115 wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come
161 back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

114 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

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174 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders [175] about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

175 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, [174] usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

The Cosmos

172 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa uenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

175 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the 154 visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these broth- 539 ers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngake village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

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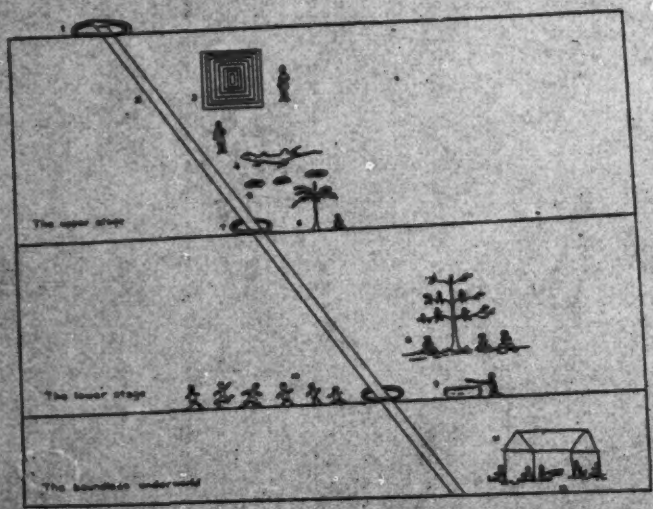

FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te kapi lungo*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te pa o Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Loke; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Malu; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te kapi lalo*); 8, *puka* tree of god Tangi, women who have borne children sitting in branches, childless women sitting on ground below; 9, musician god Tuhikalo playing his gong (*nauu*); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Leva (*te uale pou tinitini o Leva*); 12, goddess Leva plaits her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Mulua, oscillating stone of Yokamani, talo gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surround house of Leva in the boundless Underworld (*te Po Ikuliku*).

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After stumbling along this path, the two came out on a flat space where they saw a giant lizard (*moko pule*). Te Yon cried out in fear at this apparition. Both men prayed to their god to help them, and when Woton lifted his foot to scare the lizard, it closed its gaping mouth, and the two men walked quickly and safely past it. They came to the banana tree of the god Malaa, then passed on to the pools of fresh water (*te rui no te Po*), where they washed themselves. Going farther, they came to a coconut tree (*te niu a Mala*) cared for by the god Mala. A number of gods were sitting round this tree, and the two brothers were pleased to be able to pick out the gods they were accustomed to worship on earth. The gods inquired about the visitors and were surprised to hear they were mortals and not souls. Woton said he was thirsty, so a god climbed the tree and threw down nuts which the god Te Awuawu husked for them, and which the god Ngaliyeyes opened and apportioned between the two mortals. The gods joined them in drinking a nut and then left to go elsewhere. They had been picnicking in the shade of the coconut tree.

Passing on, the brothers came to the stone of Yokaunui, which is just by the opening to the lower level of the Po (*te pu ki te hapi lalo*). A spirit rested on this stone which Yokaunui oscillated, so that the spirit lost balance and fell into the *hapi lalo*.

The brothers passed down to the *hapi lalo* and saw the *puka* tree planted by Tangi, guarded by the god Lolu. On this tree were the souls of recently deceased Pukapukans. Children were sitting in the branches of the tree, mothers were sitting on the ground, and other souls were hanging strangled in the nooses (*matapili*) that hung from the branches. Still other souls were hunting about the ground for lizards to give the gods to eat.

Going farther, the brothers came to a place where there were many more gods all wearing their hair nicely plaited on the top of their heads. From this Woton and Te Yon got the idea of making hats of plaited pandanus, and that was the origin of hat making in Pukapuka. [Plaited hat making was not introduced into Pukapuka until after white contact.] The gods were all dancing, chanting, and playing games. Tuilalo, the musician god, was playing on the wooden gongs. The brothers listened and watched and were then able to introduce to Pukapuka the dances, games, and musical rhythms they heard and saw.

Woton and Te Yon passed on until they came to the Po Ikaika, where they saw a big round house with many thousands of well posts (*te uale pou tinitini*), one post for each member of the population of the Po to rest his back against when he wished. This was the house of the goddess Leva. Round the house stretched groves and groves of coconut trees and huge beds of taro, called *Te Ui-o-Lepia*. A little way off was the ocean (Te moana-o-Tupepe) where the gods and spirits fished and sailed canoes. Inside her house Leva sat plaiting a mat. The brothers learned how souls often get caught in this mat. [On the basis of their report, qualified by the account in the story of Milinaili, some say that Leva ensnared souls in the mat which meant that they lived in the Underworld forever; others say that the gods insisted that Leva incorporate in the mat elements all the souls that they smelled out, but that Leva sought to hide the souls under the mat until lizzage gods had an opportunity to crawl under the mat, abstract the souls, and return them to the upper world.]

The brothers stayed for a long time in the Underworld, looking at all the wonders. At last, however, they began to long for the familiar delights of the upper world. They went to Ngaliyeyes and asked him to help them return. Ngaliyeyes agreed and went before them to guide them past the perils of the road. They climbed up the path, and when they reached the top a wave opened up. They stepped onto the reef and walked ashore onto Wale.

The people ourselves thought they had been drowned. They had found their paddles hanging from the banana tree by the beach; when the two did not come back from their swim, it was reported that they had been carried out to sea by a big wave. So all the people were mourning them as dead. When they stepped onto the beach, the

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539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

773 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of
154 taro food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, taro, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
[317 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
171] world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

774 The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
775 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being consumed in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likulikia then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods scented its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

774 from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

775 When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 539 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yisata to put together again the tree chopped down by

789 Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

793 The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to 754 eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

775 Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to 774 trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to 114 trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

754 If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,[10] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, tartly, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *are vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word vaelua would rarely be used in this sense; a

[10] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele mouli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa clo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale pentini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags.

[See p. 64, category 116—analysis]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *mahi atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *mahi hai hiko*, sickness caused by incest; *mahi atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *mahi no te yuuvaga o te atua ki tale*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

753 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various:
776 theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *meg uskglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wanuvane, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *vuna*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalomea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *uehe*, octopus; *uluyina*, sea porcupine; *uluyele*, variety of star fish; *unakoa*, univalve shell; *kanu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupukanu*, a rank seaweed; *pikipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kuvu*, a robber crab; *kalami*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *veli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, stab, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

756 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tan-*
759 *gata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or [illegible], by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
757 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
154 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An ex-
177 ample of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

[159] One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *male maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tamaiga*[a] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
787 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams.
177 The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further
contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with
unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his
lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar
or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense
554 for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent
individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient
787 about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis
the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of
medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the
gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the
patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same
time a practising priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Polynesian word *tamaiga*, *tamaine* of blood relatives (*tamaiti*), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or soothsayers, but was an ordinary adjective denoting distinct, separate, applied to any other and or tools.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

755 sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of
787 the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was
755 given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by
753 ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on
776 a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to
775 avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives
753 who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medi-
753' cine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

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On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yao*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the seer was summoned until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

755 In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the
783 gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old sennit malo that the child would receive should it live to maturity.

The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau kino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.

All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

757 Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably
[171] borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uaua*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi*, cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.

The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *yoko* (deep pressure) or *uaua* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *ambatolo* (to travel), placing

759 the thumb on the vein and then with deep pressure, moving it slowly along the vein outward. Both movements are applied in all types of sickness, on all parts of the body, for every type of pain. Even in inflammation of the breast in a nursing mother, *lomilomi* is applied to relieve congestion or allay pain. Only the inexperienced person indulges in general rubbing movements over the whole body and on places remote from the source of pain. Massage, in the conventional sense, is never used by the expert medicine man, who concentrates on deep pressure over the seat of pain. There is no use of chanting either to assist the rhythm of pressure or magically to increase the efficacy of the technique.

752 Deep pressure and thumb movement are further applied for the relief of pain as follows:

757 Strains and sprains. The limb is explored with the fingers to determine the part of greatest swelling; deep pressure is then applied to this spot while the patient moves the limb at frequent intervals.

Pain in the middle of the forearm. Deep pressure is applied to the blood vessel in the upper arm; then the thumb is pressed along the main artery in the forearm, from the proximal to the distal portion of the limb, thus rubbing the sickness to the fingers, and ultimately from the fingers into the air. An added treatment is the application of a suitable medicine to the wrist and then pressing toward the wrist in such a way that the sickness is conveyed to the wrist and there absorbed by the medicinal application.

Short breath (*ao potopoto*): Shortness of breath resulting from overwork is diagnosed as due to violent pounding of the heart. Deep pressure is applied to the right top and left top of the abdominal cavity. This is believed to relieve breath tension, but no effect on the blood flow is recognized.

Headache (*tinga te uhi*). Deep pressure is applied to the nape of the neck (the effect being presumably to paralyze the nerve centers in this part of the body).

Constipation (*tutui pakapaka*) and diarrhea (*tatapi*). Deep pressure is applied to the colon (in the one case to relieve strangulation, in the other to assist the process of adjustment).

Stomach pain (*tinga te manawa*) including mild appendicitis. Deep pressure is applied to the part of the abdomen affected.

Filarial swellings (*mahi hinahina*). For swellings of the foreleg, for example, deep pressure is applied to the thigh and is followed by thumb *mahatele*.

757 Formerly, a medicine man might perform the pigeon-sounding ritual
755 (*lupa*) before beginning the *lomilomi* and at frequent intervals during the course of the treatment, with the idea of introducing the power of the god into his fingers and of retaining it during the treatment. This method was not common; its use depended on the personal choice of the medicine man and on the severity of the sickness. When he did this, bystanders would say: "Ka yopakia e te atua i te lima" (The god will seize the hand).

752 Broken and dislocated bones are treated by empirical means, supported formerly by communication with the god if complications set in. A fractured bone is *iri mati*; to set a fracture is *mahatau*. The technique was illustrated by Pau only for a broken forearm, a dislocated elbow, and a dislocated jaw, though undoubtedly he has a reasonably good technique for dealing with every type of limb dislocation or breakage:

The medicine man grasps the broken limb with his two hands, the two thumbs on opposite sides of the upper part of the limb, the fingers of both hands holding the limb

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

752 below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*yoka*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*vai lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*lakau wukayuko*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*ezu*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *wonongo teka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

757 Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *maki awukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki toenawa* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

752 Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development.
763 The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*biko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
757 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki no nio hi te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka hi te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matokolekelea*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiuaki no mangamanga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
791 particularly skilled in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamou was a Malfeasia man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: mullet-eaten fish; when he chopped his hands, the hand was
773 filled with the mullet-eaten fish. He chopped his hands, saw all the properties of the

756 shoots. These were their properties, taio, sickness causing knots, nakoa, trees, flowers.

Tuaua was a priest of Te Langaga. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he
191 looked, there the *longa* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiwa*,
193 the *vatu*, the *vaaiki*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it
773 with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Walieu. Walieu was a man of Loto. Ngafiyeyu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad *Mauu* (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *vaiaulu*, the *ewe*, the *uuti hawa*, the *uu*, the *kalowa*, the *atule:* when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

757 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably
757 generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *taumakomako* plant.
757 Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*vuvu*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *taumakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutulu*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the husk. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

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757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is taps as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot stone. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nonu* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings [544] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *talo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngangu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taryiu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taryiu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo mae*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

140 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child
856 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*taka nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

515 302 [512] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yisu*) was formerly always applied (*omomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakula na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yisu*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yisu*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*vulavula*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*vulavula*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pale* fish. Today most men shave (*vulavula*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tautau*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

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514 sea water. To defecate is *uukapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wengi: dry reef.
Koa mamave te tai } : the sea swells.
Koa pupu te tai }
Koa pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Koa oio te tai ki ngauta: the tide ripples on the beach.
Koa wowonu te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Koa ta te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Koa payeia te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Koa yeke ki te uta: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Koa wakaekaia te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Koa wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai talo*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te tasyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo ia mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te uku o te ata matua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata mata: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata kana: gray dawn.
Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te kakaunga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te witinga o te tupua } sun is termed tupua, the risen sun ia.)
Puia te ia: the sun rises higher.
Koa tutu mai te ia: the sun stands above.
Koa tutonu mai te ia: the sun is overhead.
Koa tutonu mahuiu: the sun is directly overhead.
Koa angalue te ia: the sun starts moving down.
Koa tutowa te ia: the sun is to the side.

805 Kon tuapale to la: the sun is lower.
Kon to te la: the sun falls.
Kon ngoto te la: the sun slides.
Kon mamala te po: dusk.
Kon yeyengi te po: the night begins to darken.
Kon po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kolokolo: black night.
Te pouli mata mewi: dark when stars are dim.
Kon vaelua te po: the night is divided into two.
Kon wave te po: the night is finishing.
Kon wave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Kon wanaki te ata ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Kon wanaki te ata kona: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Kon wanaki te ata mata: there is more light in the sky.
Kon kiki te kiki o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Kon wanaki te ata kuhi: there is full light in the sky, full dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te tuaiyao* (morning), *te tutowanga la* (midday), *te taupolonga la* (afternoon), *te ouinui* (evening or dusk), *te ipo* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Mauna*, *no te vaia o Lotonga*, *no te vaia o Hikili*, *no te vaia o te tuiaoke*. The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*tokolonga*) have been discussed (p. 29).

805 [in] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of months throughout the year. Pan states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 months, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some unrecognizable words in old chants may

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805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakasta: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pulu: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tata te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa ta mai loa ki langa te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa monoma te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yungie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yungi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulunki kiva pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Laua wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngaki: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa waki loa ki ngaki: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kaulikki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te uma o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata mana: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata lama: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [178] [162] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

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[128]

The following information on stars was obtained from a number of informants. Robert Dean Frisbie assisted in the identification of the star names and also prepared a chart of the Pukapukan heavens from which the accompanying chart (fig. 55) has been adapted.

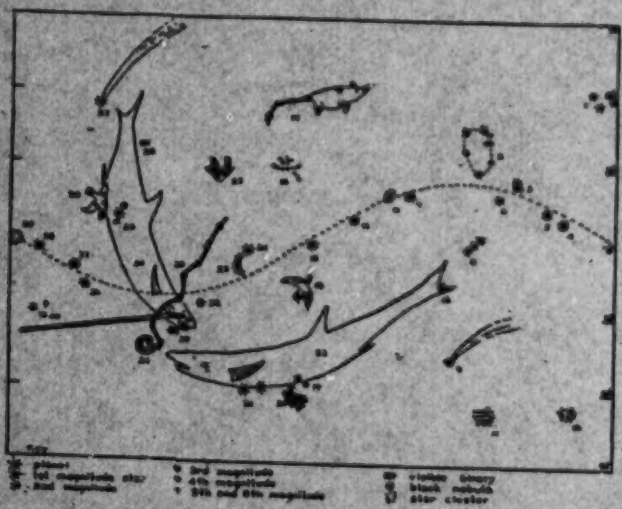

FIGURE 55.—Chart of Pukapukan heavens: 1, Na Taki-tu-tolu-a-Mataliki α, β, γ Cassiopeiae); 2, Te Wale-o-Tutakaiolo (α, β, θ, ι Aurigae, β Tauri); 3, Mataliki (the Pleiades); 4, Takupu-tea (Venus); 5, Tulalupe (Jupiter); 6, Mata-kula (Aldebaran); 7, Mata-kula (Mars); 8, Te Tolunga-Mani (ξ, ο,β Orionis); 9, Mata-kele (shooting star); 10, Mau-tokelau (Lesser Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 11, Mau-tonga (Greater Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 12, Tapao (Sirius); 13, Pa-ngolengole-a-Kiliwelo (Praesepe cluster); 14, Mata-tea (Saturn); 15, Tokiva (Jupiter); 16, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Coma Berenices); 17, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Ursa Major, second identification); 18, Te Manu (Corvus); 19, Na Mata-o-te-paniwi (Crux); 20, Te Pa-niwi-o-Tazwa ("The Coal Sack"); 21, Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Wua-ma-Velo (α and β Centauri, includes also other stars of same declination); 22, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 23, Te Maina (the Moon); 24, Te Mata-yoa-ki-te-maina (companion star to the moon); 25, Te Wale-o-Awitu (Corona Borealis); 26, Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kiole 4ν and 5 Lyrae); 27, Mata-wai-kawe (comet); 28, Te Toloa (Delphinus); 29, Tolu (α, β, γ Aquilae); 30, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 31, Te Tao-o-Mani (black nebula near Scorpio); 32, Matemele (Antares); 33, Lua-tama-kiei (λ, ν Scorpionis); 34, Te Kau-o-Mani (star cluster in Sagittarius); 35, Te Wao-a-Mani (θ, η, ξ, ο, θ Orphiuchi and α Serpentis); 36, Takupu-tea (Venus); 37, Tapao (Jupiter); 38, Te Mata-yoa-ki-te-la (Mercury); 39, La (Sun); 40, Taki-piki-tolu (Pisces Australis). Dotted line represents sun's ecliptic.

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821 The named planets are:

Planet	Native Name	Remarks
Mercury	Forgotten	Called te mata pili lua ki te la (the star very close to the sun).
Mars	Mata-kula (Red-star) a name given to Aldebaran or other conspicuous star	That Mars changes its right ascension and declination is not known.
Venus	Takuru-tea (White-body-bird)	Known to be the same star when observed in morning or evening; its morning appearance confused by some with morning rising of Jupiter. No native belief as to why Venus rises only part way to observer's meridian.
Saturn	Mata-tea (White-star)	
Jupiter	Tapao	When visible to east in morning.
	Tulalupe	When visible to west in evening.
	Tokiva	When visible overhead.
Sirius		Confused with Jupiter, whose three names are applied to Sirius when latter is in position to warrant their use.
Sun	La	Rationalizations for eclipses of sun and moon given in story of Lingutuimoa (1).
Moon	Maina	Face of moon pictures the woman Yina pounding pandanus key to extract its nut.

The ecliptic of the sun is termed Te Ala-o-te-la (The Path-of-the-sun). The half of the ecliptic to the north (Te Lua-poto, The Short-hole) is the season of fine weather and pleasure-making. The half of the sun's ecliptic to the south (Te Lua-loa, The Long-hole) is the time of bad weather and tapu activities. Informants say that Te Ala-o-te-la goes into the *lua poto* or the *lua loa*. This may mean that the sun in its passage through the sky passes through a hole (*lua*) or cave in the sky. *Poto* and *loa* refer to the short days when the sun is to the north, and the long days when it is to the south.

The named nebulae and the star clusters are:

Nebula or Star (Cluster)	Native Name	Remarks
Black nebula near Cross "The Coal Sack"	Te Paniwi-o-Taewa	Taewa named this nebula for its imagined resemblance to the paniwi fish.
Triangular black nebula near Scorpio (45° south declination, 18 hours right ascension)	Te Tao-o-Maui (Spear-of-Maui)	The spear that Maui thrust into his shark and hurled into the sky.
Milky Way	Te Mango (Shark)	The shark hurled by Maui. Pukapukans not aware they are observing different halves of the Milky Way during winter solstice (when shark's head is to south) and during summer solstice (when head is to north).

82 Greater Magellanic Cloud[10]	Mau-tonga	Said to be a woman because it comes from the cold south (tonga).
Lesser Magellanic Cloud[10]	Mau-tokelau	Said to be a man because it comes from the warm north (tokelau).
Praesepe cluster (18-19° north declination, 8h 25min 30min right ascension)	Pangolengole-a-Kiliwelo	Also generalized name for star cluster or visible nebula such as Great Nebula of Andromeda as opposed to star clusters with named individual stars.

As distinguished from a star (*mata*), a shooting star or meteor is *mata-lele* (running-star); a comet, *mata-wai-kave* (star-with-a-tail). The word *kavinga* means a star constellation in general, but more particularly, a group of stars which have the same declination.

Named stars are:

Mata-kula (Aldebaran), often confused with Mars.

Tolu (three) or Taki-piki-tolu (α, β, and γ Aquilae). Morning rising of α Aquilae (Altair) is sign of commencement of rock grouper season: talao, wapaku, ulupunga, and tiwitiwi fish plentiful.

Melemele (Antares). Morning rising sign for rock grouper season.

Te Wale-o-Tutakaiolo, House-of-Tutakaiolo, (α, β, ι and θ Aurigae, β Tauri).

Na Taki-tolu-a-Mataliki or Na Taki-tu-tolu-a-Mataliki, Three-of-Mataliki (α, β, and γ Cassiopeiae). Rising slightly before the Pleiades (Mataliki), these stars and Mataliki are signs of approach of flying-fish season.

Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Stars-of-the-pair, (stars of same declination: α, β Centauri, η, θ, ι, ο Argonis, Canopus, Achenar, α Doradi, α and β Orae, α and β Crucis). Morning rising of α and β Centauri is believed to herald period of good lagoon fishing. These two stars often called Na Lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo, and are used as star course to Niue. Informants' belief that any star of same declination as α and β Centauri is included in Stars-of-the-pair is interesting in relation to this star course: The more stars of the same declination the navigator steered by, the easier it was to keep a straight course.

Te Yiku-o-te-kiole, Tail-of-the-Rat (Coma Berenices). Pau believed that this name refers rather to Ursa Major, of which α, β, γ, and δ form the body of the rat, and stars ε, ζ, and η form the tail. Both identifications appear on chart.

Te Wale-o-Awitu, House-of-Awitu (Corona Borealis).

Te Manu, Bird (Corvus). Morning rising is sign of rock grouper fishing season.

Na Mata-o-te-paniwi, Stars-of-the-"Coal-Sack" (Crux). Morning rising is sign for rock grouper. The name Tautolu for Crux is said to be a modern importation. Pau believes that Na Mata-o-te-paniwi is also modern. It is possible that Crux was unnamed by Pukapukans of former days.

Te Tolos, Duck (four 4th magnitude stars in Delphinus). First rain after their rising, a sign of the approach of the rainy season, is referred to as te tolos yua (duck water).

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[10] At times only one cloud is visible, because Mau-tokelau moves over to Mau-tonga, warms the woman's cold, unemotional nature and then embraces her in sexual intercourse, so that the two clouds become one, with Mau-tokelau superimposed on Mau-tonga. Informants insist that sometimes there are two clouds, sometimes one; they do not find at all reasonable the suggestion that perhaps one of the clouds has set or has not yet risen, or that moonlight has obscured the lesser cloud while the greater cloud is still visible.

921 Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kiole, Nostrils-of-the-rat (visible binary, 4 ε Lyrae and 5 Lyrae). Some confusion over identification of the name. Likely that almost any visible binary may be correctly called by this name, in same way that Jupiter and Sirius may both be correctly called Tapao.

Te Tolunga-Mani, Three-Maui-Brothers (ζ, η, and θ Orionis). Veti alone included Orion's sword as well as his belt in this constellation. Used as star course from Pukapuka to Oloseuga and return.

Te Wao-a-Mani, Fishline-of-Maui (θ, η, ι, κ, and δ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis). Most informants agreed on including these stars as the main ones in the Fishline, in reality a group of stars strung out north along the Milky Way from Scorpio. An unimportant constellation, figuring neither as star-course guide nor as fishing sign.

Taki-piki-tolu (group of stars in Plexis Australis). Veti and Pau maintain this identification, and refer Tolu alone to α, β, and γ Aquilae. Possibly this distinction is old.

Mataliki (Pleiades). Morning rising marks change of wind to southeast, heralds flying fish, reef fish, and bigger deep-sea fish (then full of roe) seasons. Hence the saying, "Tena te kau ika o Mataliki ka yau" (Here are all the fish of Mataliki coming). Formerly morning rising introduced the six-moon period of pleasuring. Mataliki directly overhead in the sky is a sign of turtles coming to lay eggs on the outer beaches.

Te Kau-o-Mani, Fishhook-of-Maui (cluster of 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitude stars in Sagittarius). Often confused with the tail of Scorpio, though it lies southeast from the southernmost stars in the tail.

Lua-tamo-kiki, Two-beautiful-children or Lua-puletu-kiki, Two-beauties-close-together (λ and υ Scorpionis). Their modern name, Pipili-ua, is said to be Tahitian.

Tamatokomako (γ, α, and σ Scorpionis). Some informants do not recognize this constellation. Identification is doubtful, as it includes Antares, definitely named Melemele.

Te Ala-kavinga-o-te-ika, Star-sign-of-fish (Ursa Major). Descriptive name only because this constellation is known by all as sign for reef fish. Pau's identification given above.

Te Mauna-o-ngaua. Group of small stars known to some, could not be identified.

STAR COURSES

502 The value of Pukapukan star courses from the viewpoint of modern navigation has been worked out by Robert Dean Frisbie, whose notes follow.
[487] The accuracy of the star courses to the west and from Samoa to Pukapuka is noteworthy. Informants knew of no star courses which would help a navigator sailing eastward from Pukapuka, an indication perhaps of the predominating contact of Pukapuka with western islands.

The course from Pukapuka to Niue was equal to the bearing of α and β Centauri (Na Mata-o-te-tokalua) when low in the sky to west of south. Informants emphasized that the stars must be low in the sky; evidently the old navigators were aware of the Centauri's rapid change of bearing when at a higher altitude (no such emphasis was laid on the Antares, or the α Orionis, star course). Informants were not aware of the stars being in their lower transit when observed low in the sky; but a navigator sailing as far south as Niue, lat. 19° 10′ S., would undoubtedly observe this.

The true course from Pukapuka to Niue, calculated by Mercator sailing, is 204° 48′. The course that would be steered by a canoe headed toward α Centauri, at 5° altitude, would be equal to that star's bearing, which is, in the latitude of Pukapuka, 209° 10′. This is computed by the formula: $1/2\ Z = \sqrt{\cos. s, \cos.(s-p), \sec. L, \sec. h}$. (In this $s = 1/2\ h+L+p$; Z is bearing; L, latitude; h, altitude; p, polar distances.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

562 The course arrived at by the above altitude azimuth calculation is 4° 22′ to westward of the true course, and, if only one bearing was taken at the beginning of the course, it would take a canoe to a point approximately 39 miles to the westward of the south point on Niue. At this distance a native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction. He would, however, arrive at a point somewhat closer to the land, for as the canoe sailed south, α Centauri's bearing when low in the sky would shift to the south, due to the star's being in its lower transit. Thus the navigator, by degrees imperceptible to himself, would shift his course more and more to the south, as follows:

At Pukapuka the true course would be roughly 205° while the bearing of α Centauri is 209°.

After sailing 200 miles the true course would be 203.5° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 208.5°.

After sailing another 200 miles the true course would be 199° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 207.5°.

Another 100 miles and the true course would be 178° while by steering by α Centauri the navigator would be making a course 207°.

Finally, after following the last course for 65 miles, the navigator would fetch up at a point 31 miles to the west of Niue.

Steering by a course equal to α Centauri's bearing when lower in the sky would bring the navigator closer to Niue; while if the bearing of α Centauri was taken when it was high in the sky there would be little appreciable difference until the star was above 15°, when it would go into its upper transit. This rule, however, would not hold true when the canoe had made considerable southing, but the variation in the course made good would be slight.

[487] If, as some of the Pukapukans claim, Nassau was used by the old navigators as a point of departure, then a canoe headed for Niue would fetch up within 12 miles of the land. It is perhaps within reason that a navigator would stop at an uninhabited island, such as Nassau, where an abundance of food could be gathered for the voyage.

An interesting detail in relation to the α Centauri course lies in the fact that during July, August, and September, when the star sets during the early part of the night and thus is in a position to be used as a bearing, the normal winds in this part of the Pacific are favorable for the voyage to Niue, blowing steadily from the east to northeast.

Informants state that the old navigators steered a course to Upolu which was equal to the bearing of Antares (Melemele) when low in the sky to westward. As it is improbable that this star would be visible, over a period of nights, when below 15° altitude, that altitude has been used in calculating the true course that such a bearing would give. The results follow:

True course to Apia by Traverse Tables	243°
Course by Antares at 15° altitude	245°
Course by Antares (at setting, Amp. tab.)	243°

Antares is last seen to westward during the latter part of October, and thus it is in the western sky during the trade-wind months when the weather is favorable for the above voyage. Also, being a conspicuous red star, in a line with and between γ and σ Scorpionis, it is easy to pick out on a cloudy night.

Informants gave Orion's Belt (Te Tohunga-Maui) as the star course for the voyage from Pukapuka to Olosenga. Taking it at 15° altitude, the course equal to its bearing is 271.5°. As the true course is 264.5°, the star course is in error 7°, and this error would fetch the canoe to a point 31.5 miles to the north of Olosenga. Due to many kinds of sea birds nesting on Olosenga and flying far to sea to feed, the native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction well beyond a 31.5 mile radius. Also, it is probable that, after the first few voyages, navigators learned to sail a little to the left of Orion's Belt. Orion sets to westward during the early part of the trade-wind season, when the weather is favorable for the voyage. If, as one suggests,

502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Oloseng a.

489 In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Oloseng a; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Oloseng a to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Oloseng a to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

[171 193] 192

1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lua lau
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngaulu tini

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802 The word *hafoa* is used for ten in simple enumeration. It is never used in conjunction with the name of the object enumerated, but in its place
193 *langaulu* is used. Where the special counting prefixes are used, these are added to the suffix *ngaulu* to indicate 10 objects of whatever class.

Numbers higher than *ngaulu tini* in progression of numerical greatness
802 are: *manomano manmas*, *matinitini*, *makelekele*, and *yá*, which is an expression that corresponds to infinity. The number of terms that the Pukapukan
192 uses to indicate high numbers is interesting though it is a little hard to see the function of high numerical concepts in an atoll culture.

It was a favorite jest among informants that the Pukapukan could count to a higher power than we could; proof of this they argued was not only the presence of words indicating progressions to infinity, but also the ability of the culture hero Mani to find Pukapukan words which enabled him completely to enumerate the stars in the sky, the fish in the sea, the sands on the beach, and so forth. It is likely, however, that such words as *tini*, *ngaulu tini*, *manomano manmas* indicate not so much a definite number as a progression of increasing greatness that is more sensed or felt than definitely apprehended.

802 To indicate "more than" or "plus" to even numerals, *tu ma* is suffixed to the numeral: some 70 people (*tinowiu tu ma*). To form numerical nouns
193 from the numerals 1 to 10, *ngowa* is suffixed to the number: I have received my three (*au mana toku tolungowa*). Each is *taki*; one person or object each: *takitayi*. The prefix *tokitahi tu* is used of things to indicate "one by one", "one at a time", and so forth: *tokitahi tu tayi*, *tokitahi tu lua*; of people the prefix *tahitau* is used: *takitau tokalua*, by twos, or, for each pair.

802 To count is *hani* or *nahalau*. A special set of terms is used to count coconuts by pairs (*oania*). One pair of drinking or mature nuts is *tayi oania*.
192 From this on the counting runs:

Lua: 4 nuts.	Iva: 18 nuts.
Tolu: 6 nuts.	Yava: 20 nuts.
Wa: 8 nuts.	Tolu: 30 nuts.
Yopulapula: 10 nuts.	Wa: 40 nuts.
Ono: 12 nuts.	Lima: 50 nuts.
Witu: 14 nuts.	Lau: 100 nuts.
Valu: 16 nuts.	

802 The development of counting prefixes is indicated by the following list. To count people, the prefixes are:
193

Toka, counting people from 1 to 10: e takatoka tatou, we are three.
Yino, counting people from 10 upward: tinongaulu, 10; tinowelau, 100 people.
Matau, used solely for counting the priest members of a god house (*nafe atua*): matatoka, three priests; matinowitu, 7 priests.

Inanimate objects or creatures other than human beings are counted with the following prefixes:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

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193

Ipu, coconut shells: ipungaulu, 10; ipulua, 20; ipuwelua, 100; ipulungaulua, 200.
Kai, fishhooks, used when counting the number of hooks on a composite fishing apparatus (tamaikoraiko): kailima, 5 hooks. The number of fish caught with this apparatus is also counted with the prefix kai, as kailima ika, 5 fish.
Kau, oven stones, fishline sinkers, leaves of prepared pandanus for plaiting: kaulua, 20; kauwelua, 100; kautolungalua, 300.
Kawi, fishhooks stored in the special tabuaa receptacle, or hooks on a bonito trolling rod: kawiulu, 3 bonito hooks.
Kupu, plaited objects such as mats, hats: kupungaulu, 10; kupulua, 20; kupuwelua, 100.
Lau, fish caught by ordinary methods, or live fish: laungaulu, 10; lau lua, 20; lau, 100.
Manga, branches, livers (internal organs), bananas, or fingers: mangangaulu, 10.
Mata, talo, or pulaka: matangaulu, 10 tubers; matalua, 20; matawelua, 100 tubers.
Mata, meshes in a net: matalungalua, 200 meshes.
Tua, crayfish or crabs: tuangaulu, 10 crayfish; tualua, 20; tuawelua, 100.
Ua, shellfish; uangaulu, 10 clams; ualua, 20.
Ulu, victories in a progressive game: ulualu, 3 wins in disc-throwing game (tupe).
Yelu, canoe seats: yeluaulu, 6-seater canoe.

These counting prefixes are also used in questions inquiring the number counted, as: *E tinowa te tangata?* How many people? *E matawa te uwua?* How many talo corms? *E yelowa te vaka?* How big is the canoe? The answer uses the prefixes as given above.

804 Measurements of length are commonly used for fishlines, or in craft activities. Those in common usage are:

Watinga mangamanga lima: length of one finger joint, tip of finger to first joint.
Lua watinga mangamanga lima: two finger joints.
Tolu watinga mangamanga lima: three finger joints, i.e., one finger length.
Ngawa mangamanga lima: span of hand from thumb to longest finger.
Watinga lima: finger tip to elbow joint.
Luma: finger tip to shoulder of outstretched arm.
Uma: finger tip to center of chest with outstretched arm.
Ngawa: tip to tip of fingers, with outstretched arms, across chest; tolunga ngawa, three lengths, and so forth.
Kawi: a length of 10 ngawa.
Lau: 100 ngawa: E wea te loa o te aua la? E lau; What is the length? 100 ngawa.

Measures of volume are made by the use of descriptive terms:

Mo nau lowa: a very little.
Lowa: a little.
Mo nau: a little more.
To ki: (a container) about ¼ full.
To kiki: between ¼ and ½ full.
To kiki ki loiotoma: above ½ full.
Ki: full.
Ki taiala: brimful.
Ki laiolaia: full to flowing over.

There are no standardized measures for volume; the liquid which is being described is added to the descriptive term to make clear the amount of liquid measured.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

COLORS

192 822 151

The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
Kula ulauli: very dark red-brown.
Kula kaye: deep red.
Kula lalenga: greasy (?) red.
Kula melo: scarlet.
Kula melomelo: reddish.
Kula pongipongi: brownish red.
Kula toto: blood red.
Kula yiyisu: shiny red.
Melomelo: yellowish.
Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
Uyi, uyiuyi, pa uyiuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
Mamaka, mamama, lirolito, kesa, kesakesa: white.
Mahalele, mahavakevake: blinding white surface.
Tea: white, used only in proper names.
Kalipo: iridescent.
Kokome, konikoma, kuyikuyi: striped or variegated.
Uli (general word), uli popo, uliuli, pa uliuli, ulimotumotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kesa*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *mamaka*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.

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GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder
526 of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected
in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the
572 beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the
evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
536 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly
they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning
527 rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to te ulu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatu nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua maana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvana*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of *Lowaka* (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takutaka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takutaka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolonga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*ulovale*), and the other to crawl (*utolo*) behind the *tokopou* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair then approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolonga, tolotolonga na ngalo, kai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

859 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach.
535 Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this
177 imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm
859 of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The indi-
593 vidualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*ewe*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

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type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

539

Ao te kau ia e, i a Mea ko mamamano,
ao te kau ia e, i a Mea ko mamamano
Maiu ko katia i loto o te uho ngayu,
katia i loto o te uho ngayu
Ko wakaukaukau te muli o te kiola, ko
wakaukaukau te muli o te kiola
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi
toko toko to
Tai tai te tai toka tiki te
Tai tai te tai toka tiki te

1

Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating). [repeat]
(He) throws (her), bites her in the *ngayu* grove [repeat]
The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
[Nonsense syllables]

Ko yaole mai ia koe, ko yaole mai ia koe
Ko kamia e Tama, kamia e Tama ko te te
mamaka

2

You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Tama, pressed down by Tama till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect

Moe loi i a Te Yoi ia te mokamokunga
o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Toketa
Wati ai te titi o Toketa

3

Te Yoi slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the titi of Toketa. [repeat]

Yaole matau ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-
angi ki te matangi
Yaole matau ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-
angi ki te matangi
Kite ata matau i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te tuki

4

We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]

We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.

E te manu o ninamino ia
E te manu o ninamino ia
Wakinutinu atu ia te wale
Wakakanau atu ia te wale
Matiotia matietia matai mai
Matai mai ki kotai e

5

Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.

E te manu e wakale mai ia
E te manu e wakale mai ia
Tau i te panpan ia wanga
Tau i te panpan ia wanga

6

Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *panpan* tree in the clearing. [repeat]

Limmiina i te val o Malele
Ko te te mea pe te yicolo
Yiayio mai ko liko ai te ngangu

7

Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngangu* bird.

Kakalo atu ia matang e
Ki Te Manu kua wangia

8

We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising

Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili

Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan

Ilili matau, ilili matau
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
Ilili matau, ilili matau

We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

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Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te ylau, ko te ylau o te kiale	The tail of the rat (Canis Borealis)
Ko te ylau, ko te ylau o te kiale	[repeat]
	5
E ouaga tangitangi, e ouaga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E ouaga tangitangi, e ouaga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mai te pukiki tuau, mai te pukiki tuau	Like *pukiki* cooking, like *pukiki* cooking
Mai te pukiki tuau, mai te pukiki tuau	[repeat]
	10
E Laua te tiaia e ouagi mai	Oh Laua, your wind blows here
E Laua te tiaya e ouagi mai	[repeat]
Ka ga aua te vaka ki Kalauaua	Your canoe will be carried to Kalauaua
E, ka ga aua te vaka ki Matu Kaiakalo	Your canoe will be carried to Matu Kaiakalo
E, ka tau ki kae ki tauau ma te kiki tau te vaua	You will land at the side with the people with their tulo
Ka tau ki kau ki Kalauaua, ka tau ki kau ki Kalauaua.	You will reach Kalauaua, you will reach Kalauaua.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Poioui (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki uuli tau. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

Kiakiai is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kiakiai*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "ropu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wakamagi ngaue is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when bored on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *uto pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *uto tuulivili*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utauta*, which consists in ordinary hopping up and down with both heels kept together; and *kakiaki* in which the player hops on one foot.

526 *Uto pepe* uteuto. A line (uteuto) two fathoms long is marked off on the ground by scraping with the foot. Two teams (teke, ekuou) are chosen. In turn each player of one team makes the *uto pepe* movements up and down the uteuto line, while the count is kept of the total number of times the team moves up and down the line. The players of the other team follow. The team that scores the greatest number of complete jumps wins the contest. In *uto pepe tuekaap*, two players, one from each team, jump together at the same time, without moving on any uteuto. One team wins a point (*hai*) when the player from the other team drops out. The team that first wins 10 jumps (*uto tuepuulu*), wins (*ia te uto*) the match.

In ekuou and uto tuelilili, a uteuto line may or may not be used.

Tohiohi hopping. A rectangular area (uteuto) about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide is lined off on an open space. The participants, singly or in groups, hop up and down this line, scoring one point for each arrival at either end of the boundary. The player with the most points wins the contest. Because this is an endurance test, the skillful hopper makes each pass as long as he can and then economizes on wind.

524 *Tiliili hoou* (juggling with very young immature coconuts). Played by children and adults. In competitive juggling, the players chant and juggle in rhythm; those who are able to continue to the end of the chant win the contest. A number of chants especially composed for this amusement were collected (1). The usual number of *hoou* used in juggling is three; some experts are able to juggle four at a time.

Shell Tossing

Tiki pulepule (tossing *pulepule* shells, the Polynesian counterpart of jackstones). Played by adults and children of both sexes. From two to twenty persons may play at one time. A large number of seashells of the type known as *pulepule* (*Cypraea*) are gathered and placed in the center of the group of players who take up their positions in a circle seated on *tukapau* mats. Each player has a throwing stone (*tiki ouou*) which he holds in his right hand. The object of the game is to toss up the stone, pick up the shells from the ground in a given fashion, and catch the stone as it comes down. Twenty-nine figures may be played in one game, starting with the simple tossing up of the stone and removing of one shell from the heap. The beginner, who is chosen in no special way, but who simply is the first to call out, "I am first (*Ko aku te pule tayi*) is known as the "*pule tayi*". He continues to play until he misses—until the stone has fallen (*ne ue*), without his having caught it, until he fails to pick up the required number of shells, or until he has removed all the shells, which is one win (*aku tayi*) for him. Should he miss, the play goes to the next person on his left, and so on in a counter-clockwise direction round the circle of players, continuing the one figure until all the shells have been removed. As each player picks up shells during his play, he places these under his bent knee, to be counted when the figure is over. Each player in turn counts (*hoou*) his shells one by one, counting without any special numerical prefix (*hoou* being *ta*, *lua hoou*, *ua*, and so forth). At the end of the play the number of figures won by the individual players, which are called *aku tayi*, *aku hoou*, and so forth, are compared and the one who has won the most individual plays wins (*ia te aku*). To tie either in a single figure or for the whole game is *uwiu*. The loser is *uwiu* (defeated). As each figure is finished, the next is begun by the person to the left of the starter of the preceding figure, regardless of where the last play ended. Thus, each player from the start is called by the name of the figure which he will begin. The figures are played in the following order:

1. *Pule tayi*: throw up the stone, remove one shell from the heap, and catch the stone as it drops.

2. *Pule hoou*: remove two shells at a time with each toss of the stone. It is considered a miss to pick up more or less than the required number. An odd shell at the end is counted by the player who finishes the figure.

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3. *Pule tolu*: remove three shells with each toss of the stone.

4. *Pule uru*: remove four shells with each toss of the stone.

5. *Ho* (head): the player whose turn it is to start the figure has merely to bend his elbow to score a win. There is no trick to this; it is merely the advantage of being the fifth starter.

6. *Lukuluku* (scoop): throw up the stone, scoop up as many of the shells in the pile as possible with two hands, and catch the stone on top of the shells in the two hands. The player then pairs all the shells he has picked up to see if there is an odd shell (*hoi*) over. If such is the case, he may continue to play the figure, but if not, he is said to *lite* and must return the shells to the pile; the turn passes to the next player, who tries his luck. If he succeeds, the odd shell is returned to the remaining pile of shells to be picked up in the next scoop. To be unable to throw out the odd shell (*mahe te hoi*) constitutes the "*lite*".

7. *Pule ha*: throw up the stone and pick up with one hand only, as many shells as possible, catching the stone on the top of the shells as it falls.

8. *Pule iheihe* (hand): as in 7, pick up as many shells as possible with one hand, catch the stone on them, and quickly flat the wrist toward to the body as the stone is caught.

9. *Pule pu* (hole): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible with a side sweep of the hand from right to left, and catch the stone on the radial side of the lightly clenched fist in the hollow formed by the flexed index finger.

10. *Pule turu* (erect): toss the stone in the air, hit the pile of shells taken with the palm of the hand, pick up as many shells as possible and catch the stone with the same hand.

11. *Pule moe* (lying): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, catch the falling stone in the hollow between the outstretched thumb and index finger.

12. *Pule te to lima* (hand erect): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone in the hollow between the vertically outstretched thumb and index finger.

13. *Pule pata te lima* (strike the hand): repeat 12, and snap down the index finger on the stone as it is caught.

14. *Pule uukayayuke*: throw up the stone, pick up the shells, extend the forearm and hand in a counter-clockwise direction so that the elbow points upwards and away from the body, catching the stone on the inner surface of the clenched fist, in the hollow made by the flexed little finger.

15. *Pule'hakale hi te langi* (look at the sky): gaze upward and without looking at stone or shells toss up stone, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

16. *Pule hakale hi te tangata* (look at the people): staring at the people around and without looking at shells or stone, toss up the stone, remove shells, and catch falling stone.

17. *Pule tolo* (shove): throw up the stone, push away the pile of shells, then pick up as many of them as possible, catching the falling stone.

18. *Pule uukauayangi* (quietly): separate the individual shells in the pile from each other, spacing them at about a half inch apart. Then toss at a time, with the toe of the stone, remove each shell without touching any other shell with the hand and without allowing the stone to hit against the shell in the hand as it is caught.

19. *Pule tangi i te ua o te pulepule* (sound the back of the shell): toss up the stone, remove a shell from the pile, and catch the falling stone against the shell, so that the two surfaces make a clinking noise.

20. *Pule hali i luaga* (wait above): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the stone while it is still high in the air, not lower than the top of the head.

21. *Pule hali i lalo* (wait below): throw up the stone, pick up shells, and catch the stone with the hand resting on the ground.

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524 22. *Pule toko bi hunga* (raise up): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone with an upward sweeping movement of the hand.

23. *Pule yuue*: throw up the stone in such a way that it will fall near the front of the body, remove as many shells as possible, and catch the stone at the height where the *yuue* (neck ornament) hangs on the chest.

24. *Pule toko bi te toko* (stoop to the stone): throw up the stone, toss a handful of shells into the lap and catch the stone.

25. *Pule lokei* (decorate): place the shells in a line along the outside of one leg and thigh at intervals of one inch, and remove them one by one with a toss of the stone, in such a way as not to disturb the remainder.

26. *Pule lupe*: toss the stone high in the air, slap thighs with both hands, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

27. *Pule yi potuki* (fish *potuki*): throw up the stone, move one shell at a time toward the body with a flick of the flexed index finger and catch the stone.

28. *Pule kokowa* (eyes closed): throw up the stone, close eyes tightly, pick up shells and catch the falling stone without opening the eyes.

29. *Pule uuyilayila* (sleepy eyes): throw up the stone, and with eyes more than half-closed pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

Disc Throwing

526 *Wakapotokotoko* (disc throwing for distance). The disc (*potoko*) is a stone of *punga* coral. To throw the disc is *wakatotoko*. The course is the village street. The teams are made up of ten men each, one team from each village. Three men throw each round. The stone is held with the thumb and index finger and thrown for distance with an underhand motion. The team with the greatest number of longest throws at the end of ten rounds wins the contest.

Disc Pitching

Tupe (disc pitching). The game is played with coconut-shell discs, of varying weights and sizes, cut from the bottom of the dried, hard *yubuli* nut shell. The discs are polished smooth and the edges made even and regular. Two sets of discs are not distinguished by different colorings, the discs are not ornamented, nor is there any special container for them. The surface on which the discs are thrown is a new, smooth, ordinary pandanus mat, 6 to 8 feet long and of any width. The players sit at the head of the mat. The opposite end of the mat is raised 4 or 5 inches by the insertion under its edge of a coconut leaf midrib, which is called for this purpose *kowyolo*. A third person called the *kowyolo* sits at the raised end of the mat to keep the prop in position, to judge and recover the thrown discs. The object of the game is to place the discs as near the edge of the mat as possible, even tilting them over the raised surface, so that they are closer to the edge than the discs of the opponent.

The game is played by two players at a time. Any even number of discs up to 20 is equally divided between them. Though the first pitcher is at a disadvantage, he is not chosen in any special way. One player simply says to the other, "Tupe", and the other throws. He tosses his disc up to the edge of the mat with a well-aimed side twist of the wrist which spins the disc and helps to check the danger of its rolling off the edge of the mat. If the first player's placement is a good one and lies just at the edge of the mat, but not tilting over, the second player attempts with his first pitch to hit (*tongi or tito*) it off from the inner side so that his own disc will remain on the mat while the other is knocked off. If the first disc of the first player is badly thrown and constitutes no danger to the second player, the second player throws without attempting to upset its position but to place his own shot in a good position on or near the edge of the mat. Then the first player, in his second pitch, will attempt to knock off the opponent's good shot, replacing it with his own disc. As soon as he betters his own preceding throw, which has itself been bettered by the opponent, the disc of his preceding throw is

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526 removed (*to*). Should he have two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*koi*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *tita lua*; to knock off three is *tita tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *kauyalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ia te uku*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *ihi*; two, *ihi lua*; three, *ihi tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *kauyalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tama ia! E kole, te tupe i te tautawa na!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skillful player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours on end by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the cool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

524 There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *tolotoloungu* and *poi* nor do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

526 [171] Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*weingango koko niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope; the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the bole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

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526 height, the winner is the one who, having climbed to the height indicated, first reaches the ground. Each contestant stands before a tree with a climbing bandage on his feet. The left hand rests on the tree trunk; the right hand is clasped around the tree. At the given signal (at present, on the count of three) each man springs up the tree and climbs as fast as he can. In coming down the tree he may slide as much as possible and leap from the tree when about 8 or 9 feet from the ground.

Coconut-husking contests (*yohanga nin papaku*). Three carefully sharpened husking sticks are placed in the ground, 1½ paces apart, to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. The husking sticks are carefully placed to make an angle of about 70 degrees with the ground. On a small coconut leaf mat impaled over the stick, the village husker kneels, squatting on an unhusked nut. Sixty *yakali* nuts are placed in the center of the triangle. Each husker impales a nut on his stick. At the signal the men start to husk and continue until all the nuts are husked, including the nuts on which the men squat. The man who husks most nuts wins the contest. One man may stop the contest at any time to repair his stick if it falls over or if its point breaks or blunts. Behind each man stands his second (*tokotoko*), a man from another village, who counts his nuts at the end. In an average contest, three men husk 60 nuts in 2 minutes. After one contest, the points of the sticks are resharpened and fixed in the ground again, and another contest follows.

526 Nuts are competitively husked not only in inter-village contests but also by villagers preparing for a feast, making copra, or dividing nuts from the reserves. At the present
245 time, in making copra at the reserves, after each adult has collected his weekly quota of from 100 to 200 nuts, all the young men, accompanied by children, women, and old men move from one pile of nuts to the next, holding a husking contest at each pile. In this contest two or more men compete against each other until the pile is finished. The group spends the whole day going thus from one pile to the next. Sometimes a women's team accompanies the men to husk the nuts of the women, at times competing against the men. The mixed contests are occasions of great fun-making which reach a climax if a woman defeats a man. The women wax jubilant, and the onlookers hurl all sorts of advice and ridicule at the unlucky man, who is glad to make his escape. The news spreads like wildfire through the copra settlements. The old men are quick to make suitable witticisms, and it is long before the defeated man hears the last of his shame.

526 **Composite dart-throwing contests.** Held on an open space (*malae*) usually on the beach at low tide. An exhibition contest was given during our stay. The *malae vulo* (dart-contest space), the beach in front of Lotó village, was cleared of rubbish before the contest commenced; men of Yato cleared one half, men of Loto and Ngake the other half. Rubbish was thrown into the sea, and the loose coral was pushed off to the side with the butt ends of coconut midribs. This made a clear space about 75 yards long and 15 yards wide. Two throwing pits (*tasa*) were dug, one at each end of the *malae*. Each pit was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and sloped from the ground level at the rear to a depth of 1 foot in the front. The sand from the pit was piled up at the front end to form a small batter used as a throwing base (*mali tasa*).

The composite dart, *vulo*, is described on page 214. The thrower takes the dart in his right hand, holding it at the *yilu* end with the thumb and middle finger, the index finger steadying the *yilu* tip. To test the hold, balance, and aim of his spear, he takes a preliminary run (*liolio*). He starts five paces behind the *tasa*, takes several quick steps forward toward it, holding the dart with the forearm vertical, the dart horizontal and level with or a little higher than the shoulder. He stops in his run and, with the fingers of the left hand, plucks (*mahamamali*) the dart at a point about 2 feet from the *yilu* end. Then he moves back to the starting point, makes another *liolio*, and again tests the dart to be sure that his trajectory is correct. The third time, he advances to the *tasa*, plants his left foot against the batter, and hurls the spear (*mahapoi te vulo*). A well-thrown dart moves through the air horizontally about 10 feet above the ground, strikes the ground at an obtuse angle, and then slithers (*tatala te vulo*) a long distance

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526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wahatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*hulu tone*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *taua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing [201] are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*hoi*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ta te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *pakehinuli*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngaya* wood. For many weeks before and 857 after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

526 **Running races** (*welele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vavelo* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

526 **Wrestling** (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride 186 themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling 527 was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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[527] the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions
526 that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*wakayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into
526 seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even
526 if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed
261 to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau kulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or
526 engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual inter-
[534] course lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*vamanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane likina, pelula to malo, tai ake to niu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua kaua*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pahipahi te lomu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

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526 sennit cord of the ring with one hand, peeks under the cord into the ring, kicks one foot into it and the other foot away from the ring, and then trots on. He goes around the ring two or three times. Then the two men duck under the cord and enter the ring. The champion stands in the center, his second at his side. An opponent (*nawa*) advances from his shelter, enters the ring, and the two men wrestle. After a few seconds' wrestling, if there is no throw, the second stops the bout. Other men from the second village and from the champion's own village enter the ring in turn and wrestle, but the second stops the bout each time. Though the wrestling is not taken seriously, the champion is now considered unbeaten in these preliminary trials; and the ring is said to remain in his possession. He and his second take down the ring. Had the champion been beaten in one of these contests, the ring would have passed to his opponent and the opponent would have removed the ring. Only recognized champions of their respective villages have the right to wrestle with the island champion inside his ring. Once the ring is removed and the challenging finished, the general contests begin. Bouts take place anywhere on the ground which, though unmarked and without a ring, is still called *one*.

A man from Loto, the challenging village, stands on the grass in front of his shelter, silent and looking straight ahead. A challenger from Yato advances toward the Loto man. When close together, the Loto man appears to notice him and the two men open (*wakuanga*) the match thus: Each man bends forward from the waist and grips the outstretched fingers of his opponent in an interlocking grip with his own fingers. The two disengage and swing the arms around to the back of the body, beating the hands against the buttocks. This is repeated several times, the men sparring (*liolio*) for grip, balance, and foothold. Then the two engage seriously and seek for a throw. In the old days famous champions dispensed with the sparring movements, rushed straight at their opponents, and sought for a surprise grip and unexpected throw. If a man did this when his opponent was expecting to spar, he generally took his opponent off guard and threw him. There is nothing unfair in these surprise rushes.

Instead of advancing only one man, the challenging village may advance three or four men who wait for a contest. One opponent comes forward, and the one among the challengers who is considered a fit match for him waits while the other men retire. If the other villages are backward in advancing a man, the challenger walks up and down before the shelter of his opponents. He does this carelessly, silently ridiculing the apparent faint-heartedness of his opponents. This invariably shames the opponents into advancing one or several men, in which case the challenger indicates the man he wishes to wrestle by engaging his fingers. After each bout the winning village is supposed to issue a challenge for the next bout. If the bout is a draw, the initiative remains with the previous challengers.

Each match lasts for 35 to 45 seconds of intense struggle. A bout is won by causing opponent to fall, by lifting opponent's feet clear of the ground, or through opponent's allowing part of his body other than his feet to touch the ground. Any wrestling hold is termed *liko* or *tenga*. To lift from the ground by grasping the front of the malo is *liko i te mua malo*. A malo that comes loose and provides a good handgrip is *malo matala*. To throw or lift by grasping the thighs is *liko i te tenga;* to lunge or dive forward and grasp the leg or thigh is *lui te tenga;* to push a man to the ground as he lunges for the leg is *pata tua vae;* to throw by any means is *ui*. Other holds are used: to dive for the knees and pull them from the ground, which is countered by locking (*potis*) the other's neck under the arm, trying to throw him off his balance by a sudden twist of neck and shoulders; and to hook a foot behind opponent's leg and trip him with a sudden push. Long arms and heavy weight are considered an asset in these holds. Striking with the closed or open hand, grasping vital organs, and twisting limbs so as to inflict pain have no part in Pukapukan wrestling. Even though there is no referee for the bouts there seems to be no temptation to indulge in unfair holds.

If no throw occurs at the end of about 45 seconds of wrestling, the bout is considered a draw and either wrestler indicates this to his opponent by relaxing (*wahaea*)

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526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau vave*, strong men): *mua vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked [578] by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *tapahi*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people 526 sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines 186 or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the 621 night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the 533 arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The 535 enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

526 Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

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826 ing behind C leader and A man pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*uuinganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*uuinganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletua to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed [621] point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate [533] the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

Swimming races (*uuinganga haukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*uukeyekeyeka*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *uuinganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for 527 *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *uuinganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *uuinganga hakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lasi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During [834] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

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226 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from
621 separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting-place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing pro-
574 cedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The
868 fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae pewa*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure
776 good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*sulama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the
782 same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *aso* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*voka takataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

224 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeno*). They leave the
262 reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakuke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *lisoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the
[354] countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kumai*, and *uanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and cocoanut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached,
833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all
574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo,
533 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning
621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

184 Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men
226 are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In an-
577 other exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and
461 also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *hakui* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*uaingunga panga*).
285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki no panga*) and chanting as they did so.

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale tuhayamoo* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*ouanga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who,

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by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

> The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kawa* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uoi toina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanuga and Yayi, were together the *muli kawa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kawa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.
>
> As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

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TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka
113 have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, prob-
ably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill
113 (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of
our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the
island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were
hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that
I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about
traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The
origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account: A

539 E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki lunga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lungi, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, no?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki lunga, wuwuti ki lunga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lunga, koa oko ki te konga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lunga. Ili loa te vaka ki lunga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pae ki lunga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, there were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on land.

1/1 [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

5'39

Mimia loa te wui atua, ya hilu i lunga o te wenua. Yuki mangawanga te wui atua. Wano atu te wui atua ulu ke tai ona konga nanai. Wo na toe atua ola atu ki na toe konga. Yau loa la i a Tamayei. Ulu mai la te moana ki Tokelau. Yau loa mai Tonga, yau loa e, oko mai loa ki te moana nei, pae ai lunga o te kilitai. Takayeu ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Ko kakao mai te watu ia mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Onoono ai, e waingata. Niko loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai iai ke to loa, yau oki wakawou. Ko tona tino ya yau ia e tino kaka. Yau oki ki te mea ya onoono ai tamma. Inoino ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Koa yau loa ki te tiketike te tupunga o te watu ia. Wano oki wakawou ki Tonga, kalisi iai ke to mo koaloa. Yau oki wakawou. Lele mai loa, ino oki ki lunga o te mea ya onoono ai tamma, onoono atu ki lalo; koa wakakena mai mai lalo o te newu o te moana. Wano loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai ke ili ki lua ayo. Yau loa, ko tona tino atua tika. Kakao mailunga o te kilitai. Onoono atu ki te mea ya wakakena mai i te tolu o tona yaunga. Koa wano loa ki te ala. Pae loa la i lunga. Onoono loa, kali loa, kali loa, kali loa e; ula ki lunga. Kite loa i ana, e wenua. No loa ki lunga o te watu.

Ngawa loa te tangata mai loto o te watu. Ko Mataliki te ingoa. Onoono atu i a Tamayei, e tangata ko loto o te wata. Wulungia loa i a Tamayei. Wano atu loa i a Tamayei i tona wanonga. Koa pau tona talatala.

No loa i a Mataliki i lunga o te watu, ma te wakaope mai te kelekele, te kilikili ki lunga o te tuka.

Ke no i a Mataliki ki lunga o te tuka nei, wowou loa i te wenua nei e te wui atua. Wowou atu, talipili atu ki Yamoa; wowou i te toe konga, talipili atu ki te atu Iaulau. Wowou atu oki ki tokelau, talipili atu ki te Pa Lakawanga. Ko wai te latou yanga nei i loto o te po. Onoono ake i a Mataliki, kae wolo tona wenua, kae talipili mai ni wenua ki tawa o tona wenua. Lili loa i a Mataliki. Wakamalama loa i te ao. Mimia loa te wui atua. Maka loa i te latou wpwonga i te wenua.

The many gods who had gathered on the island hastened away. The gods ran off in all directions. The gods went to seek their place to hide. Some gods went to other places. Tamayei came then. He searched throughout the sea to Tokelau. He came from Tonga, he came, finally reached this sea, drifting on the surface. He circled around looking down. The rock was arising from the rock-bottom of the sea. He looked, it would take a long time. He returned again to Tonga. He waited there for a while, then came again. His body with which he had come was the body of a ghost tern. He came again to the thing he had first seen. He circled over it, looking down. The growth of the stone was becoming high. He went again to Tonga, waited there for a longer time. Then returned again. He flew here, circled around in the air above the thing he had first seen; it was whitening below the spray of the sea. He went again to Tonga. He waited there for a few days to pass. He came, his real body of a god. He appeared on top of the surface of the sea. He looked at the thing that had been turning white at the third of his comings. It was turning red. It floated on top. He looked, he waited, waited, (and) waited e-e-e-, it was red on top. He knew, it was an island. He stayed on the rock.

Then the man from inside of the stone burst through. Mataliki was his name. Tamayei looked, it was a man inside the stone. Tamayei was afraid. Tamayei went off on his journey. His story is finished.

Mataliki stayed on the stone, piling up sand, the corals on top of the rock.

While Mataliki was living on the stone, the island was being built up by the many gods. They built it up, it grew near to Samoa; they built up the other part, it neared the distant lands (*atu Iaulau*). They built it up also to the north, it neared the Lakawanga group. They were doing this work in the middle of the night. Mataliki watched lest his island grow large, lest some islands come close to the side of his island. Mataliki became angry. He made the day dawn. The many gods disappeared. They dropped their building-up of the island.

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano koe uluna e wawine ma koe. Teia te kunga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongalekeva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koini taua tamawine. Ko te wawine ia ka aunai e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tamawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, oko kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine ma talatala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loai i a Mataliki i te tamawine ia, aunai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu ma tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, kua loa te vala. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te tama, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Pupute oki wakawou, to oki; e tamawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E tautua no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te onoono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Koa opoopo i te wai atua ki oua tawa. Onoono loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kawea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wai atua. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, motu. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaokao ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ki te mata wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga lana ka tamaliki; tawanga lana matutua. Oti ai te tala e te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongalekeva. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched, Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) 173 that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See Category 173 or 116 — analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 given in informant's statement that Wangunu, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this time-scale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate wolo*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tongaleleva, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

Immigrants

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the west, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Utelei and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

173 173 Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration

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173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation of the
173 textual account follows:

The Revenge (Literally, the Over) of Two Girls

8'39 They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangaloa.
173 The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taupeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (*yau*): Poike, Niutao, Tane, Tapungaye. Went to the *yau* of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the *yau* of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his *yau* completely. They went to the *yau* of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his *yau*. They went to the *yau* of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his *yau* completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taupeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taupeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloa. Taupeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloa. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-ma-to-i-Te-Aumaloa (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloa), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore; to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likoliko*) and decayed coconut (*yuusi*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumawawine was her name. She went to Matautu, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawea. She spoke to Tokaipole and Taupeloa. This was her betrayal. "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

[10] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

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is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupelos who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupelos looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanan-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupelos went on to Te Vave-na-wanan-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupelos chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tana. Te-Vave-na-wanan-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupelos chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupelos and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupelos said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanan-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sun at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupelos shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanan-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Wate-manava-mi (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wukumanu-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

[173]

A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *paka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E pautua, aumai aku mea ke yamuyamu ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*tokaselangi*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

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173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Wato-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupelos was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kani, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another
173 canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*tualua*) with a crew of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pau*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kafuna, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both
173 possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyanola; the second, Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyanola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyanola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyanola. The

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woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalekimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malehanetoa. These two knew that Tuyiyanola desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyanola had several wives and families (*fanu*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyanola became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongaleleva people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongaleleva to find a canoe crew.

Lauivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Lauivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalekimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Lauivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Lauivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, laici te yun o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach of the lagoon. The chief Kalosa saw the strangers go past his house. He was frightened to see men higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to arouse his men. First he went to the houses of Maunga lisunga, then to the houses of

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539 173 Muliwutu, then to the houses of Yangalipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*yuu*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

173 There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their 191 canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when 192 entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *yuu* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yuu* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

173 canoe together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which
192 canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te
Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is
171 known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Puka-
773 puka from the Tokelau Islands:

> The captain of the canoe was Te Amu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotou, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine
539 men (*kou wowotu*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.
>
> Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Puputya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

173 In the time of Kuluea and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact
773 was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles south-east. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

> 539 Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Mataliki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

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were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialalou, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou walcamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matalcoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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539 Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te palo*) when he
173 heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the
[685] guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

Civil War

173 Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still com-
166 mon property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opin-
669 ion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control
621 of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

578 "The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *welo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was
placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

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173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

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173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and
1643 petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal char-
661 acter, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust
578 or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was
579 food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tanganga*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men
643 became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tsua to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

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173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his ceme-
tery.. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
761 permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his
father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents
and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly
pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over
the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and
533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers
of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up
the *olea* dirge:

539 Moe ma te teto e,
Tatou tatangi ki motu e,
Na manli kape i mata e, kape ma ma vae.

Tino yaulefa, ye vave, yaule wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia kotou i to kotou tangata,
Wali wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
o te wai mulivaka,
Kua ngalo koe, e ule kaina i te pou tu,

To yikn tale wawali ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatiatoka ia iaio
Wakatupopou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakaulula mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Tailkai.

Kamuiai koe pe Walei,
Ko ye tun na waitunga o tangata o te atu
Yasua.
Kua yau koe to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tala.
Tenei au e tangoangoa wakamatava
Wakamailunga i te kainga ma te kau ma to a
kotou ma te ulu loka kotou.
E oku taina, ko vave aku ou pe Uyo,
Ke aku taki atu i na aputu lakalala e
Makeke ake, nenewa.
Kua taka me to wiangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Tailkai.
You smelled like Walei.[18]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[19]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[20]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
579 that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the
people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing,
643 the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed
for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should
fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came
669 across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and
Pailon. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw
the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about
their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third
time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu
rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding
his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed
with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help
him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[18] A character in a popular story.
[19] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[20] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat.
643 Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck
and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead,
669 that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's ceme-
tery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the
old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped
152 a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or
expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki).
The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko,
[563 but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
597] Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakauu* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngauaiuali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

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173 It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery
731 from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was
643 again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in
578 it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: λ

173 Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

639 Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

λ. [See category 116, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

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They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Walatapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *rovoi* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognized that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngayu* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngayu*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newu.[a] He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uikele, Vakaua, Vakauli, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Pukapuka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, they girt on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pala* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uikele went away to his and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uikele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?

[a] The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tulihale.

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Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Uikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Uikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Uikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He wakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kilika. He went to Kilika, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*uule lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kilika listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kilika arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taiva* and *vete* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into two (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Mangamanga and Talitonganuku, and Tasa, and Matalili and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Motu-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuamuui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kilika and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kilika. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kilika were searching for them

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in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening.

Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kilika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kilika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kilika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kilika ran to Wumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kilika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koho* (throwing weapons). Kilika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wunui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Waula. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warded off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tau* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kilika arrived at Te Wunui. Kilika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The talo bed was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kilika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wunui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kilika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kilika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kilika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kilika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his man who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kilika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Taumalanga, bandaged it with *welo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kilika, "Kilika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kilika jumped over, Vakaua was feinting over Tuiva. Kilika pierced him in the heel; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kilika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

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173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[554] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

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173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the 177 canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

[203] The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *hiele* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, 554 given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on 484 early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful 177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one 554 paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through 167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether 829 physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and anti-social interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

173 I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, 484 have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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173 real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

184 The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Waialanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakalava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to ugliness, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the basalt rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Matu-o-te-tokalua (Stars-of-the-pair).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tonu (captain) and Taea with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tonu and Taea was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tuwua (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky) the navigators tried to pick the flower called *tokelangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the copulating places tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Mataliki, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

[171] Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Welei was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Welei a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-namutole (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Welei that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

173 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you
484 to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of
coconut leaflets which they call *tuka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-
171 away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikai-
ana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruwettua* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

[626 558]

173 The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to
the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games
177 with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a
long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of
[484] Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kitking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and
Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina.
484 But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the popula-
tion, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for
long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voy-
ages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had
returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to
the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in
the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving
Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva.
They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers
had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no
complement of talo. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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173 of going to the land of Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui, a small islet close to the shores of Yayake, an islet famous for its talo, where all the food complement desired could be easily procured. Yi did not want to go to Yayake, so Te Nana said he would go alone. Yi replied: "Agreed. You go to the windward islands, I will go to the leeward islands." So both canoes took in anchors, and one went one way, the other another way.

The story of Te Nana follows. Te Nana arrived at Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui. He beached his canoe at a place called Avalau. There was plenty of talo in the talo beds, and the crew settled down to feed on the abundance. Te Nana had a passion for talo cooked as *likoliko*; this was prepared every day, 40 to 50 shells full for each man at each meal. As each man finished his shellful, he threw it behind his back, and soon there was a high mountain of shells growing up on the beach. The crew kept on eating talo while planting to renew the beds. They began at one end, and worked to the other end, and kept on until they had worked through all the talo beds on the islet five times.

About this time the people of Yayake suddenly realized that there were signs of life on the islet which was to them tapu. They looked across the sea and saw flocks of birds rising from the islet day after day. They began to query each other as to the reason for this, and at last decided to go and see what was disturbing the birds.

Te Palo, a Yayake warrior, volunteered to make a reconnaissance. He sailed his canoe to the islet, and coming near the beach, saw a group of people watching him. One man, Te Nana, he saw standing by a *taeyiau* tree. He was burnt black by exposure to sun, and was tremendous in size through his feeding on *likoliko*. Te Palo took him to be a strange monster of a man, and hurriedly sailed back to Yayake to report.

The people of Yayake decided to sail a great fleet of canoes to the islet to kill off the giant strangers. In the vanguard went the canoes of Te Palo, followed closely by the canoes of Yukui, another noted Yayake warrior. Behind sailed the general fleet of Yayake canoes; so many were there that they looked like a huge net flung on the ocean. The plan was for the two warriors to land first, and then while they engaged the strangers, the other canoes were to land their men.

Te Nana watched the canoes coming, and to test them out he decided to throw the challenging coconut midrib (*yiliyili*). He said to Te Vae-matua: "Stand in front, Te Vae-matua. Tie up your hair, gird on your malo. When the canoes are close, hurl at them this *haleva* bird (midrib), and then we shall see whether the canoes are friendly or not." Te Vae-matua did as he was bid. Twice he hurled the *haleva*, and twice it was taken and thrown back at him (a sign of hostility). A third time Te Nana ordered him to throw, but Te Vae-matua was frightened of the strange host, and suggested that another might care to have the honor of throwing the *haleva*. But Te Nana said: "No, you are our mouth, go and throw again." Weeping, Te Vae-matua went forward and hurled the *haleva* a third time. The two Yayake warriors were now so close to the beach that they jumped ashore and stabbed Te Vae-matua before he could retreat. They cut his legs, arms, and head from his trunk. Te Palo impaled the trunk on a spear, and advanced with it to meet Te Nana.

At the sight of his friend thus killed, Te Nana felt a great fierceness well up through his stomach. As the three came closer, Te Palo called to Yukui: "Don't look behind, don't watch me, watch only the place you plan to strike. It will be above (the head), while my place will be below (the stomach)". Te Nana had ready another *haleva* which he formally threw at the two warriors. It was returned to him. Then the three men engaged. Yukui ran forward recklessly, with his guard lowered. Te Palo was more careful, realizing from the way Te Nana handled his weapons that he was a skilled warrior. Te Nana watched his chance, and soon cut Yukui to pieces, in the same way that Te Vae-matua had been killed. He impaled the body of Yukui on his spear, and then charged at Te Palo. Coming closer, with a mighty throw, he threw the body at Te Palo.

Te Palo, amazed at the strength displayed, rushed for his canoe, which was awaiting him on the reef. He set sail and hauled off to where the gathered Yayake canoes were awaiting the outcome of the champions' fight. Despite the orders of Te Palo, some of

173 his crew had followed him ashore, and these were easily killed by Te Nana and his men. Te Palo waited in his canoe for the outcome of this shore battle, between Te Nana and his own crew. As the battle swayed to the leeward, Te Palo shouted in admiration of the skill of Te Nana: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai lalo" (Glittering, brilliant, the school of *ayeu* fish of the war party from the west). And as the battle swayed back to the windward part of the beach he called out: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai ngake" (. . . from the east). Then, realizing that his own men were getting badly beaten, he called to them to stop fighting. They made their way to a canoe, and Te Nana, finding he had won the fight, ceased fighting also. The people of Yayake sailed back to the main island. Te Nana saw however that they would come a second time and that a second time he might not be able to beat them, so he got ready his canoe and soon sailed off for Niue.

Leaving Te Nana, the story of Yi follows. When Yi sailed to the leeward, he finally made a landfall at Tonga-nui or Tonga-wolo. The Tongan people decided to test out the powers of the strangers and to this end arranged a contest to shift a pile of coconut husks from one place to another. Yi chose one of his crew, but his men refused to have any other champion than Yi himself, saying he was a man of power (*mana-mana*) and hence the one best fitted to represent them. Yi agreed. The Tongans chose their champion, a man named Yuliyuli. Both men stood before their piles of husks, and the contest started. Yuliyuli started fast at first, while Yi went slowly. All the people watched the contest while the men ran back and forth. Soon Yuliyuli got short-winded; Yi increased his speed and won the contest. The Tongan people killed and ate the loser, as was their custom.

A new trial was decided on to catch the strangers. This was a food-eating contest, in which the contestants were to be old, grey-headed men only. Yi picked out his warrior, Mayau, the oldest man in his crew. The Tongans chose their champion, and both men sat down before a huge pile of food, pigs and nuts. Mayau thought to outwit the Tongans. When he picked up a piece of food, he made a feint at eating, and then threw the food to some of his men behind him. This was noticed by the Tongans who became angry at the subterfuge, and stopped the contest, saying that Mayau was disgracing their way of playing the contest by giving the tapu food of the old men to commoners to eat.

Then they gave out the word that the strangers had given sufficient offence rightfully to be put to death. All were ordered to collect firewood and cooking stones, that the strangers might be killed, cooked, and eaten on the morrow. Yi and his men heard of the plan. They slept until early daylight. Then Yi roused and armed his men. He got some to prepare his canoe. The old man Mayau he sent to the Tongans. Armed with a huge club, he told the Tongans: "This club will be used to strike down you Tongans, if you stop our going. Yi is a powerful warrior, and I warn you this club will strike you like the head of an eel. Listen not with one ear, but with two ears." The people of Tonga were frightened by this bold threat, and while they were undecided what to do, Yi got his canoe launched, and all his men aboard.

He set sail for Niue, where he met Te Nana coming from Yayake. The two went ashore together, and settled down for a while before going to sea again.

After a long stay in Niue, they decided it was time to begin the voyage back to Pukapuka. They and their crews had been living an idle life on Niue, and when they went to look at their canoes, they found that both were imprisoned by the growth of young coconuts which people of Niue, either by design or through chance, had planted around the canoes. The two men began to tear up the coconut trees, in order to clear the canoes.

Now there was a young woman of Niue named Tauyaningaloa, who had become infatuated with Te Nana. Seeing that he was getting his canoe ready for a voyage, she said to Te Nana: "Take me with you back to Pukapuka and make me your wife." Te Nana would not agree. Yi had his canoe in the water, and Te Nana was ready to move his canoe to the sea. Then the girl returned, bringing with her a basket of prepared

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173 talo (*likoliko*), of which she knew Te Nana was excessively fond. She gave the food to Te Nana, pleading, "My sweetheart, take me with you to Pukapuka." But Te Nana replied in horror, "What, you wish me to take you, a woman, in my canoe, and disgrace (*lepa*) it before the eyes of my gods? If I did this, I would never arrive in Pukapuka; the gods would punish me for my horrible sin." [See p. 309.]

The girl was not to be turned aside, however, and to prevent Te Nana from leaving Niue, since he would not take her with him, she roused up the people of Niue, crying that the Pukapukans were stealing away, taking with them many things stolen from the people of Niue, and that Te Nana was also trying to steal her away from her people.

It was now nearly dark. The people of Niue came rushing to the beach, bringing with them weapons and torches of dry coconut leaves. They rushed at Te Nana and at his canoe, which was still on the beach. Te Nana picked up a coconut club, and beat off all the people attacking him. He rushed at them, drove them back, then tried to pull his canoe nearer the water. The Niue men rushed forward again. Some applied torches to the canoe, which, being very dry, blazed up. Te Nana saw his beloved canoe on fire, and in a frenzy of desperation, he threw down his club and tore at the people with his hands and his teeth. Then finding all was useless, he crept into his burning canoe.

The Niue people stood off, and Te Nana was burned to death with his canoe. Yi had all this time been standing off the beach in his own canoe. Those of Te Nana's crew not killed swam to it and were taken aboard. Yi saw the great crowd of Niue people and fearing that if he went to help all would be killed, he decided to save himself and his own canoe. He had, however, left on shore a valuable anchor line, which he wished to get. Thinking it would be madness to beach the canoe, he waited until the Niue men were all engaged with Te Nana, then he slipped into the sea and swam ashore with his club. He stole to where his anchor rope was lying. Some Niue men rushed at him, but he killed them with his club. He picked up the rope, wound it on his arm and started back for the beach, killing all who tried to stop him. He got to the beach safely and swam out to his canoe, which hoisted sail and returned to Pukapuka.

He told the people the story of his own voyage and of the voyage of Te Nana as related to him by Te Nana, and the fate of Te Nana and his canoe.

Yi lived on in Pukapuka to become a member of the older men's age group (*sulitaka*). When the people of Yato went to Motu Kotawa to catch booby birds, Yi went with them. Being still an active man, he elected to climb a tall *puka* tree. While he was waiting in the tree for the birds, a sudden squall blew up. The rain poured down, making the bark of the trees so slippery that none could climb down safely. The other men saw the squall coming and managed to get down safely. But Yi lost his head, for the spirit of Te Nana had entered into him. He did not climb down quickly, but called out to those on the ground: "I am going to fall. Gather together coconut leaves, pile them under the tree, that I may fall on something soft." The men complied, and cried to Yi to jump. But he was crazed by the spirit of Te Nana, and could not. Again the people cried to him, but he could not jump. A third time they called to him, but there was no reply. They saw him jump clear, but no body fell to earth. And so the people of Pukapuka believe that the spirit of Te Nana consumed Yi's body and soul in order to punish him for having deserted Te Nana when Te Nana was fighting against great odds in Niue. Had he rushed to the help of Te Nana on that occasion, all might have been well, and both might have returned safely to Pukapuka.

The Pukapukans remember a cycle of five stories about Te Palo, the Yayake warrior with whom Te Nana fought, of which one recounts his adventures with Te Nana in Yayake; three, his adventures killing man-eating demons (*kai tangata*), and one, his adventures in coming to Pukapuka.

The last account relates that Te Palo came to Nassau and from Nassau to Pukapuka on a voyage of woman-seeking (*e tele timotimo*). He was greatly impressed with the

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173 amount of talo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli ngauta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Nassau, Te Palo sewed his sail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Taua was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's armpit with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

173 As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to [502] this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that 484 about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*wakamana*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The canoes were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puoya*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her atoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tama e, ka ni o mo mea la langa ake te imu o to taua kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trials of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

173 tore apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was revenged on the Tongan people.

173 Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring
167 expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of
484 Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

173 All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travelers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngayu* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yamaunga, named Talauwa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Talauwa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Talauwa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Talauwa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

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173 Taluawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-lungi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawani, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the canoe and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

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This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

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Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

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502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
+87 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme
522 realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

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[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize 554 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion 521 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to 152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel- 885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. 517 It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of 181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development 831 in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

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181 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be
831 possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

171 Pukapuka and Samoa. The double-pointed throwing weapon links Pukapuka to Funafuti; oval or round religious structures seem to have their nearest parallel with those of Niutao in the Ellice Islands. Unlike Samoa, Pukapuka lacks tattooing, the arched house, the use of house decorative lashings and the plank-flanged canoe, though the use of flanges on the dugout canoe may suggest Samoan influence.

In social organization, Pukapuka presents several features that seem more Melanesian than Polynesian. This is notable in the structure of the maternal moieties, and the importance of named maternal descent groups. The common western Polynesian custom of *susu* or *fahu* is absent in Pukapuka. Though the Pukapukan kinship system is marginal to the west, there has been a specialization in the function of at least one western kinship category (the *moyakitanga*, sacred maid), and whereas brother-sister tapu is absent, the full weight of avoidance has fallen on those of opposite sex who are related as cross or parallel cousins. This strongly suggests a similar emphasis reported for the southeast and northwest Solomon Islands (Mala and Buka). Again, the elaboration of rank within kindred associated with the west, and the elaboration of rank within the social structure associated with Samoa and Tonga, together with a chiefly language, are all lacking in the simpler, more democratic structure of Pukapukan society.

The hierarchy of Pukapukan gods is hard to trace elsewhere. The named gods and their elaboration of function seem peculiar to Pukapuka. The absence of such gods as Tangaloa, Tane, Ru, and Rongo points to a break with the deistic systems of the rest of Polynesia. Certain correspondence between the Pukapukan conception of the Underworld and that formerly prevalent in Futuna may be noted, but it is significant that a common western name for the underworld, *pulotu* or its dialectical equivalent, is unknown in Pukapuka other than as a recently introduced word.

199 Linguistically, the dialect of Pukapuka and its phonetic material seem to be unique in that it is impossible to say whether Pukapukan is more closely allied to the western or to eastern dialects. One of the two phonetic anomalies that are not found elsewhere in Polynesia appears to have its closest affinity with sounds recorded for Fiji and the New Hebrides.

171 The games of Pukapuka are widespread Polynesian games. Analysis of the string figures indicates that these show a closer affinity with the west than with the east. Because comparative string figure collections are still very inadequate, it is impossible to be more definite than this.

The myths and tales of Pukapuka mention several of the well-known Polynesian culture heroes. It is possible that the relatively large number of animal tales in Pukapuka, though few by comparison with the total number of known tales, points to a far western affiliation. At least it serves to dis-

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171 tinguish Pukapuka from most other Polynesian groups. The Pukapukan origin myth is characteristically western in its phrasing.

Traditional history seems to point to fairly close contact long ago with islands to the west. It is unfortunate that so many of the foreign lands mentioned in these accounts can not be identified. The modern Pukapukan firmly believes that such names as Tonga, Yamoa, Witi, Tokelau and others refer in the legends to Polynesian islands which bear these names today. For lack of other evidence I see no reason to deny this. In the light of this traditional history it is hardly legitimate to pose the question: whence came the Pukapukans? The modern Pukapukan has no answer. The modern ethnologist can not yet speak with finality.

101 I take it as reasonably clear, however, that on a basic stratum of fundamentally Polynesian patterns, there has been superimposed a culture that has strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole is marginal to the west. These strata, combined with certain specific elaborations or survivals in social organization, serve to give characteristic accent to Pukapukan culture when viewed against the background of Polynesia as a whole.

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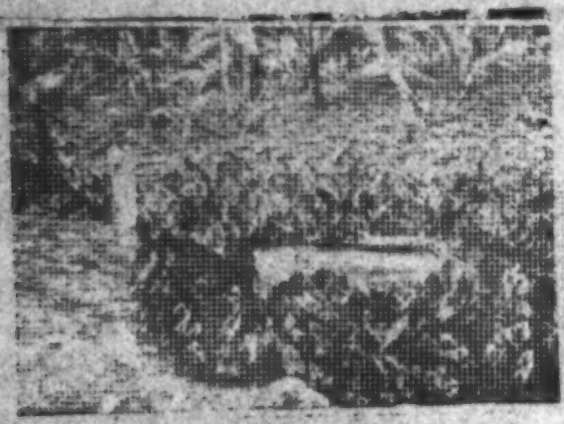

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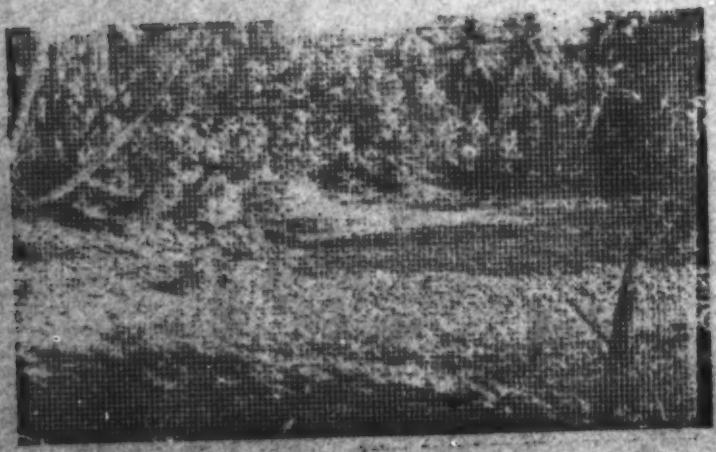

B

TALO GARDENS. *A*, SMALL INDIVIDUAL TALO GARDEN WITH EXCAVATION SUNK WELL BELOW THE SURROUNDING SURFACE OF THE LAND. *B*, LARGE VILLAGE-CONTROLLED TALO GARDEN IN THE RESERVE OF UTA: THE GARDEN IS REDIVIDED INTO INDIVIDUALLY CULTIVATED, SMALLER SECTIONS; EMBANKMENT AT THE LEFT IS FORMED PARTLY BY EXCAVATION AND PARTLY BY HEAPING EXCAVATED SOIL INTO A RIDGE WHICH SERVES AS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN THIS AND THE ADJOINING GARDENS.

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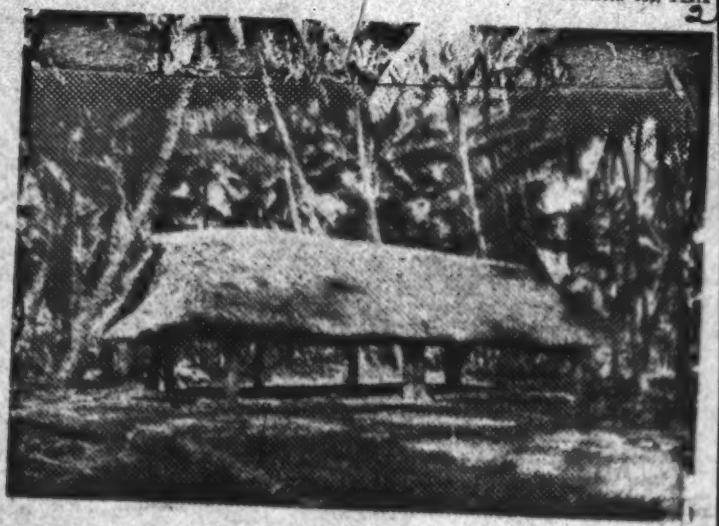

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B

HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE *WALE ATUA* TYPE AT THE PLACE MATALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA, USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD; ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REENFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF LOTO VILLAGE; THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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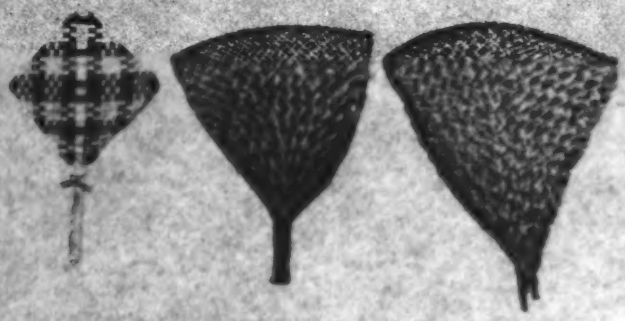

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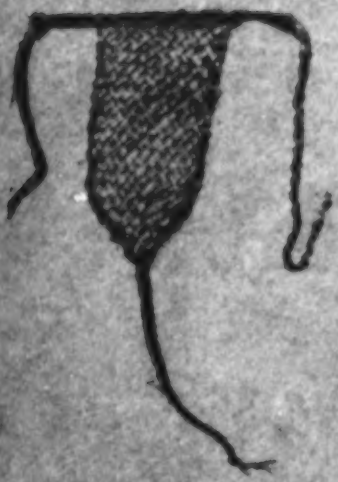

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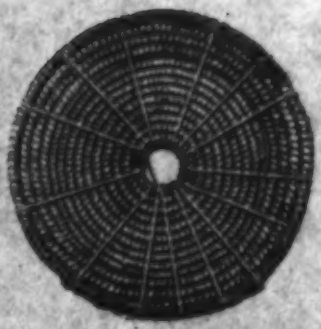

C

FANS AND MALOS. *A*, FANS: 1, PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAITED IN CLOSE CHECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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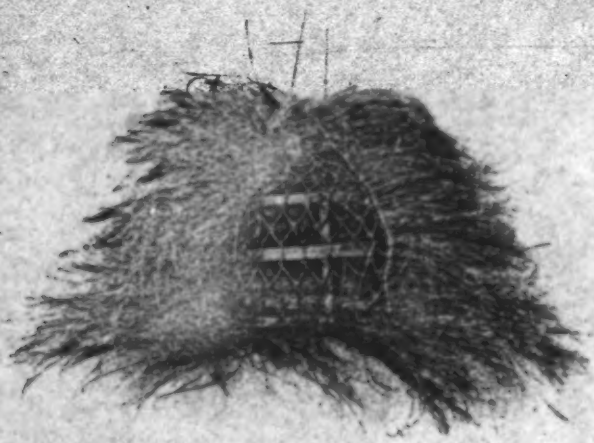

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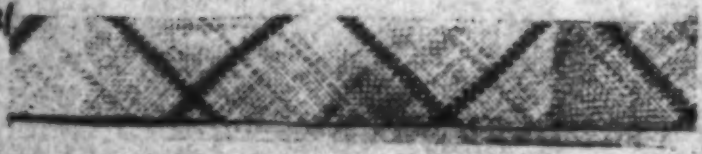

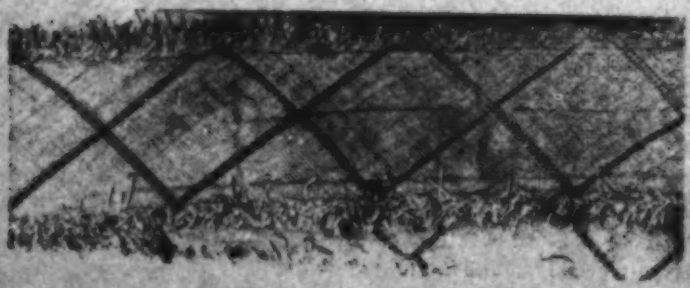

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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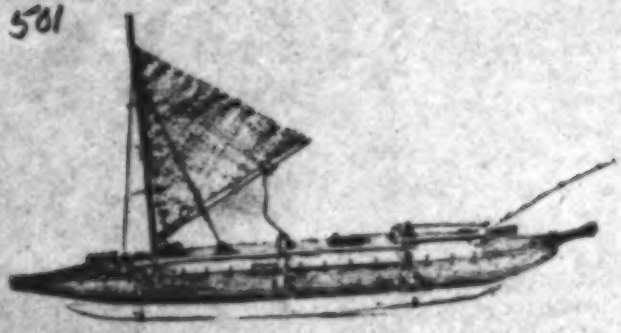

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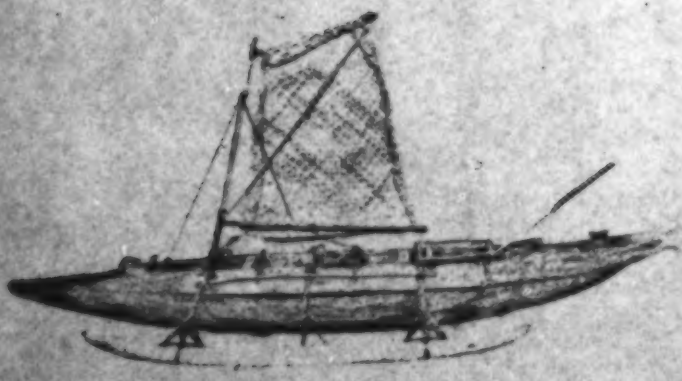

B

CANOES. A. THROUGH-AND-THROUGH LASHED CANOE, WITH TRIANGULAR SAIL OF PANDANUS MATTING; ROD IN STERN SHOWS POSITION OF BONITO ROD WHEN THE CANOE IS TROLLING. B. CANOE WITH INSIDE FLANGE LASHINGS AND GAFF SAIL. BOTH CANOES ARE MODELS, AND PROPORTIONS OF BOW AND STERN COVERS TO REST OF HULL ARE ONLY APPROXIMATELY CORRECT; OTHERWISE CANOES EXACTLY MADE.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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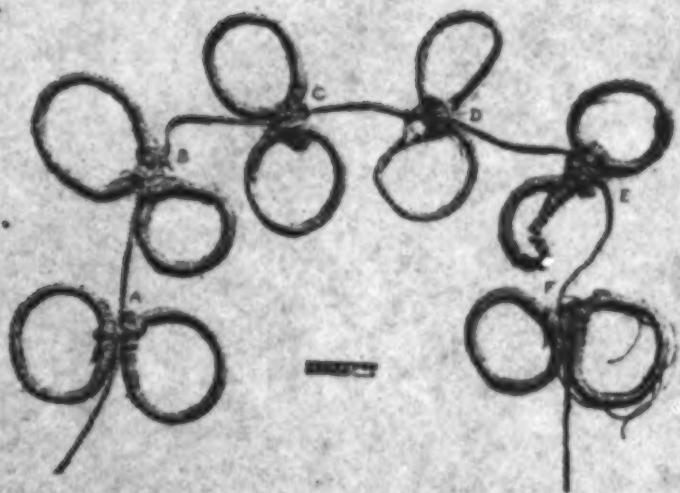

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET 1¼ INCHES; A TO B, 4⅝ INCHES; B TO C, 7⅝ INCHES; C TO D, 6⅝ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations
127 which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling
[124] exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

194 The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and nine consonants, *k, l, m, n, ng, p, t, v,* and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6).* The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 49.

[1-3 blank]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

194 197 sented in the text as *'i*. This extra sound following *h* is found in the dialect of the Tokelau Islands (9), Manihiki, and Rakahanga (13). Many natives of Pukapuka drop the glottal closure at the beginning of a word and retain only the *i* sound. To English-speaking people this sounds like *y*, as in the word year, and has led Frisbie (3), Hutchin (6), and Trotter (17) to write *y* in words that contain this sound. A comparison of words written with *y* by Trotter with cognate words of the Maori dialect (16) and the Samoan dialect (10) shows that the *y* becomes *h* or *r* in Maori and *s* or *l* in Samoan. I believe that Trotter has confused the liquid sound of the Pukapukan *l* with the *y* sound which he heard in other words. He has given *lengalenga* (green) as "yengayenga" and *lava* (multitude) as "yava". The forms *lengalenga* and *lava* are found in the Samoan dialect also. In all other words containing *y*, the *y* becomes *h* in the Maori form and *s* in the Samoan form, as shown in the following comparative list of words:

Pukapuka	Maori	Samoa	Translation
ye	———	se	not
yauariki matangi	hau	sau	gentle breeze, fresh, cool, dew
yeuyeu	heuheu	seu	to mix or scatter
yoka	hoka	so'a	to husk
yoyongi	hongi	sogi	to smell or kiss
yna	hina	sina	grey, white

The original Polynesian *h*, which Buck (13) suggests has been retained in Hawaii, and the old form *wh* of the Maori dialect (also retained in the Manihiki dialect) has been developed into a full *w* sound in Pukapuka speech. The Hawaiian word hau (*whau* in Maori) becomes *wau* in Pukapuka.

The sound of *t* also has a variant sound *ts* before the vowel *i*, as in the Tongan and several other Polynesian dialects. *K* is often given the sound of hard *g*, a characteristic often heard in Tokelau speech. The name of the Pukapuka god, Te Akuaku, was pronounced by one informant "Te Aguagu". *L* has an intermediate sound between *l* and *r*, as pronounced by many of the natives. In representing it as *l*, I may be influenced by the fact that I had previously heard only Polynesian dialects containing the true *l*. Hutchin, Frisbie, and Trotter, familiar with dialects containing *r*, evidently heard the sound of *r* and have represented it so in their writings. The sound of *v* exists in the words *vaka* (canoe) and *vai* (water) but is usually sounded as *w*.

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-
137 fruit trees grow on the island.

262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro.
439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

2:Macgregor F-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 Communication with the island consists of an occasional visit of a boat from the Cook Islands and the semiannual arrival of the schooner operated by Burns-Philp Company, which comes from Apia, Samoa, to buy copra. Traders have done business on the island in the past, but the last store was closed in 1934.

MYTHOLOGY

The first people of Pukapuka, or Nukuloa, as it was named by the ancients, were descended from the chief god of the island. This god sprang from a rock which he afterward made into the land. The creation story told to me is this:

> Previous to the creation of the land all the gods lived in Tonga, but someone pulled Tonga out of the sea and all the gods flew away. One of these gods was Tamaei (Tama'ei) or Tamathei, who took the form of a white tern (*kaka*) and flew over the ocean until he came to a place where he saw a white coral head growing on the bottom. He watched this but it ceased to grow. Tamaei flew back to Tonga but returned to the coral some time later. He found it growing and rising. However, it again stopped growing when he looked at it. Tamaei returned to Tonga a second time and made a third visit to the coral later on. This time he found it very close to the surface. As he watched the coral rise, a man, Mata Aliki, sprang from the coral and, finding no land about him, he made the island of Pukapuka from the coral on which he was standing. Mata Aliki became the supreme deity of the island and progenitor of the people.
>
> Tamaei returned to Tonga and later came to Pukapuka in the form of a human being. He was deified by the Pukapukans but he never became powerful as a god.

Gill (5, p. 123) states: "He [Mata Aliki] was a god, the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He [Mata Aliki] made the earth and the sea." Hutchin (6, p. 173) records that "Tamaye" (Tamaei) watched a rock in the sea. The rock suddenly burst asunder and a man named Uio appeared. He had a wife, Te Vaopupu, from Tonga; a son, Tu-muri-vaka; and a daughter, Te Mata-kiate.

This creation tale has several incidents that relate to the western Polynesian creation stories concerning Tangaloa. The bird of Tangaloa, generally a snipe (*tuli*) elsewhere, flies down to earth but finds no place to alight. After several flights the bird sees dry land breaking through the waves. In one version of this tale, man is born from the breaking asunder of the rock. An analogous tale is recorded by Buck (13) in the neighboring islands of Manihiki and Rakahanga.

Writing of the subsequent history of Pukapuka, Gill (5, p. 123) states:

He (Matariki) founded the villages named Mariutu, Matanga, Angi-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Mariutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one; no cannibalism existed, nor wars.

Hutchin says that a flood covered the island when Anuna, a girl of wicked influence among the people and the daughter of the high chief, was living. He names three districts of early Pukapuka which were settled by the Tongan warriors, Tokai-pore and Taupe-roa. These districts were Avarua or Kotiporo, Te Awea or Pana-uri, and Taka-numi or Ure-kava, but he does not state whether or not the people of these districts were Pukapukans or others brought by the Tongans. None of these names given by Hutchin and Gill appear as present land divisions.

The story of a settlement of people called the Eaki ('Aki) on Motu Ko under these same Tongan chiefs is related in a myth about them, and a winged man, Manava Nui.

At one time two canoes with a strange people, the Eaki, landed on the islet Motu Ko and settled there. It is thought that they came from Tahiti. They were under two chiefs, Taupeloa and Tokaipole, who were either Tongans or Samoans. The two chiefs and a few followers settled on the western point of the island, Matauea, and the Eaki lived on the eastern end. Although the people on Pukapuka Islet did not like these strangers they did not drive them off. While the Eaki lived on Motu Ko they dug the large taro pits which are used on Pukapuka today.

After the Eaki were well settled on their islet, a man named Manava Nui was born there. On the southeastern side of the islet Manava Nui had two stone seats in which he sat and watched for turtles floating on the surface of the sea. When he spied one by the reflection of the sun on its wet, shiny back, he flew over the sea and caught it up. He left all that he caught with the Eaki, to be divided among them. This continued for some time, but the two chiefs on Matauea Point were ignorant of his existence.

Among the people of Eaki was a woman, Tauianingaloa, who was enraged because she was not given a fair share of the turtle meat caught by Manava Nui. To bring revenge upon her people for their treatment of her, she went to the two chiefs, Taupeloa and Tokaipole, concealing herself by covering her head with a basket and swimming unobserved across the water between the two points of the islet. She went on until she could stand in the water before the house of the two chiefs, and, calling to one whom she saw, told of the plot of her people to kill both of them and of the existence of the remarkable man, Manava Nui, who could fly about in the air.

This chief wished to call the other without alarming the woman. Pointing to a bird perched in a tree overhead he asked if the wonderful man of whom

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 she spoke could fly as high as the bird sitting there. She replied that he could fly higher. Then the chief took his spear and hurled it into the air. "Can Manava Nui fly as high as that?" he asked.

The other chief, who was fishing on the reef behind the islet, saw the spear in the air and ran to his home, and learned the news that the woman had brought to them. They called the woman ashore and killed her, lest she return to her people and tell them that the two chiefs were aware of their intentions.

That night they crossed with their followers to the first settlement of the Eaki. It was the custom of all the Eaki to sleep side by side, using a long log as a pillow. The two chiefs carried a second log to where the Eaki were sleeping and crushed their heads between the two logs. They went on to the other settlement of the Eaki and attempted to kill them in the same way. These people all chanted as they slept. The chiefs dropped a log on the heads of these people also, but a strong man (*toa*) hurled it off, shouting "*Tuki pou!*" (Strike the post!) The people sleeping with him leaped to their feet and ran to Pukapuka Islet along the low stretches of coral which surround the lagoon. It was a stormy night with thunder and lightning. Manava Nui was sitting in one of his stone seats, watching the sea. When he heard his people crying out and running away, he followed them, flying above the reef. The two chiefs pursued him, hurling their spears into the air to prevent his coming ashore. At the passage in the reef at Pukapuka Islet, Taupeloa and Tokaipole speared Manava Nui to death as he was flying to the reef to rest. They rushed to the village and told the Pukapuka people the murderous plan of the Eaki. The Pukapuka people turned on the Eaki and slew them all as they came along the reef from Motu Ko to Pukapuka Islet. After burying the bodies in a single pit, they went out on the reef and dragged ashore the body of Manava Nui; and when they cut him open, they discovered that he had eight hearts.

Manava Nui was buried at a point where the boundaries of the three sections of the village meet. When the two chiefs died later, Tokaipole was buried between Loto and Iaki sections and Taupeloa, between Loto and Ngaki sections. Two ancient graves on these boundaries are pointed out as the burial sites of these heroes.

Frisbie (2) translates Manava-Nui as "Stout-Hearted" or "Many Stomachs." He describes the grave of Manava Nui as 16 feet long and 5 feet wide. The headstone is chiseled to represent a bird, and four large slabs are placed on either side of it for his eight fabulous "stomachs".

773 The story of the wrestling of the gods Te Akuaku and Ngaliieieu
539 is told.

Te Akuaku was a god of Akalava [Mangaia?] who traveled to Tonga, where he found all the gods gathered for a wrestling tournament. Te Akuaku wore the rainbow as a wrestler's malo around his waist, and around his shoulders he wore the rays of the sun. When he approached and challenged the others to wrestle, all the gods stood back, frightened by the brilliance of this stranger. Finding that no one would accept his challenge, Te Akuaku left Tonga and journeyed to Samoa. As he came to shore, he looked down into

the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends (*'oa*) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live. 773 539

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections belonging to three groups of people. 000

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1).* [367] In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

* Lp. 12 -- Analyst]

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000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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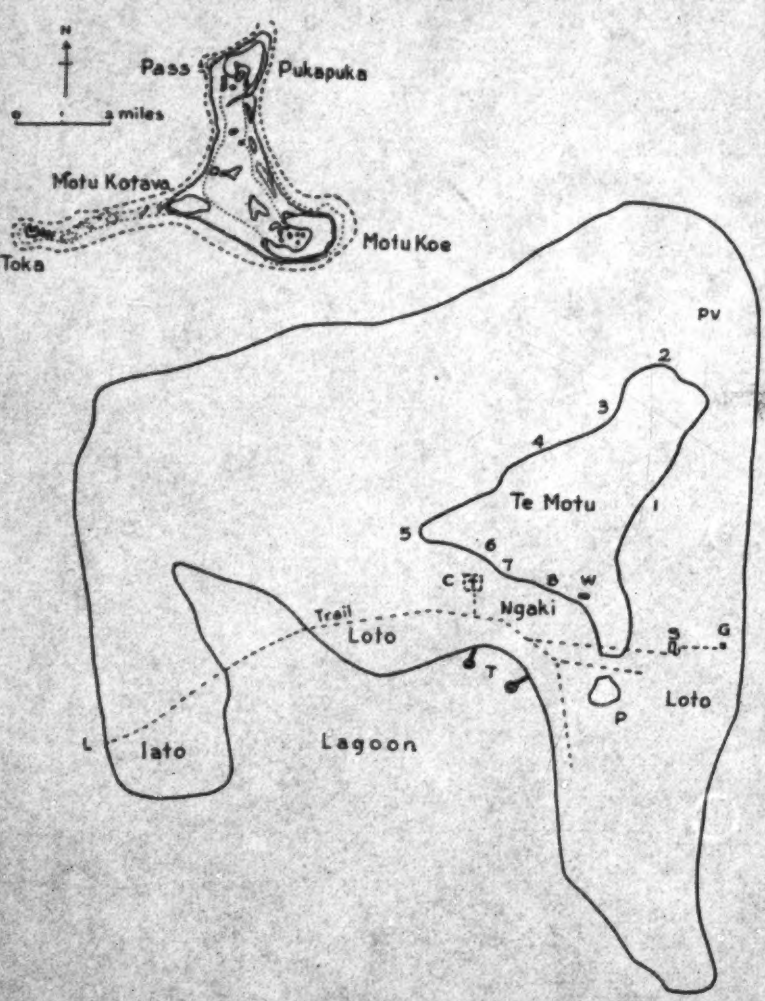

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach. 504 514 364

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree. 000

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
221 on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows: 103 311 423

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waitu
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach) 361
9. Te A (western group of houses) 621
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces; 000

000 but as they are away from the village they could not be visited without the sanction of all the owners as expressed by the village council. This arrangement was practiced in the Tokelau Islands (9), where the kindreds owned the land, but no individual might visit a plantation off the village islet until the village council decreed that every member of the community might go.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship System

The five generations recognized in kinship terms, reckoned from the point of view of the individual, include all generations normally known during a lifetime: grandparents, parents, the individual, the children, and grandchildren. The following kinship terms include collateral lineal relations, elder and younger relatives in some instances, and relatives by law.

Tupuna: grandparent, great-uncle, or great-aunt
Matua: parent
Tuakana: brother (man or woman speaking)
Tua'ine: sister (man or woman speaking)
Taina: cousin of same sex as speaker
Tama: son
Tamawine: daughter
Makupuna: grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece

In general relationships sex is denoted, if necessary, by *tane* (male) and *va'ine* (female), as in *makupuna tane* (grandson), and *matua va'ine* (mother).

Buck (13) states that in the kinship systems of Tongareva, Mangaia, Manihiki, and Rakahanga, *tuakana* denotes older brother or sister, and *teine* younger brother or sister, men speaking of brothers only and women speaking of sisters only. This age distinction was not pointed out at Pukapuka, where both men and women were said to speak of their brothers as *tuakana*. In the Cook Islands *teine* is the corresponding term for *tuakana*. In Pukapuka *taina* (*teine*) is a cousin of the same sex as the speaker. The Pukapuka term for sister, *tua'ine*, man or woman speaking, is used in the Cook Islands by brothers only speaking of their sister and has a sex distinction, according to Buck. The corresponding term used by sisters in speaking of their brothers is *tuangane*, a term lacking in the Pukapuka system. The distinction shown in the terminology between age and

sex of brothers and sisters was not inquired into. However, the age distinction, as it functions in the other Cook Islands, does not appear to exist in Pukapuka. Titles do not descend directly through the male side. When a chief dies, the title goes normally to his next youngest brother; but if there is a sister older than all the brothers, her eldest son will receive the title.

In Pukapuka the seniority of males has this variation: an elder sister is *tuakana* in that her son has superior claim to title and rank over his mother's younger brothers. Age distinction is denoted by the terms *tainamua* (eldest) and *tainamuli* (youngest), according to Hutchin (6), who also gives the terms *kaina tane* (brother) and *kaina va'ine* (sister); but these include any male or female relative. The eldest son of a chief is the *uluiaki,* and the younger children of both sexes are *palekimuli.* These terms are said to be used only in the chiefly language. The second son in any family is the *angavale.*

The eldest male is the head of the family or kindred. This family chief is the *mataiapo.* The eldest sister of the senior or ranking family of the kindred is the *aukimua*: her brothers and their children refer to her by this term. She takes care of the chief's food and sacrifices to the gods. The father's sister and the daughter of the father's sister are termed *matua* (parent). Hutchin (6) gives the term *inakava* as the daughter of a sister and *wale atua* as daughter of an elder brother. The Polynesian term *ilamutu* had no meaning to the native informants in Pukapuka, but the fact that the eldest male of the family has a special term for and relationship with his eldest sister and that a man refers to his father's sister and her daughter as parent (*matua*) suggest that the senior female and the female side of the kindred were considered with the marked importance that exists in Samoa and other islands with the *ilamutu* relationship.

Brother-sister Avoidance

The custom of tapu or avoidance between brothers and sisters and those who are termed brothers and sisters of a kindred in the classificatory system of Polynesian relationship exists in Pukapuka society. However, the information regarding this restriction between the related persons of opposite sex within one generation shows a variation that does not appear in other islands. The avoidance is called *kainga 'aka ma* (relations who are ashamed). It is observed

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only between the children and descendants of the opposite sex of a brother and sister: that is, cross-cousins and their descendants observe this avoidance with those of the opposite sex, within their own generation, as long as the original brother and sister are remembered as forebears. Avoidance is not practiced between true brother and sister. This fact was insisted upon by informants, in spite of repeated questioning. Another term for brother-sister avoidance was given as *wale atua* (house of a god), the term also given for the daughter of elder or eldest brother.

I was later told that both parallel-cousins and cross-cousins observed brother-sister avoidance. The elimination of brother-sister tapu between true brothers and sisters and emphasis of first cousins, all of whom are termed collectively *taina* (sibling) with no distinction between parallel- and cross-cousins, may be due to a psychological attitude. Brother-sister avoidance is generally based on the prohibition of sexual relations between brother and sister and all those termed brother or sister. It may be that as incest between true brother and sister is so obviously repugnant, the emphasis of the tapu was laid upon those between whom sexual intercourse was more likely although forbidden by native custom.

Lineal Descent

Hutchin (6, p. 173) says: "The people reckon their descent (*poripori*) from the mother's side." This is only partially true. In succession of rank, age is the determining factor; but the position is always held by a male. The son of a woman has priority over her brothers if she is older than they. The children are divided between the mother and the father. Before birth it is decided to which parent a child will belong. From this parent the child receives his inheritance in land and personal property and at death he is buried with the parent. The child becomes a member of this parent's kindred. Thus some Pukupukans reckon descent through the mother's side.

Tribes

Hutchin states that there are tribes and subtribes in Pukapuka. The four most important tribes are: Te Ua-ruru, the most ancient tribe and descended from an ancestress named Te Raio; Te Mango, second oldest tribe; Te Uira; and Te Kati.

Governing Classes

The highest chief is the *aliki*, who is referred to today as "king" The present *aliki* is a figurehead, much of his power having been taken over by the village council (*komapani*), the Resident Agent, and the native pastor, who perform new functions in the island society.

The second class of chiefs is termed *mataiapo*, but I believe this is a recently adopted Cook Islands term. Formerly all chiefs were called *aliki*. At present there are four chiefs of *mataiapo* rank in Ngaki, two in Loto, and four in Iato. Each section of the village has also two lesser chiefs (*langatila*).

A council of the village elders (*tupeli*), the modern *komapani*, governs the people with the *aliki* and other chiefs. They settle all business and disputes concerning the village as a whole, determine the times for gathering food from the plantations, and superintend the distribution of food. In ancient times the council directed and trained the young men of the village. The eldest man (*wola*) is the council head and ranks next to the *aliki*. The final decision in government and council matters rests with the *wola*. Members of the council live together on a marae on the village center or meeting ground.

Each section of the village also has its council (*ekaresia*) and council house (*uipaanga*). Each council has a head man (*olomatua*). These names were given by an Aitutaki boy who first gave *kare* as the term for the head man and then corrected himself, saying that *kare* was an Aitutaki word. *Ekaresia* also may be an Aitutaki word.

Age Groups

The leading group of the village is composed of the old men who form the council. At their age they can retire from active manual labor and let others provide for their families. They fish a great deal, but this is done for sport. The adult men who are juniors to them are classed as *mulivaka*. They are the married men with families to provide for and live in their own homes. When the boys of the village have been accepted as men (*'akatane*), they are classed as *kivatangaloa*. In former times this transfer to the older age group was marked by permission to don men's dress, the malo.

000 Younger boys who have not arrived at an age to be initiated into manhood are *kulamoemoe*. Infants are *kulapuputi*.

Frisbie (3) gives three periods in the life of an individual, which roughly correspond with the age groups given above: the first period (*takaua*), in which the child is unclothed; the second (*malo*), in which the individual is mature or is classed as an adult; the third (*matua*), in which the individual becomes a parent or a member of the eldest group of society.

881 The council formerly decided the time when the boys and young
884 men of the village might be accepted into the group of men. Their approval was given when they judged that a boy was able to take care of himself and to procure food. Ability in fishing, gathering and husking coconuts, and handling a canoe were deemed more important than the mere fact that a boy had reached the age of adolescence. He had to become well grown, sometimes 18 or 20 years of age, before he was physically able to pass the tests and take part in adult life. Until this time the boy lived in his parents' home.

000 When the council decided that a group of boys or young men was ready to be elected into the group of men, the boys were assembled and ordered to accomplish several tests which would prove their abilities:

> For several days or weeks the boys took the canoes to sea to catch kingfish (*pala*). Each night they returned to the village council with their catch, which was divided among the families of the village. When they had proved their ability at sea as canoemen and fishermen, they had to gather coconuts for all the people. The first day they went to Motu Kotava and harvested until late in the day. With their canoes filled, they returned to Pukapuka. On nearing the canoe beach, the strongest wrestler of their group stood in the bow of his canoe and challenged the men on shore to a match. When he went ashore he met the champion of the *'akatane* group. If the wrestler of the candidates defeated his opponent, the entire group of candidates was acknowledged fit for acceptance as men in society. However, on the second day the group was obliged to return across the lagoon to Motu Ko and bring another load of coconuts. After this the boys were given malos to wear and were sent to the young men's house (*male lopa*) to live as recognized adults (*'akatane*).

The boys considered capable of taking care of themselves (*'akatane*) were eligible to marry. However, marriage did not necessarily take place immediately. A young man must select his mate and make the proper arrangements with the girl's family and his

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own. Complete freedom was not allowed formerly between the young men and women of the village. The young girls were quite restricted and the girls' houses were carefully supervised. Nevertheless, the young men found opportunities to meet the girls and sexual relations often occurred before marriage. There was no test before marriage to prove chastity, as in Samoa.

Today boys are allowed to become *'akatane* much earlier than was the custom formerly, and at 9 or 10 years of age they may be classed as men. The school teacher reports that this is a cause of much trouble within the school, for an *'akatane* pupil can attend school as he chooses and can not be subjected to punishment by his parents or the school. This is partially the effect of missionary teaching, which has taught the natives to put clothes on their children very early in life. The result has been that the natives look upon the children as having the rights of men and women some years before puberty. Restrictions in sexual continence have lost force in the new social state with church and government rule, and now little check is placed on a young man's having relations with as many women as will grant him their favors. This freedom, as described by Frisbie (3), certainly did not exist in aboriginal Pukapuka society.

Formerly girls were given the coconut-leaf skirt (*titi*) at an earlier age than the boys received their malos. When a girl donned her kilt and was considered a woman, she went to live in the house for unmarried women. These girls' houses have been disbanded as far as possible by the government because of the sexual license and number of illegitimate children that resulted under modern conditions among the young people living away from their homes.

RELIGION

Gods

The gods (*atua*) of Pukapuka were grouped in three classes: the supreme deity of the people; the gods of nature, who lived in different parts of the island and watched over the sources of food and controlled sickness and evil; and the gods who were deified men.

The highest god (*atua nui*) was Mata Aliki, who appeared in thunder and lightning. He sprang originally from a piece of coral and from the coral created the island of Pukapuka. The original piece of coral now forms part of the western shore of Pukapuka

000 Islet. The ranking marae of the island belonged to Mata Aliki. There the people prayed to him, believing that he would fulfill their prayers when other gods failed. Coconut leaves were laid on the marae before the prayers were made.

The *atua punupunu* were gods representing different phases of nature. Laupapa was the name of an *atua punupunu* for the eastern side of the island. Mangamanga was the god of sickness and evil. Talitonganuku was the god of the ocean and sharks. The god of hurricanes and waterspouts was Tumailangi, who created the barracuda, swordfish, marlin, garfish, and all the fish with long pointed jaws.

Two gods especially important because they controlled the food supply of the island were Matalolau, god of coconuts, and Mataloamea, god of taro. Each of these gods has his own marae.

The third class of gods, *atua tangata,* was composed of lesser ancestral gods who were worshiped by tribes and groups of people. In the main, they appear to be connected with the island mythology. Taua, a goddess, was worshiped by the two foreign warriors who killed the mythical Manava Nui. This goddess had surveillance over the gods and the people of Pukapuka. A second *atua tangata* was Te Akuaku, a foreign god, who came from Akalava (Mangaia?) and was accompanied by another god, Ngalieeu, who came from Samoa to settle in Pukapuka. One marae in the village was devoted to these two gods. A fourth god was Malangatsiale, of whom nothing is remembered.

Some of the people had stones which they worshiped, but this practice was confined to certain families of the village. No fish or birds were worshiped or considered tapu to kill or eat, though the turtle was sacred. When a turtle was caught it was brought to the marae and presented to the council and was then divided among all the families of the village by a specially appointed man. The entrails were retained by the council. It was tapu for any man outside the council to eat these parts of the turtle. To disobey this tapu made the offender's hair turn gray and his testicles swell.

It is evident that the people had idols and images of gods and some religious paraphernalia, for Gill (4, p. 180) speaks of the "pile of rejected gods and instruments of priestcraft" which was presented to him when the natives abandoned their heathen religion.

Priests

Each god had his priest or prophet (*tangata wai atua*) who had 000
charge of the marae (*aoanga*) and officiated at the ceremonies held for the god. Individuals made their requests and prayers to the god without the intercession of the priest. There were also prophets, or shamans, whom the sick called upon to induce the gods to relieve them. The shamans addressed the gods, who replied through the medium of these men. The priest of the god Taua had power to curse people and bring sickness upon them. According to Gill, the sacred men brought sickness upon people who offended them or their gods. They suspended soul traps over the offender's house at night to snare his soul. The traps varied in size for large and small souls. The priest watched, and if some bird or insect passed through the loop it was thought to be the offender's soul. These soul traps were used also to discover whether a man would recover from sickness. Gill (4, pp. 181-182) writes of

> . . . two soul traps (*ere vaerua*) consisting of a series of rings twisted in a cocoanut fiber and arranged on either side of a long cinet [sennit] cord. One soul trap was twenty-eight feet long, the other fourteen feet. Some of the loops are large, others small . . . The demon, Vaerua, or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades to feast upon. It was speedily known throughout the island that so and so had lost his soul.

The priest explained to the offender's family that some offense had been committed against a god. To save the culprit, the family attempted to propitiate the priest with large gifts of food and property to insure his intercession with the god of the land of the dead. If the priest could not be prevailed upon, the culprit died of distress, for it was believed that a man without his soul was a mere shell doomed to expire.

Land of the Dead

The spirit or soul of man departed from his body before actual death and traveled to the land of the dead, Po Likuliku (The place-to-lie-down). This land had a second name, Te Aotakotoloa, which was rarely used. It lay over the horizon to the west of Pukapuka. Ko Leva, a goddess, ruled over the spirit land and the souls that lived there. Under a rock she had a house (*wale o Leva*) built with thousands (*tsinitsini*) of posts. Each soul came to this house when it

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entered the land of the dead and was assigned a post before which it was to sit. Here all the spirits joined in eternal chanting. On the top of her house Ko Leva had a trap in which she caught the wandering spirits of the dead. In her house she had mats which were hung around the walls. If any spirit wandered from its body on Pukapuka and went inside these mats, it could never return and the body would die. The soul is *vaelua*, a term meaning "divided in two parts" in Samoan dialect (10). It has also a second name, *mauli*, the Tahitian term for "ghost or spirit" (16).

It was believed that the spirits lived as people of the island did, and that many of the arts practiced by the Pukapukans were learned from spirits. The making of sennit and the plaiting of lauhala malos were learned from the sennit and malo dropped by two spirits found wandering about Pukapuka. Spirits also brought to Pukapuka the trap that stood on the roof of Ko Leva's house. This was kept on the island until it was presented to some early missionary. According to Frisbie, the birds of Tema Reef between Nassau and Pukapuka Island were considered to be the souls of ancient inhabitants of the two islands.

STONEWORK

Maraes

Every god, including the family gods, had his own marae (*aoanga*) where he was worshiped. The maraes were enclosed by rectangles of coral slabs laid on edge and had a coral slab erected on each. Bunches of coconut leaves (*'iele*) were wrapped around these monoliths when prayers and ceremonies were conducted. No other offerings or human sacrifices accompanied the religious ceremonies. Before each fishing expedition the fishing gods were prayed to and *'iele* were wrapped around the sacrificial stones.

Two stone structures called *watu no'o i Manava Nui* (stone seats of Manava Nui) stand on either side of the bend of the southeastern coast of Motu Koe Islet, high above the sea on a coral embankment washed up by the waves (fig. 2). A tidal wave in 1914 partially destroyed them, leaving only two or three slabs to mark their position.

The western and smaller structure has only two remaining slabs; one is erect and one lies flat on the ground with an end against the base of the other. The slab lying flat on the ground is all that remains of the "seat," and it faces the sea. The second structure, east of the bend in the shoreline, faces inland. It was made of eight or more large coral slabs which now lie scattered about

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on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure. 324

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2). 177 178

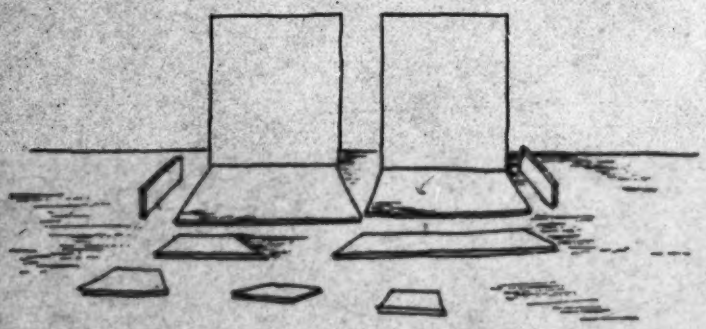

FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914. 000

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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a

b

FIGURE 3.—Ancient grave forms: *a*, grave of Tuanua, rectangle 12 feet 8 inches by 4 feet 9 inches; head slab 2 feet 7 inches high; *b*, grave of Taupelos, Tongan or Samoan warrior who settled on Motu Koe Islet.

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a good example of native graves (fig. 3, *a*). It consists of a rectangle of seven coral slabs set on edge, a headstone, and a footstone. No mound marks the place of burial, but the coral rubble covering it is finer and smoother than that around it and shows that it was carried from the beach. Old graves in the cemetery follow this type of construction. The slabs composing the rectangles vary in number and are sometimes set on end rather than on the side. The headstones differ in shape (pl. 1).

Two peculiar grave types exist as boundary markers between Iato and Loto. They are the graves of Tokaipole and Taupeloa, two legendary figures from another island, who appear in the tale of Manava Nui. The grave of Tokaipole, situated behind the church on the boundary between Iato and Loto, is made of rectangular slabs 6 to 8 inches high, set on edge in a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet 2 inches. The grave of Taupeloa (fig. 3, *b*) is like the ordinary grave with headstones, but it has also a surrounding rectangle of low coral slabs standing 10 inches above ground. No other graves are associated with these two.

It was the custom for the family of a dead person to build a shelter near the grave of the deceased and to dwell on the burial ground for a certain period. With them lived those relatives of the dead who had handled and buried the corpse. This isolation from the rest of society cleansed them of the contamination which they had contracted from association with the dead.

A necklace of the pearl-shell lures used in bonito hooks was hung around the neck of a chief or man of importance at death. While digging post holes the Resident Agent has unearthed several graves containing these necklaces. According to information learned by Norton Stuart, naturalist on the *Zaca*, a man's canoe was disassembled and stored in a shelter by his grave. Several small shelters with parts of canoes stand near the cemetery at the present time.

FISHING

Fish are plentiful in the lagoon, reef, and outer sea. Seines and hand nets are used in shallow water and lines in the deeper parts of the lagoon and outside the reef. Small fish are caught with single-piece shell hooks, large deep-sea fish with two-piece wooden hooks, and bonito and smaller fish with composite shell trolling hooks on

line and pole. Night fishing is done with dried-leaf torches and hand nets or spears from canoes or while wading along the reef. Fishing is primarily the business of the younger men, but women comb the reef for squid and sea food, catching small fish by driving them into nets along the shore.

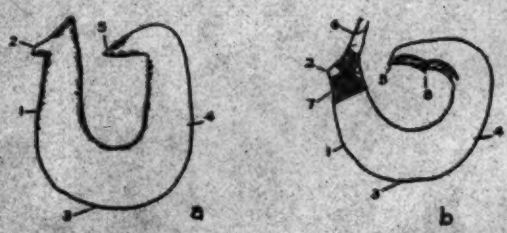

FIGURE 4.—One-piece shell hooks: *a*, U-shaped hook, greatest length 5.2 cm, greatest width 4 cm, greatest thickness of shell 0.6 cm, point clearance 0.7 cm; *b*, circular hook, greatest length 3.8 cm, greatest width 4.4 cm, greatest thickness 0.8 cm, point clearance to snood lashing 0.7 cm. 1, shank; 2, knob; 3, bend; 4, point leg; 5, point; 6, snood; 7, snood lashing; 8, barb.

ONE-PIECE HOOKS

Two types of one-piece pearl-shell and turtle-shell hook are known from Pukapuka; one is U-shaped, the other circular (fig. 4). Both types are made from flat or irregularly shaped pieces of shell and are polished. In both the shank has a lashing knob on the outer edge.

Four hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum have corded snoods lashed along the inner edge to the shank by a fine twisted thread of *wau* (hau) which is bound alternately above and below the lashing knob in successive figure-eight turns. The points of the U-shaped hooks stand at right angles from the point legs. The points of the circular hooks are barbed on the inner edge of the point leg. Between point and barb the edge is beveled and concave and is set at an angle from the inner curve of the hook. The inner edge of the barb is cut at right angles to this inner curve.

BONITO HOOKS

The composite hook of pearl-shell lure and the bone and turtle-shell hook is used with line and pole for trolling from canoes for bonito (fig. 5).

The lure (*pa*) of the bonito hook is made of pearl shell highly polished to reflect light when skimmed over the surface of the water. It is cut radially from the shell, the hinge forming the raised head and the lip forming the thin body. The head is perforated for a lashing to secure the snood. The hook (*manga*) is lashed at the tail of the concave surface. The shank of the hook is perforated or grooved for the lashings (*linganga*). If there are two per-

forations, the snood (*alaala*) is secured to the proximal one. If there is no proximal perforation, the snood is secured around the base of the hook. A hackle (*akamaunu*) of pig bristles or cord is secured on the back of the lure by the hook-lashing through the distal perforation. Two hooks have filler sticks (*tuaniu*), made of pieces of coconut leaflet midrib, along either side of the shank and under the hook lashings. These filler sticks steady the hooks on the lures.

The details of the manufacture of these hooks have been thoroughly described by Buck (13) and by Kennedy (7). The making of a hook was not seen during my visit to Pukapuka, but

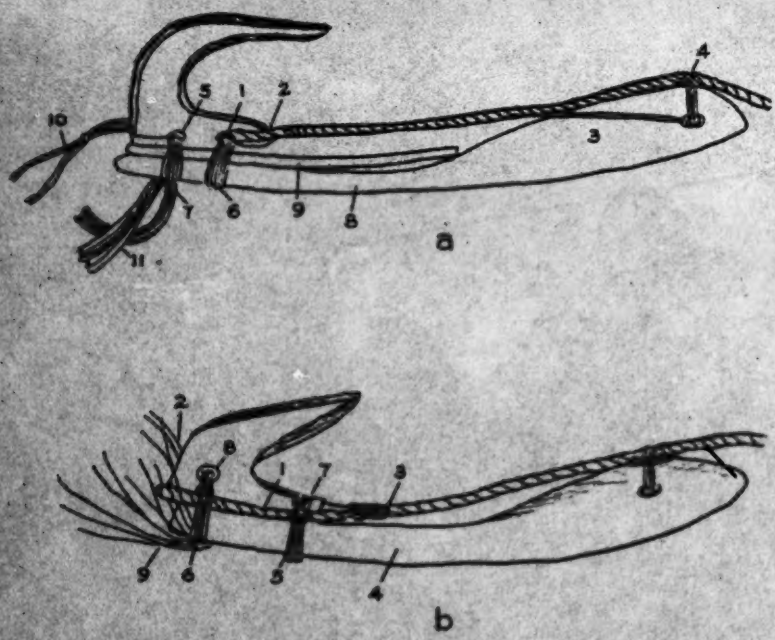

FIGURE 5.—Bonito hooks: *a*, western type, shank of hook has proximal hole (1) through which snood (2) passes; snood is seized by lashing *rau matila* (3) from shank head to lure head, where it is lashed in figure-eight form (4), in hole of head; hook has two holes (1, 5) for lashings (6, 7) to lure (8), which include filler sticks (9); distal hook lashing (7) carried behind and knotted as part of hackle (10); hackle (11) of threads knotted at ends lashed in distal lashing (7). *b*, eastern type, snood (1) looped around base of hook (2) and spliced (3), hook secured to lure (4) by lashings, proximal, (5) over groove (7) of hook shank and distal (6) through hole (8), hackle (9) lashed to distal lashing (6).

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000 presumably the method follows that of Samoa and the Cook Islands. In shape and size the hooks vary greatly. The eight Pukapuka bonito hooks (*pa'i atu*) in Bernice P. Bishop Museum range in length from 4 11/16 to 2 7/8 inches.

Among Pukapuka bonito hooks are examples of both the western and the eastern Polynesian types, distinguished by Buck (13, p. 194) as follows:

> The western type may be divided into two divisions according to the method of attaching the snood to the point. From the western limits of Polynesia as far east as Pukapuka the snood is attached to a hole in the base of the point. In the eastern part of the area in which the western point is found, the snood is formed into a loop which passes around the base of the point, as seen in Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva, and Fagatau.

Four of the eight Pukapuka hooks have the snood attached to the proximal hole of the base or shank which characterizes the hooks found from Samoa to Pukapuka; and four have the snood carried around the shank of the hook, as in hooks from the northern Cook Islands and Fagatau. As the following description shows, the Pukapuka hooks (fig. 5) have features other than the snood attachment, which make the two types more diverse than Buck's classification suggests:

> The four Pukapuka hooks which have the snood attached to the proximal hole of the shank also have an even curvature of the bend of the hook, the point tapering gradually and horizontally to the shank. One hook is pronouncedly curved and the point tips downward toward the shank. The inner curve of the hook is quite rounded or open. The edge of the back and the inner curve of the bend is rounded or beveled. The shank has two perforations. In three hooks the shank is lashed through each hole with a separate lashing thread; in a fourth, with a continuous piece of thread. The hackle is made of short pieces of line knotted at each end and secured under the distal lashing of the shank which crosses it in a figure-X pattern. The snood is run through the proximal hole and doubled back on itself and seized. The seizing thread of the snood is run first through the hole in the head of the lure and then through the proximal hole of the shank, where it is seized about the snood and finally carried to a point on the line above the lashing of the snood to the head of the lure. In one hook the seizing covers the part of the thread passing from the head of the lure to the shank; in the other three hooks it alternately covers and exposes this part. Two of these four hooks have filler sticks along the shank of the hook and included with it under the lashing. The sticks in one are long, reaching to the head of the lure; in the other they are shorter and extend about half-way to the head. On the back surface of three lures is cross-hatching, like fish scales in appearance, which keeps the lashings from slipping. The heads of the lures are rounded on the sides and top, but the hooks are very imperfect and the assumption can not be made that this is a definite characteristic of this type of bonito hook.

The four hooks which have the snood carried around the shank of the hook have a groove at the end of a broad, tapering shank for the proximal lashing to the lure. The inner curve at the bend is sharp and runs obliquely to the point. The distance between the point and the head of the shank is relatively wider than in the first four hooks described, and the curve at the bend is more angular. The upper edge of the point and the back edge of the bend are almost straight, turning sharply at the base. The outer edges are filed flat; the inner edge is slightly rounded or beveled. The hook is decidedly thicker and more angular. The lashing groove of the shank appears to be necessary because of the style of tapering the head of the shank and does not appear to result from a broken boring, which Buck gives as the possible origin of the grooves in the hooks of Tongareva and Manihiki. The groove also appears in the Fagatau hook, which Buck believes to be the original form of bonito hook with the proximal prolongation of the shank. The end of the snood, looped about the bend of the hook, is spliced just above the head of the shank. No seizing thread runs from the head of the lure to the point of splicing. The snood is secured to the lure with a lashing run several turns through the hole of the head and over the snood, wound about itself several times between the head and snood, and secured. The sides of the head of the lure are flatter and meet in a sharp ridge, which is only slightly rounded in profile. A median notch is cut longitudinally on the back of the tail on two hooks of this type; two double notches are cut on a third. These notches are to allow the lashing thread of the hackle to be slipped under the distal lashing to which the hackle is lashed. The hackle is made of pigs' bristles, which according to Buck have supplanted coconut-husk fiber in Manihiki hooks, and secured on top of the distal lashing. The edges of the lure have two notches on each side at points opposite the lashing groove and perforation of the hook for receiving the hook lashings.

The chief differences between the two classes of Pukapuka bonito hooks may be summarized as follows:

	Class 1 (Samoa to Pukapuka)	Class 2 (Manihiki, Rakahanga, Fagatau)
Fork of hook	U-shaped or rounded	V-shaped or flaring
Bend of hook	Flat	Rounded
Lashing attachments of shank	Two holes	Hole and groove
Attachment of snood	To proximal hole	Around base
Securing of snood	Seized	Spliced
Notches for hook lashings	Absent	Present
Slot for hackle lashing	Absent	Present
Cross-hatching on lure	Present	Absent
Filler sticks	Present	Absent
Hackle attachment	Lashed under distal figure-X lashing of shank, has secondary hackle formed of ends of distal hook lashing	Lashed to distal lashing of shank

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Malau Trolling Hooks

Three trolling hooks (*pa taki malau*) for fishing for *malau* from the reef are in Bernice P. Bishop Museum (fig. 6). They range in length from 1 to 2 3/8 inches. Their type and construction are like the western type of bonito hook except for the absence of the raised head of the lure, which is cut from a thin flat piece of shell. In place

Figure 6.—*Malau* trolling hook: *a*, lure (1) with seizing (2) thread of snood (3), which also makes lashing to head (4), continues as seizing (5) to hook (6) and passes to proximal hole (7), making lashing, passes on to distal hole (8) and makes second lashing, and then securing hackle (*takele mounu*) runs around bend of hook and loops back so and is knotted as in secondary hackle (9). *b*, lure with grooved head and flaring tail.

of the hole through the head of the bonito hooks, a notched projection is left at the head of these small lures and the snood is lashed to this. The snood attachment to the hook is made at the proximal hole in the shank. The hook is the rounded type and is made of turtle shell. The seizing of the snood and the lashing of the hook and hackle are done with one thread.

In one hook the seizing is begun at the head by a thread which includes the lashing to the projection of the lure and is continued as the seizing to the hook. From the snood it is passed through the proximal hole in the shank, lashing the hook to the lure; it is wound once around this lashing and passed back to the distal hole, making the second hook lashing. Finally it is wound once around this lashing on one side and passed around the bend of the hook and wound around the lashing on this side. It is then knotted at the bend of the hook forming a small secondary hackle. The main hackle of *tau* fiber is secured on the back of the lure by the distal lashing, which is bound over it in a figure-X pattern.

In a second hook the seizing and lashing thread is begun with the proximal lashing of the hook. The end is secured on the right side, and a turn is taken on the left. The thread is run back to the distal hole, and the distal lashing of the hook to the lure is made, also securing the hackle. The thread is then passed forward under the proximal lashing to the snood. The seizing and lashing to the head of the lure is made and the thread is secured in the end of the seizing.

Wooden Hooks

Two types of two-piece wooden hook are used for catching *Ruvettus* (*palu*), *pua*, and other deep-sea fish. They are made of tough wood from a section containing part of a stem and branch. One type, the *kaupalu*, has a U-shaped crotch and a point made of a forked branch attached to one leg. The second type, *'iawe* (or *thawe*), is made from two forked branches with V-shaped crotch (fig. 7).

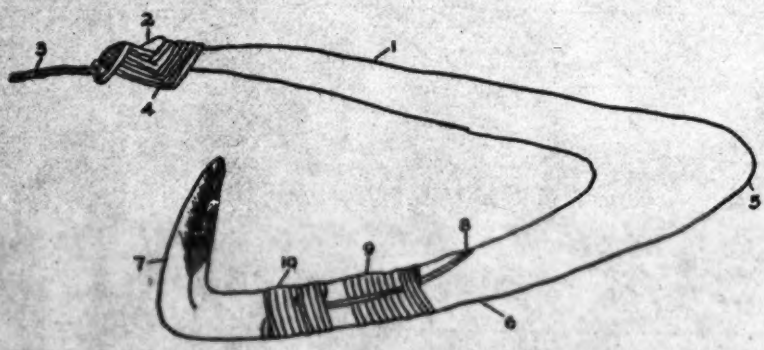

Figure 7.—Wooden *Ruvettus* hook (*'iawe*): 1, shank; 2, knob; 3, snood; 4, figure-eight lashing in descending pattern; 5, fork of main piece; 6, point leg; 7, point at about 40-degree angle to point leg; 8, lower end of scarf joint on inner side of point leg; 9, first section of point lashing; 10, second section of point lashing. Measurements in centimeters: length of shank, outer, 12.5, inner, 9.5; length of point leg, outer, 12.5, inner, 8; clearance of point and shank, 1.7; maximum thickness, shank 1.1, point leg, 1.2, fork 1.6; maximum width, 6; length of point, outer, 3.5, inner, 2.5.

The U-shaped hook is made of *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*). In the only hook of this type seen on the island the point had been broken and the end of the point leg had been whittled into a point like a barbless European hook. The shank leg had a single seizing knob cut off-center from the vertical plane of the hook. This hook is said to have had formerly an attached point like the V-shaped hook.

The V-shaped hook is made from the fork of a stem and branch of *ngangie or nangaie* bush (fig. 7). A branch, diverging at approximately a 30-degree angle, is selected and cut off an inch below the fork and a little over the length desired for the hook above the fork. The base of the fork is thinned and tapered into a lobe. The stem is used for the shank, which is cut down at the end to much less thickness than the rest of the hook, having a single knob for lashing the snood on the outer surface. The two surfaces of

000 the legs facing each other are termed "inner"; the surfaces facing away, "outer". The point leg is cut off shorter than the shank, and a long oblique scarfing is made along the upper half of the inner surface.

The point is made from a forked piece with an angle of approximately 40 degrees. The point is cut with two surfaces; the upper is quite convex, the lower slightly convex. The leg of the point is scarfed on the outer surface to fit the scarfing of the point limb. The two pieces are bound with a light piece of sennit braid. The lashing commences at the center of the joint and is bound downward to the lower end. The first three turns are passed over the end of the sennit. The last two turns are left loose and the long end of the sennit is thrust under these and drawn tight, thus securing the free part of the sennit. This end is carried to the top of the scarf joint, and a second section of binding is made down the leg to within a fourth of an inch from the lashing commencement. The last binding is wrapped over the piece that runs from the lower section to the top. The last four turns are left loose and the end of the sennit is tucked under them, pulled tightly through until the four turns are fast, and cut off.

The snood of sennit is laid along the inner side of the head of the shank and lashed to it by a light piece of sennit in figure-of-eight pattern, binding in descending pattern. The crossing is made on the inner face, and the loops are made alternately above and below the knob.

CANOES

The Pukapuka canoe has a long, thin, streamline hull with pointed nose and tapering stem. Its design is copied from a long, slender type of fish. The long bow, formed of the underbody and bow cover, broadens very gradually and deepens from the short, thin cutwater into the full roundness of the canoe. The keel extends with a slight, graceful curve from forefoot to stern, where it rounds more sharply to the stern cover. This piece, shaped like a fish's tail, extends with a slight upward tilt beyond the stern of the underbody.

The canoe underbody is composed of sections of tree trunks. It has washstrakes, bow and stern covers, and a single outrigger with two or more booms connected by stanchions to a float. Each canoe is fitted with seats, carrying bars, and a brace for a fishing pole. The usual fishing canoe has three sections in its underbody and two outrigger booms. One canoe, 60 feet long, seen in the lagoon at Pukapuka, has extra middle sections of the underbody, extra outrigger booms, and a second mast.

No trees on the atoll are of sufficient length and breadth to make a single dugout for the hull of a fishing canoe. Sections of proper breadth and straightness are cut from the *akanava* tree. They are hollowed out and lashed end to end. The woods of *puapua* and

uetau are said to be used also in canoes. *Puka* is used for the outrigger float.

The following notes are based on a canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum which is typical of the fishing canoes of Pukapuka (fig. 8). The structure of this canoe is identical with that of the canoe sketched in detail at Pukapuka by Toshio Asaeda of the Crocker Expedition (figs. 9, 10).

The length over all is 23 feet 4 inches and the beam of the underbody 1.25 feet. The maximum beam of the hull is several inches below the horizontal edges of the sections, which in the center section are 9.5 inches apart. The middle section is well rounded with only a slight definition of a keel. The bows and sides of the stern are less curved and the keel is sharp. The port bow and the starboard side of the stern are slightly flatter than their opposing sides; the bow keel is slightly to starboard, and the stern keel slightly to port of the longitudinal axis of the canoe. The middle section has a slight concavity on the port side. This may be due to the natural shape of the tree, which could not be overcome in shaping the section. The beam of the center of the section is less than at either end. This asymmetry is slight and apparently results from crude workmanship, for if it were intentional, to offset the drag of the outrigger, it would take just the opposite form, as Kennedy (7, p. 94) has described in the asymmetry of hulls of Vaitupu canoes.

The joined ends of each section are squared off and lashed together with sennit run through opposing pairs of holes along the adjoining edges. The lashing is done with a single line and is commenced at the first pair of holes under one gunwale. Two turns are made and tightened; then the sennit is carried diagonally across to the pair of holes below, two turns are taken, and the process is continued. When the pair of holes under the opposite gunwale is reached, the lashing is returned again to the commencement pair, taking two turns again through each pair of holes. The lashing is carried diagonally from one pair of holes to the next, making a crisscross pattern over the inner seam between the sections. No calking is used between the sections of the hull.

The washstrakes are made of two planks on each side, lashed to the edges of the hull sections. They are set with an outward flare from the edges of the underbody sections, the distance between gunwales (1 foot 1 inch) being slightly less than the beam of the underbody. The forward planks of the strake overlap the after end of the bow section and are joined to the ends of the bow cover. The after planks slightly overlap the after end of the middle section and extend three fourths of the length of the stern section. They are joined to the ends of the stern cover.

The ends of the washstrakes are lashed to the adjoining pieces with sennit braid. Three pairs of holes are drilled in the two ends, and the sennit is drawn three times through each pair and then carried below to the next pair. The lashing of the top pair is carried over the gunwale and across to the opposite hole, through this, and then over the gunwale and back to the first hole again, making a triangular binding. Under the lashing of the inner side of the ends joining a lashala calking is laid.

The thickness of the underbody side is 1.5 inches, twice that of the strake. The lower edge of the strake is set on the edge of the underbody with the

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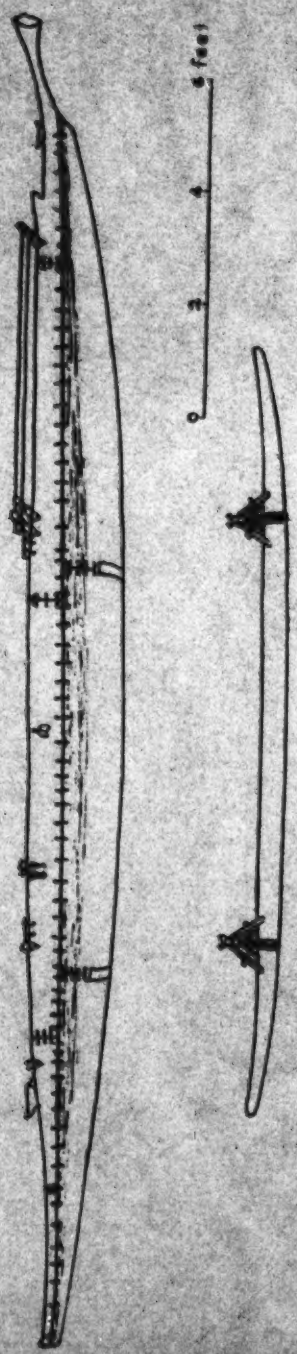

FIGURE 8.—Two-boom canoe from Pukapuka in Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Sketched by Ruth Hyatt.

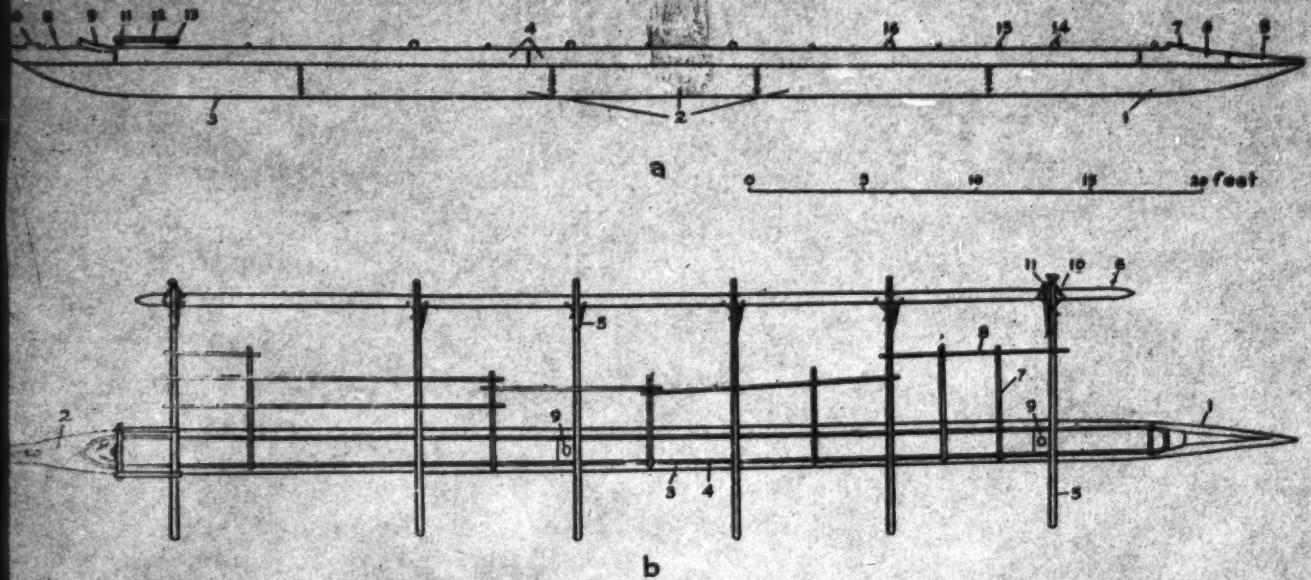

FIGURE 9.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of underbody; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, foresection of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, lookout seat and wave guard of after section of bow cover; 8, stern cover; 9, wave guard; 10, stern cover cleat; 11, bar rest for fish pole; 12, stern lifting pole; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, outrigger struts; 16, middle boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow-cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, gunwale or upper edge of underbody on which washstrake rests; 5, outrigger boom which extends in large canoes beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, strut running to (8) stringer; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast; 10, stanchions connecting boom (5) with float; 11, brace between boom (5) and float.

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outer surfaces flush, leaving the inner part of the underbody edge uncovered. A calking of heavy coir cord, backed by a thin rod or split of coconut-leaf midrib, is laid on this edge tightly against the seam between the strake and underbody. The lashing of the strake and underbody, bound through pairs of opposing holes, presses the rod against the coir calking.

The long bow cover is made in two sections in order that the canoe-maker may reach through the narrow interior of the head to make the forward lashings to the underbody. The fore section of the bow covers about one third of the bow section (fig. 10, *c*). This end is pointed to complete the cutwater of the section. The top surface has a median ridge which diverges into a slightly inclined surface which is continued on the after section of the cover. This section rises to the height of the washstrake to which it is joined. In the middle of this incline is the lookout seat and wave guard, a slightly concave block whose sides flare outward. The upper surface of the cover is open behind the block. Midway across the two sides is lashed a short, stout bar for lifting and carrying the bow of the canoe. A calking of sennit is placed between the after part of the cover and bow section. Light rods are lashed tightly along the outer seam between the cover and underbody.

The stern cover rests on the last third of the stern section. The forward end of the cover is open, and the sides join the after ends of the washstrakes (fig. 10, *b*). The gunwales of the cover taper aft and slightly upward into a pointed and raised wave guard which in the small canoes is one piece with the cover. Behind this the sides of the stern cover taper into a projecting piece shaped like a fish's tail. A small cleat is carved on the back of the cover. The stern cover and section of the underbody have a calking of sennit between the edges; a light rod forms an additional calking over the outer seam.

The stern seat of the canoe is set between the washstrakes just forward of the joining with the stern cover. The under side of the seat is hollowed out, leaving a flange around the edge which is lashed at the two ends to the strakes. A V-shaped notch 1.5 inch deep is cut in the middle of the aft side of the flange, and holes are drilled at either side. A piece of sennit braid is run three times between the holes and seized, making a loop below the notch. A short bar, extending 2 inches beyond the gunwale on each side, is lashed across the stern cover 3 or 4 inches behind the forward end. This bar has a groove cut in the surface at an angle of 45 degrees from the top in which rests the bonito fishing pole; the tapered butt of the pole is held in the notch and looped under the stern seat. The interior of the tapered wave guard has a slight concavity for a bait used in fishing for kingfish or sharks. The stern cover is hollowed underneath as far back as the last lashing with the stern section. The edges are lashed together and calked in the same fashion as the strakes and bow cover.

A stern-lifting bar is lashed across the gunwales of the strakes about 4 feet forward of the fish-pole rest. Across the outer ends of the lifting bar and pole rest are two short poles, one on either side of the canoe, for lifting and carrying the stern of the canoe. The forward ends of the lifting pieces are also lashed to the boom, which is placed behind the cross lifting bar. The middle seat is lashed before the boom.

The forward boom is lashed across the strakes about 3 feet behind the opening of the hull. The bow seat is placed behind this.

The outrigger (figs. 8; 10, *e*, *f*) is composed of these two booms connected by stanchions and braces, a single-piece float, two struts, and a stringer. The

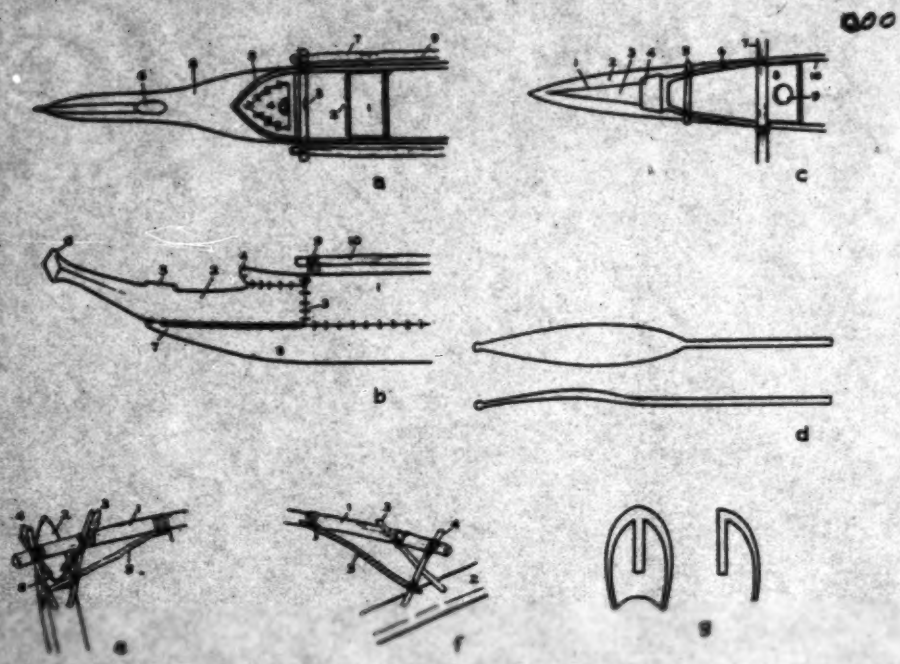


FIGURE 10.—Six-boom canoe: *a*, stern, top view: 1, stern seat; 2, groove under stern edge of stern seat for holding fish pole in place; 3, bar rest with groove for fish pole; 4, bait deck; 5, stern wave guard; 6, cleat of stern cover; 7, stern-lifting pole; 8, stern cover; 9, gunwale of washstrake. *b*, view of starboard side: 1, washstrake; 2, stern cover; 3, joint of washstrake and stern cover; 4, side piece of wave guard; 5, cleat; 6, tail of stern cover; 7, rod calking over seam between stern cover and (8) stern section of underbody; 9, bar rest for fish pole; 10, stern lifting pole. *c*, bow: 1, fore section of bow cover; 2, after section of bow cover; 3, deck of bow cover; 4, lookout seat or wave guard; 5, bow lifting grip; 6, lashing of end of bow cover to end of washstrake; 7, bow outrigger boom, lashed across gunwales of washstrake; 8, bow seat; 9, hole in bow seat for forward mast; 10, washstrake. *d*, canoe paddle, face and side view. *e*, outrigger boom, end attachment: 1, bow boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner pair of connectives, crossed over bow boom running obliquely outward to float; 4, outer pair of connectives similarly attached; 5, diagonal brace between bow boom and after connectives of outer and inner pairs; 6, suspensory brace, holding bow boom to float. *f*, middle-boom attachments of six-boom canoe: 1, outrigger boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner connective; 4, outer connective; 5, diagonal brace between boom and outer connective. *g*, canoe bailer, top view and longitudinal section.

float is flattened on top and pointed at both ends. Each boom is attached to it by four connectives, short sticks set obliquely in pairs in holes on the top surface and crossed above the boom to which they are lashed. A diagonal strut to stiffen the attachment is lashed across the opposing pair of connections between the booms and top of the boom. The connectives are set into the float without wedges or lashing. To insure keeping the boom and float together, a suspensory brace of sennit braid is bound between the two. The binding is commenced over the boom on the hull side of the connectives, brought across the side of the inner connectives and under the float, brought over to the boom outside the connectives, and continued with 5 turns under the float, 2 over the boom outside the connectives, and 3 inside the connectives. After the last turn over the boom, the sennit is brought back to the point of crossing above the float, given 2 turns around the crossing, then lashed 2 times up and 3 times down the upper and outer branch of the crossing of the brace, crossed over to the inner and upper branch, given 2 turns up and 3 down, and then secured.

Two struts are lashed across the gunwales and between the booms. The forward strut is set 8 inches behind the bow seat and extends 1.5 inch over the starboard side. It is securely lashed with sennit which runs to two pairs of holes. The second strut is lighter and does not extend beyond the starboard side of the hull. It is lashed through one hole in each strake. A stringer runs over the booms and across the port ends of the struts and is lashed to each of the four pieces.

Each fishing canoe has a rigging for sailing. A hole for the mast is made in the center of the bow and middle seats. The mast is set in either, according to the direction in which the canoe is being sailed, the outrigger being kept to windward. The mast rests on the floor of the hull. One informant stated that formerly the mast was lashed to the outrigger boom and that setting the mast through the seat is a modern practice. In a native's sketch of a sailing canoe (fig. 11) the sail and rigging are shown. The only sail seen at the island was a gaff sail, but the sketch gives a lateen sail. The mast is held by a fore stay lashed around the bow of the canoe and a back stay secured to the middle of the port strake. The shrouds are attached to the forward outrigger boom. A yard runs along the foot of the sail, and the sheet from the yard is attached to the after boom.

The 60-foot canoe which was seen in the lagoon at Pukapuka differs from the fishing canoe in the extra number of parts and supports and in having two masts (fig. 9):

The underbody is built of five sections, and the strakes are composed of four planks to one side. There are six heavy outrigger booms, all extending nearly 3 feet from the hull on the starboard side (fig. 9, *b*). The booms are lashed to the strakes and to the outside of the underbody by guys of sennit lashed over the boom and through a pair of holes in the tumble-home underbody outside the strakes, and inner guys are lashed around the boom and

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

through holes in the projecting edge of the underbody. The end booms are attached to the float by four stick connectives and a sennit brace, as described for the fishing canoe. The middle booms have two connectives, which are undercrossed. The after connective, like the after pair in the four stick connectives, runs obliquely to the boom. A diagonal strut runs from each boom to the forward connective. The outrigger is braced by six struts lashed across the gunwales—one between each pair of booms and two between the forward pair—and by connecting strings. Between the last pair of booms there are three stringers which make a platform for paddles or fishing gear.

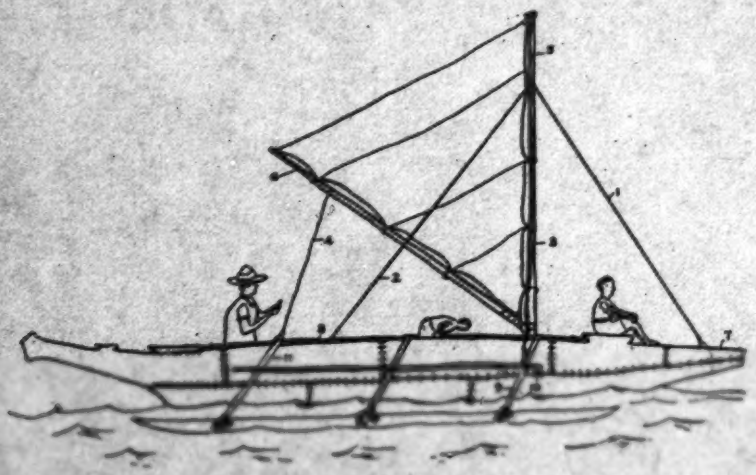


FIGURE 11.—Sketch of sailing canoe with rigging: 1, fore stay running from bow of canoe to mast; 2, back stay running from mast to washstrake; 3, starboard shroud from mast to bow outrigger boom and stringer; 4, sheet running from yard to stern outrigger boom; 5, mast set through hole in bow seat or lashed to bow outrigger boom, and set on floor of hull; 6, yard; 7, bow of canoe; 8, washstrake; 9, bow outrigger boom; 10, stringer; 11, stern outrigger boom. Drawn by a native.

The stern has no cross lifting bar, and the lifting pieces are lashed directly to the stern boom. The wave guard of the stern cover is made of separate pieces lashed to the cover (fig. 10, *b*).

The stern seat is between the fishpole rest and after boom and has the notch and loop for supporting the pole butt. Short planks or seats with holes for the two masts are lashed to the strakes behind the bow and fourth booms. The masts of this large canoe are stepped in cup-shaped blocks cut out on the floor of the underbody.

The Pukapuka paddle (fig. 10, *d*) has a particularly long, thin blade which tapers into a knob at the tip. The blade is protected by this knob when the paddle is used for poling the canoe over the shallows of the reef. Blade and handle are of equal length. The plane of the blade is curved; the back is convex and the face concave.

The bailer (fig. 10, *g*) of *akanava* wood is of the rounded sugar-scoop type with the handle projecting forward within the recess:

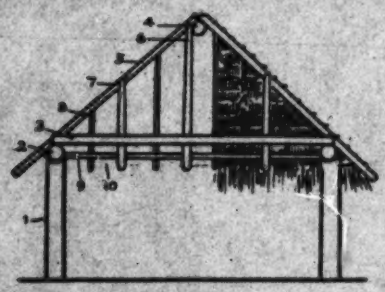
The top surface of the handle is flat at the base and flush with the rim. The handle is rounded at the end and in some bailers terminates in a knob. The top of the bailer is almost flat, the upper edges of the sides being a little concave. The bottom of the bailer is rounded, curving up in front and in back. The lip is beveled on the inner surface. The upper part of the lip inclines backward to the top. The bailer is 13 inches long, 7 inches wide, 5 inches high, and 1.5 inches thick. The handle is 8.5 inches long.

Canoe Terms

Canoe or hull: vaka.
Double canoe: vakalua.
Five-man outrigger canoe: 'iekelima.
Large double canoe: 'iekengaulu.
Port or outrigger side of canoe: ama.
Starboard side of canoe: katea.
Forward section: mua vaka.
Head of forward section: ululuia.
Middle section: ualoto.
Stern section: muli vaka.
After end of stern section: kalemu.
Joint of sections: tuta.
Fore cover: tuki.
Head of fore cover: talatuki.
Bow cover: puke.
Fore deck of bow cover: matau puke.
Bow wave guard and seat: malae puke.
After deck of bow cover: kauai puke.
Washstrake: oa.
Patch piece in strake: kamatila.
Joint of strakes: tuta oa.
Outside calking: 'uki'uki.
Inside calking: taka.
Seamit calking: kawa malo.
Stern cover: velo.
Tail-like projection of stern cover: laulauvelo.
Cleat on stern cover: talamoko.
Bait deck of stern cover: akakauvaeonu.
Cross-piece rest for fish pole: utsia.
Stern seat: no'oanga.
Forward lifting bar: manu.
After lifting bar: manu alua.
Longitudinal lifting pieces: palipali.
Outrigger float: ama.
Points of outrigger float: mata ama, linganga.
Outrigger boom: kaukau.
Stringer across booms: kiato.
Strut extending from connective to outrigger boom: aioka.
Connective extending from boom to float: tutuki.
Mast or spar: tila.
Sail: la.
Sheet: wawa.
Fore stay: tukuku mua.
Aft stay: tukuku muli.
Shroud: tau ama.
Oblique spar at peak of modern gaff sail: toko.
Paddle: 'oe.
Bailer: tata.

HOUSES

The village of Pukapuka presents an array of varied house types which have been adopted from European and Cook Islands forms. Dwellings on piles, and others with piazzas, doors, and windows, are all common. European frame buildings and houses with coral walls and roofs of thatch or corrugated iron have displaced many of the simpler native ones. No perfect native house of ancient type exists



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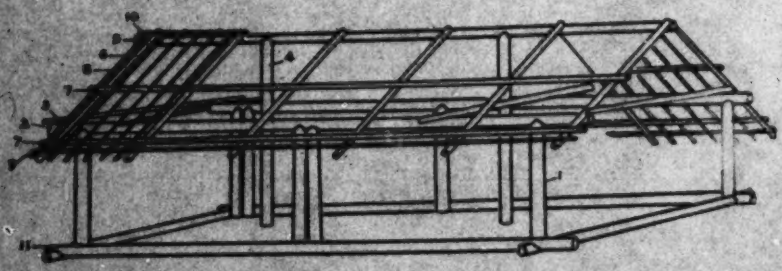

b

FIGURE 12.—House construction: *a*, framework of end: 1, supporting post; 2, tie-beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, main ridgepole; 5, rafter; 6, middle end rafter; 7, lateral end rafter; 8, end thatch rafter; 9, end purlin; 10, end eave batten. *b*, framework of house: 1, supporting post which holds up tie beam (2); 3, tie beams resting across ends of tie-beam plate; 4, center post, supporting main ridgepole (5); 6, rafter, supported on tie-beam plate and main ridgepole; 7, purlin, supported by rafters; 8, thatch rafter supported by purlins; 9, eave batten across ends of thatch rafters; 10, upper ridgepole resting in crotch formed by rafters and supporting ends of thatch rafters; 11, logs about boundaries of house floor for retaining coral pebble flooring. Sketched by Toshio Asaeda.

Z:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

except the old watch house (pl. 3) in the taro patches behind the village. This house is estimated to be at least 75 years old, for it was built more than three generations ago. The wood is of great age and two posts have had to be replaced by new ones. The house is patterned like the common rectangular house of the Cook Islands but is roughly built and has eaves higher above the ground than was usual in the houses of the pre-European period (fig. 12).

The six supporting posts and two center posts are greater in size than those used in any of the modern houses. The six supporting posts are erected in the four corners and in the middle of the two sides (fig. 12, *b*). The tops have the natural fork of the trunk and branch, or a broad groove is cut for the tie-beam plates to rest in. The two center posts are erected along the middle line through the house and have grooves similar to those in the supporting posts, for holding the main ridgepole. Four tie beams lie across the tie-beam plates at the ends and middle of the house, the middle tie beams being on the outer side of the center posts. The principal rafters rest on the tie-beam plates and cross above the main ridgepole. The upper ridgepole lies in the forks formed by the rafter ends. Two purlins are set across the rafters on each side, one across the middle and one across the lower ends. The thatch rafters are laid at close intervals over the purlins. The eave batten, which supports the lowest tier of thatch, is secured across the lower ends of the thatch rafter.

The gable end of the house is made with an outward pitch by running the end pair of principal side rafters obliquely to the ridgepole, crossing it about 2 feet from the end, thus making the three principal end rafters resting on them slant out to the end tie beam (fig. 12, *a*). There are three principal end rafters, one in the center lashed against the ridgepole, and one on each side at points half-way to the tie beam plates at the side. A purlin is placed across the lower ends of the principal end rafters. The end thatch rafters lie outside the last pair of side thatch rafters and the end purlin. The end eave batten is across the lower end of the thatch rafters.

The thatch is made of sheets of coconut leaves. A leaf is split through the midrib, the thickness whittled down, and the leaflets of each half plaited in simple check. The thatching is commenced at the eaves of the roof and built up to the ridgepole. Each new sheet is placed with the midrib uppermost and is lashed just above the one below. The thatching is closed by a ridgepole sheet plaited from halves of split coconut leaves plaited first separately, the tips then plaited together leaving the midribs hanging on either side when the sheet is put on the roof.

Many houses of the village have roofs of lauhala thatch. To prepare the leaves for thatching they are soaked in the sea, dried on the beach in the sun, and then flattened by pulling them firmly around a stake set in the ground. The roof sheet is made by bending the butt of each leaf over a rod and pinning it upon itself with coconut-leaflet midrib. The leaf is punctured with a needle of bone or wood,

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

and the midrib is pushed through the hole before the needle is withdrawn. As shown by Buck (12) the same technique is used in the Cook Islands. 000

Most dwelling houses are built on a double platform of coral rubble, the lower platform several feet larger than the floor of the house. The upper platform, which forms the floor of the house, is made on the first platform and extends about 1 foot outside the walls of the house. Each platform is retained by logs or a curbing of coral slabs 8 or 10 inches high.

ADZES

For cutting out canoes and shaping timbers, the Pukapukans, like the dwellers on other Polynesian atolls, made adzes from the *Tridacna* shell—the only local material available. 321 412

In the adz shown in figure 13, *a*, the poll is pointed and the side curves to the rounded cutting edges. The striated outer surface of the shell has been left on the convex front and only the bevel ground smooth. The concave inner surface forms the back which has the grinding surface to sharpen the cutting edge.

Another shell adz (fig. 13, *b*) is roughly rectangular in shape. The front is the outer stratified surface of the shell, except at the bevel which is ground on this surface; the back is the concave inner nacreous surface of the shell; the cutting edge is slightly convex. Part of the concavity and thickness of the shell have been removed by grinding down the outer rim until only a slight depression is left in the center. Along the slightly concave cutting edge and the two sides the surface is smooth and flat. The poll is broad and irregular and has a rough broken surface.

An adz found in Pukapuka (but obviously an importation) is made of basalt and is of the type common to western Polynesia (fig. 14). It is a long, thin, flat, quadrangular, tangless adz that tapers from the cutting edge to the poll. The front surface is slightly convex and is narrower than the back. The front, also the bevel of the back, are ground smooth. The remainder of the back and the two sides have rough chipped surfaces. The edge of the blade is straight; the bevel is convex longitudinally. Due to the rough, unground surface of the back, the chin is irregular. 177 412

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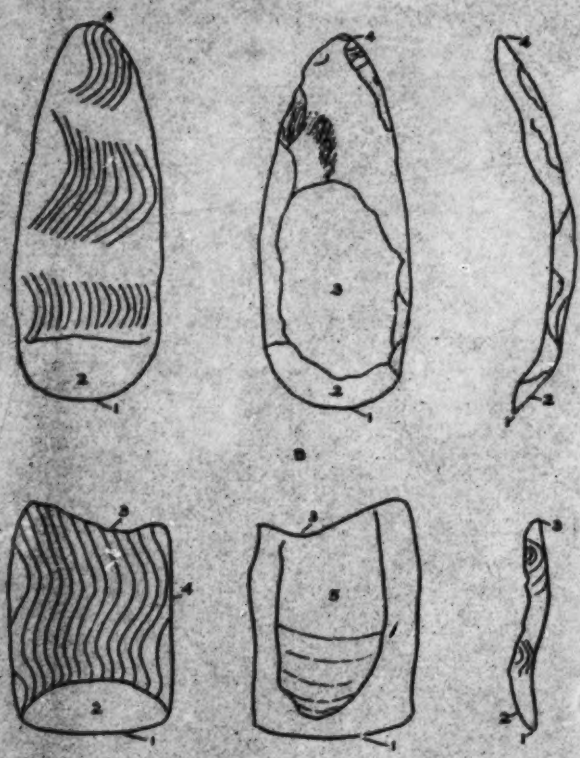

b

FIGURE 13.—Adzes of *Tridacna* shell. *a*, back, front, and side views (adz no. C 6527, Bernice P. Bishop Museum): 1, cutting edge; 2, bevel; 3, concavity of surface; 4, poll; greatest length, 4.75 inches. *b*, back, front and side views (adz in possession of R. D. Frisbie, Tahiti): 1, cutting edge; 2, ground bevel; 3, poll; 4, straight side; 5, central depression from natural concavity of shell; greatest length, 3 inches.

UTENSILS

416 A small satchel of lauhala collected at Pukapuka has the following
285 features.

Rectangular-sided and measuring 10 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1.5 inches wide, the satchel is made in simple check pattern. The bottom is flat and has square corners made by turning the strips as they are plaited. Each side is ornamented with strips of hala dyed red with native dyes. These strips are inserted over and included with the plaited elements. The pattern is X-shaped and is 7 inches long. On one side of the basket a solid square of the dyed hala is made between the forks formed by each arm of the X. The reverse side has two squares in each fork. The plaiting is commenced and

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

finished at the edge of the basket and is seamless. The end elements of the finishing edge are turned over and worked into the plaiting over the opposite elements. The basket has two handles made of braided strips of hala which are sewed to the sides. 415 285

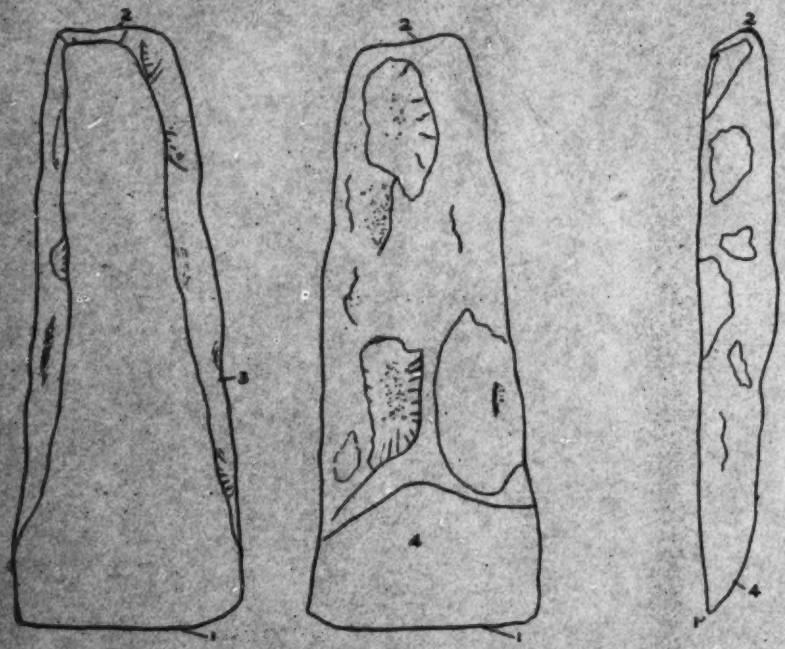

FIGURE 14.—Quadrilateral adz of basalt (no. B 8809, Bernice P. Bishop Museum), front, back, and side views: 1, cutting edge; 2, poll; 3, oblique side; 4, bevel; greatest length 7.5 inches. 412 177

Food is mixed in wooden bowls (*kumete*) (fig. 15). They are hewn from single pieces of wood and shaped into elliptical bowls with flat bottoms. Short handles are cut at either end. 415

FIGURE 15.—Elliptical wooden food bowl with end lug handles and flat bottom.

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

AMUSEMENTS

Wrestling has always been a sport of great interest in Pukapuka. It is said that in former times the best wrestlers of the island traveled to other islands to challenge foreign champions. Competitions are still held between the men of the three sections of the village. An exhibition of the ancient sport was given by several young men one afternoon of our stay:

The match was held on the village green (*kolo*). Shelters for spectators stood on either side. A ring (*oni*) was marked off by thin stakes about 3 feet high, which were connected by a light rope. This ring was erected before the shelters of the village section that had been victorious in the last intra-village match. Before the match took place, the people of the victorious section marched in single file through the village, shouting the names of their wrestlers and boasting of their prowess. They challenged any one in the village to come out and wrestle with them. The procession ended at the winner's shelter, and the first two wrestlers of their side stepped out. They trotted about the ring, stopping at intervals and resting their left hands on the line and kicking to the side with their right legs. Two men came across the green from the opponents' side, and the first pair to engage stepped inside the circle.

As the two wrestlers approached they stooped forward, slapped their thighs, and raised their hands and clasped them to the side three times before engaging. The object was to lift the opponent from the ground or to throw him off his balance and put one hand on the ground. When one man was thrown, another of his side took his place against the victor.

The exhibition matches ended very quickly and showed little skill. It was said that the old contests between trained men lasted for many hours. In olden days each family possessed a wrestler's malo which was preserved for the sport. This was the great heirloom which every father passed down to his son. If a man had no son of his own, he adopted one to inherit his family malo. Many of these malos have been preserved to the present time and were brought out for exhibition (pl. 4):

The band is a long narrow strip of *kie* (*Pandanus*) plaited in geometric patterns. It is made 8 to 12 inches wide and doubled. In putting on the malo a heavy five-ply braid of sennit (*kauo*) is first wound around the waist a dozen or more times and the malo is secured around this. The end of the band is placed in front of the sennit belt, passed over and under, carried between the legs and under the belt behind, wound two times around the girdle on the right side to the front again, passed between the legs, wound two times around the left side, and secured. Each end of the band is folded to a point and tied with a light piece of coir cord which is lashed to the sennit girdle to hold the band in place. When not in use, the sennit belt and the band are rolled in flat discs for storage in the house.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

The dances seen during an evening's entertainment were performed by a small number of people in Loto village: 535 177

Men and women danced together in four lines, the men performing one set of movements in unison, the women performing another set. In one dance the men brought their knees up high in a stationary run or kicked their heels behind them, while the women moved their hips rapidly from side to side, keeping the upper part of their bodies motionless. The gestures and steps of this dance and several others recorded in motion pictures are identical with rapidly performed dances of Tahiti. Each dance was led by one man, who made gestures and remarks amusing to the natives.

The accompaniment was kept with an improvised drum made of a roll of mats. The rhythm was first given, and after a long roll of the drumsticks the dance commenced. Throughout the dances, the dancers sang songs which they called *'imine*, a Tahitian word derived from the English "hymn."

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2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

764

PLATE 1.—Burial marae of high chiefs showing triangular, rectangular, and "tared" types of grave stones.

244

A

B

PLATE 2.—Taro patches: *A*, individual taro patch in an excavation sunk below the general surface of the island; *B*, taro pit in communal garden of Te Motu; embankment formed partly by excavation and partly by heaping the excavated soil into a ridge.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been re-enforced by new posts.

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526

PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

538 Direct quotations in a story are always pitched higher than the ordinary speaking tone. This is a matter of convention and it makes no difference whether it is a giant or a small child who is supposed to be speaking. There is no attempt to imitate the voice of the subject speaking; the high pitched tone indicating that the narrative is broken by a quotation is sufficient. The end of a descriptive sequence or of the development of a minor or major theme within the story as a whole is always indicated by the word oti (finished). The use of this word roughly corresponds with our own tendency to pause in speaking or to end a paragraph in writing. Continued action or passage of time is indicated by a long drawn out e-e-e sound. Where a final adverb is used to qualify a statement as in the phrase: "He speared him makeke (hard)", the adverb is pronounced with force, very slowly and with great facial gesture. A final convention that may be noticed is the almost complete absence of the third person nominative and accusative pronouns in story telling. No confusion seems to be caused the Pukapukan auditor by this omission, though it sometimes renders it difficult for a European auditor to follow the sense of the particular passage. The place of the pronoun however is often taken by a repetition of the proper name of the person affected. The beginning of a story is usually devoted to an enumeration of the names of the people about whom the story is told, their sex and lineage affiliation.

126 Most of the stories were dictated by Veti and Pau. Talainga wrote out several of the longer stories in Pukapukan. Stories without text were secured from a group of informants. They were generally told by one narrator who stopped at frequent intervals to consult with his companions in order to be sure of the continuation of the narrative.

538 An attempt was made by some informants to distinguish two types of stories (tala): tala wenua and tala wanongo. The distinction, made notably by Talainga, though not absolutely clear, seems to be this: Tala wenua are stories about Pukapuka, its origin and history; tala wanongo are Pukapukan stories which relate events that occurred elsewhere. Of the stories he recorded, Talainga named as tala wanongo the story of Maui's fishing up of Tonga, the story of Laumeakula and Laumeamelo, the story of the raising of the sky, and the story of the tavake bird. The other stories he recorded, of the voyage of Wue, of the defecating of Yawau, of the fight in Waletoa, are tala wenua. Other informants disagreed with Talainga's classification but could not clarify the matter. Because it is obscure in the first place and, secondly, cuts across the accepted classification of myths and folktales, the

538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Mauikatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky,
is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land
of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were
gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The
gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the
sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The
god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask
Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant
land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu
arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two
friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods
crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the
sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu
turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were
again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both
arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position.
The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about
but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on
his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly,
tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was
stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu
stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe, and finally stretched
his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck
above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth
and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

773 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and
171 fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65. category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:
Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupenu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke oncono wuake i a kolua yinga. Anmai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto. "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka we. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:
There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 kawa maku ma e kau." Meake lua ona taina ia, "E totoko," wakaloaloa, mea loa, "Ka wo tatou." Vevela loa i a Maui. Ko Maui Potiki, e tama wai manamana. Tapena loa latou i a latou kawa ma latou kau, ma te kawapoto, ma te kau wakalialia. Ko te kawa la a Maui na yuai ai e lua tokalua ia e kawa papala.

said, "He's obstinate." (In the end) they felt sorry for him and said, "We shall all go." Maui was happy. Maui Potiki was a fellow who could perform magic They got ready their lines and their hooks and a short line and a wretched hook. Maui's line provided by the two (brothers) was a rotten line.

Oti ake, wo loa latou. Eia te wangota ka wo ai latou, e tukumoana. Alo loa to latou vaka wakaui ake, to ki tua, makake to latou tau. Kamata loa latou i te yi. Tuku loa i a Maui Mua i tana kawa ki lalo, wakayeke loa, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu, e palu ave. Tuku oki i a Maui Loto i tana kawa, wakatu ake, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu mumu. Wuwuti loa a laua palu ia, oko ki lunga.

(That) finished, they went. This is the type of fishing they were going to (do), tukumoana. They paddled their canoe, rushed it over the reef, went to the back, dropped their anchor. They started the fishing Maui Mua put his line down, let it out, (until) it was down (deep). His palu bit, a palu ave. Maui Loto also dropped his line, let it out, (until) it was way down. His palu mumu bit. They pulled in their fish, got them up.

Yiliyili loa i a Maui Potiki, "E wea te wowonu o te konga nei?" Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "E lau ma witunga kumi." "Ti e kole pe e lualau e tu ai ki lalo." Tela te mea ya peiai laua, kae lavea tana kawa; eia te toe ya peiai lua, kae puku ni palu, wolea laua, wakatangilia laua e Maui Potiki. Ko te mea ia ya makeke ai laua. Ya to tamaiti oki i a Maui Potiki, e kiai na matau e te tuku palu, e laua ya mou wo tuku palu.

Maui Potiki asked, "How deep is the place here?" Falsely Maui Mua and Maui Loto replied, "It's 170 fathoms." "What? Oh no, it is certainly two hundred to get all the way down." This is the reason they (the two older brothers) spoke thus, so that his line would not get caught (on a rock); this is another (reason) they acted thus, lest he might catch some palu, beat them, and they be made to cry by Maui Potiki. For that reason they were hard. Besides Maui Potiki was younger, not yet used to fishing palu, (while) they had often fished palu.

539 Oti ake tuku loa i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa, wakayeke ake. tu ki te lau ma wituna kumi, ya tala e lua ona taina. Wakamatala loa tana watu; kai loa tana palu yayaulua. Kiki loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana ika ia, tupe loa e, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, tu lototonu te kawa loto; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili loa i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto: "Maui Mua ma Maui Loto e, ewea taku ika nei?" Kakole lua tokalua ia, "E yengayenga, e palu mumu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koisi?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, koa tali pau tana kawa. Onoono atu la latou ki lalo, e palu yayaulua pe. Kakoli i a Maui Potiki, "Koi a kolua la, e yengayenga, e palu yayaulua koia." Kamuloa lua ona taina ia makekea. Ya wakayi wua laua. Tapi koia e motu e kawa papala nayuai ai e laua. Kakole pe, ya wakamakekeina e na mana o Maui Potiki. E tama wai manamana.

That finished, Maui Potiki dropped his line, let it out (till) it reached to the 170 fathoms (depth) mentioned by his brothers. He loosened his stone; his palu yayaulua bit. Maui Potiki pulled hard, pulled in, pulled in e-e-e, (got) all his top line in; he kept pulling, e-e-e, reached the middle of his line; kept on pulling, e-e-e, got all the middle line in. Maui Potiki asked Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Oh Maui Mua and Maui Loto, what is my fish here?" These two answered indifferently, "It's yengayenga, a palu mumu." Maui denied this, "No, you think so?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, his line was nearly all up. They looked below, it was indeed a palu yayaulua. Maui Potiki taunted (his brothers), "According to you two there, it's a yengayenga (but) it's a palu yayaulua all the same." His two brothers were very jealous. They had just let him fish (for fun). If only (his line) had broken (it was) a rotten line they had given him, but no, the mana of Maui Potiki had made it strong. He was a fellow who could make magic.

Maumu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kauyele ki te watu, tuku ake ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki te konga na wakangatai i ana. Wakamatala loa tana watu. Kai loa tana kau a pulaka. Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili oki i a Maui Potiki. "Ewea oki taku

Maui Potiki fastened his fishing noose with a stone, put it down, let it out, got it down to the place he had left off. He loosened his stone. His pulaka stalk bit. Maui Potiki pulled up, finished the top line. Maui Potiki asked again, "What is my thing here?" Indifferently his two brothers said, "Probably a palu ave or a palu wutu."

mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "Awa e palu ave pe palu wutu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lalo. Opoono atu latou ki lalo, e kau a pulaka. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua e palu ave; e pulaka koia. E nei e iai te kaua pulaka nei." E mea yia a Maui Potiki. Ko Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ko yi wua lua i te lolau palu tukumoana. Eia no ingoa, e yengayenga, palu mumu, palu ave, palu wutu, palu yiloa, palu malau, palu paniwi, palu matapula, palu kalou, palu mango, kaupatuwao, katakata. Koi ai na toe palu, ma na toe ika o te wangota tukumoana ia.

Maui Potiki disagreed, "No, you think so? What is my thing here?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, finished the lower line. They looked below, it was a pulaka stalk. Maui taunted, "According to you two it is a palu ava; it is pulaka all the same. Here is the pulaka here. It was something fished up by Maui Potiki. Maui Mua and Maui Loto fished only the lolau palu fished by the tukumoana method. These are their names: [The text here mentions the names of 16 deep sea fish.] There are other palu still and other fish caught by th tukumoana method.

Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa. Yi oki i te wawa. Mea oki pe ana meanga i ana meanga mua. Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki. E iai te wawa ma te wuti nei e mea yia e Maui Potiki.

Maui Potiki cast his line again he fished up taro too. He did as he had done before. Maui Potiki fished, hooked a banana. Maui Potiki pulled it up too. Thus the taro and the banana here are things fished by Maui Potiki.

Tukutuku oki a Maui Potiki, wakayeke ake i tana kawa lalo pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa loto pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa lunga tu ki te konga e wakangatai. Tamata loa i ana e te wakayeke. Yeke atu tana kawa ia ki lalo, tu loa ki te konga ya wakatu ai lua ona taina.

Maui cast again, let all his lower line all out, his middle line all out, and his top line to the depth of the place he had left off. Then he started to let it down. His line went below, reached the place his two brothers had fished at. Maui let still more out, he didn't stop, the line simply kept going down. Maui Potiki said to his

539 Wakayeke atu oki, koa ye tu, koa yeke wua te kawa. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina, "Ewea taku mea nei? Koa ye tu ai. Tiai ka wowonu ai? Ti!" Kakole pe, ko iko tana kawa i a te ulu o te wenua i lalo o te moana. Tamatatu la i ana e te tupe. Langa mai la i ana, koa ye malanga. Onoono mai la lua ona taina mua, koa makeke te kawa a Maui Potiki. Kakole lua tokalua la, "Teia la, lavea tana mea ya tukutuku ai ki lalo. Koa ye tu oki Lukuna." Meake i a Maui Potiki, "E makeke." Tamata loa i ana e te kiki. Wakalonga atu la i ana ki te kawa, koa malu mai. Kiki loa i ana ma te wakalongo i tana kawa. Tawi ai apa peia. Wakalongo atu la i a Maui Potiki, koa motu mai te punga o te wenua. Wakalongo atu oki i ana, ko tipi te wenua i lalo o te moana. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Koia kolua la, na lavea angaoti. Onoono mai la kolua, kowea, taku ika e lele nei. Ewea taku mea nei?" Koa ye vava lua ona taina ia. Koa waingata a laua ngangananga. Koa mea peia, "Kei! Ewea la? Awa e mea." Koa ye tapa tonu i na ingoa o na ika. Koa lai te mea waike a Maui Potiki koa yi.

two brothers, "What is my thing here? It doesn't stop. Why is it so deep? Whew!" but no, his line was twisted round the top of the island below the sea. He started the pulling up. He pulled, but couldn't budge it. His two older brothers looked, the line of Maui Potiki was caught tight. The two of them sneered, "There now, it's caught, his thing (line) that he put so far down. It doesn't stop either. Dive down for it." Maui Potiki said, "It's tight." He started to pull in. He listened to (felt) his line, it was getting weaker. He pulled on it, feeling the line. He held it so. Maui Potiki listened, the rock of the island was breaking. He listened again, the island below the sea was moving. Maui Potiki taunted Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "According to you two there, it's gotten caught and that's all there is to it. You two look here, why, my fish is swimming here. What have I here." His two brothers made no answer. Their reply took a long time to come. They said, "I don't know, what is it? I suppose it's something." They did not correctly name the fish. The strange things fished by Maui Potiki were many.

Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki i tana mea ia, pau te kawa

Maui pulled in on his thing, finished the top line. He pulled

539 lunga. Tupe oki pau te kawa loto. Tupe oki tali pau te kawa lalo. Ko na tipitipinga la o te wenua, kamuloa i a Maui Potiki kikokikola. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Ewea taku mea nei?" Kakole i a lua ona taina ia, "Awa e watu tongi, e la ya makeke ai kowea mua; koa taenawa na." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina ia, "Onoonoliake." Ke onoono atu la latou ki lalo, onoono atu oki ki na kaokao o to latou vaka, ma na konga mamao koa kakao te wui ulu lakau, koa taumangamanga. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua, e watu; e wenua koia."

in also all the middle line. Then he pulled nearly all the lower line. (Against) the tiltings of the island, Maui pulled with all his strength. Maui Potiki asked, "What is this?" His two brothers were indifferent, " I guess it's a large rock, that is what made it tight at first; it's heavy there." Maui Potiki persisted, "No, you don't say? What is my thing?" Maui Potiki said to his brothers, "Look here." When they looked down, looked also at the sides of their canoe and to far off places, there appeared in sight the various treetops which were branching out. Maui Potiki objected, "According to you two, it is a stone; it's an island all the same."

Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tango loa i te matai. Puta loa te ulu o te wenua, kitea ma te kelakele. Tapa loa ma te ingoa, ko Tonga. Onoono atu te wui atua, ya lulu i te wenua na yia e Maui Potiki. Kakalo atu latou, e ao ke. Mimia loa te wui atua.

Maui Potiki pulled in his line, grasped the snood. The top of the island floated up and the coral was also seen. It was given the name Tonga. The many gods who had been gathered on the land fished up by Maui Potiki looked around. They looked, it was a strange world. The gods hastened away.

Maunu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kau, tuku oki ki lalo, wakayake ake, tu ki lalo, yi oki ana wenua. E lai tana wenua na yi: ko te atu wenua, ko te atu Yiva, ma te atu Yayake, ma te atu Manuyiki, ma te atu Lakewanga, ma te atu Yamoa, ma te atu Tokelau,

Maui Potiki baited his hook again, let it down, let out the line (till) it was deep, fished up more of his islands. Many are his islands he fished up: the distant islands, the Yiva group, the Yayake group, and the Manihiki group, and the Rakahanga group, and the Samoan group, and the Tokelau

539 ma te atu Laulau, ma te atu Vayitupu, ma te atu Lalo. Oti ake te yi ana wenua ia, maunu ake i tana kau, tuku ake ki lalo, tukutuku ake i tana kawa, tu ki lalo, Wakamatala loa tana watu, matala. Kai loa tana mango tongi. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana mango ia. Kakole i ana ki lua ona taina, "Ewea oki taku mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "E wenua." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "E kole, koi ai. Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga, pau ma te kawa loti, tali pau ma te kawa lalo. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowiake. "Kakalo atu la latou, koa wakalava te tawi tonga mango i te katea o te vaka. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Tangowia mai te tao. Onoono kolua wakalelei. Tenei au ka wakatu i te ulu ki lunga nei. Yoka loa koe, e Maui Mua, i te kapakapa. Tango koe e Maui Loto i te tala." Wakatu mai loa i a Maui Potiki i te ulu o te mango ki lunga. Kakalo loa i a Maui Mua ko te kapakapa, yoka loa makeke. Tango loa i a Maui Loto i te tala o te mango, makeke. Liko loa i a Maui Potiki i te yiku o te mango, tili loa ki te langi nei. Yemu ake i tana matai, maka loa ki lunga o te langi. E nei, e iai te mango e wakalava i te langi nei, ma te kau na yiai, ma te tao na yokai. Pau ai loa te tala ia.

group, and the Laulau group, and the Vaitupu group, and the Western group. Finished with the fishing of his islands, he baited his fishhook, let it down, let out more and more (till) it was way down. He loosened his sinker stone (till) loose. His huge shark bit. Maui Potiki pulled in, drew in his shark. He asked his two brothers, "What have I here?" They answered, "An island." Maui Potiki said, "No, you don't say! What have I here?" Maui Potiki pulled in, finished the top line, finished also the middle section of the line, nearly all of the lower line. Maui Potiki said, "Look here." They looked there, there was at the side an enormous shark (tawi tonga mango) on the starboard side of the canoe. Maui Potiki said also, "Take hold of the spear for me. Be careful. I am going to get the head up above here. You, oh Maui Mua, you spear it in its fins. You Maui Loto, seize its flukes." Maui Potiki got the head of the shark to stand upright. Maui Mua looked at the fins, speared it, tightly. Maui Loto grasped the flukes of the shark (it was) tight. Maui Potiki took hold of the tail of the shark, threw it up to the sky here. He cut off the singer line, threw it on to the sky. Thus at the present time there are the shark lying on the side of the sky here, the fishhook with which it was fished, and the spear with which it was speared. The story is finished.

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole--12 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the
773 gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui open wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

539 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui.
773 He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The lengi fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The malau and the lali fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The wangamoana fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the taotaoama, tried to

2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a taotaoama fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called te pulu o Yina (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the taotaoma fish. All the other fish of the sea, the manini, the tawa, the ngatau, the tiwitiwi and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the manini tauila (seasonal manini fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

539 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the
773 manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nnanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele, Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale, very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next. At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (tangata manamana), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft. At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (talotalo), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 As the tree grew up as before Yinata's heart was glad, because he now had his favorite shelter again. Lata was glad too, because through his power he had put another trunk inside the bark as the tree grew together, and so he now had his canoe log also. So Lata worked and worked away at his canoe, hollowing out the underbody, fitting it with stern and bow covers and washstrakes. He cut his outrigger, lashed it on the crossbooms. The front wave guard on his bow cover was so high and flat it was like the platform in a storehouse. He made sail and sheets and fitted another tree trunk for a mast. When everything was complete and the canoe well and truly made, Lata went round the islands of Yamoa looking for the best men for his crew.

He chose the men who had power to withstand the strength of his hand. As each likely man came to him, Lata grasped him by the neck with his hands and attempted to bend his head forward. If the man could stand the pull and his neck remained stiff and upright, then Lata was satisfied. If his head bent forward, then this showed he was a weakling and Lata discarded him. After a time, this selection was completed. The crew carried the canoe to the water and launched it. They took their places in the canoe and these are the names of the canoe members:

Lata, captain and owner	Matai-monomono (Caulking-wedge)
Tupua-ulu-watu (Head-of-stone)	Mata-pili-kawa (Expert-sennit-maker)
Tupua-lulu-lapa (Flat-head), (Broad-head)	Wakapeyi (Defecator)
Tupua-kaia (Thief)	Wakapalalu (Defecator)
Tupua-keli-ana (Hole-digger)	Pate-momono (Caulk remover)
Tupua-manatu (Thinker)	Matai-waowao (Jumper)

Before the canoe set sail, Lata talked to his crew and told them that he expected them to help him and themselves should the canoe get into any dangerous situations. All the men agreed to do their best, so with high hopes the canoe set off to voyage abroad, Lata saying he wanted to see the world and all the crew expressing pleasure at the idea. The canoe soon left Samoa behind and held a course for Witi. It was not long, however, before they met with heavy squalls, high seas, wind and rain, the sky so black and cloudy that they could see no sign of abatement and the outlook was dangerous. Lata turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to help us by keeping away the wind and rain?" Tupua-ulu-lapa volunteered to try. So he made his flat head grow bigger and bigger until it grew

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.

[522] There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (pa) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (toa) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 filled with crabs, but he filled his remaining two with stones, coconut husks, and leaves, and covered the tops with crabs so that it appeared as if he too had three full baskets. Both men hung up their baskets from a branch of a tree, side by side. Then as it was late and dark in the bush they lay down to sleep, about 30 feet apart. Tupua-kaia began to tell stories about his wanderings and adventures as a member of Lata's crew, and as the Witi champion listened he became drowsy and sleepy. Every little while Tupua-kaia would stop in his story and call out, "Are you asleep?" The other would answer, "No, why do you ask?" And Tupua-kaia would reply, "I ask just to see whether I should continue telling my story to you." After a time the answers of the Witi man became more and more incoherent and his voice was full of sleep. At last there was no answer when Tupua-kaia asked his question. Tupua-kaia called softly many times, but still there was no reply. He got up, opened the plaiting at the bottom of the Witi man's basket and let all the crabs fall out into his own basket which he held underneath. He did the same for the next basket, making however a different sort of hole, so that it would appear in the morning as if the crabs had eaten their way through the plaiting and had escaped of their own accord. This finished, with Tupua-kaia's baskets full of crabs, he went and lay down again, pretending to fall into a deep sleep. The Witi man awoke first, Tupua-kaia still simulating deep sleep. The Witi man called out, "The sun rises, it is time for us to be up and going." Tupua-kaia did not stir. Again the Witi man called out, but Tupua-kaia did not stir. A third time the Witi man called and Tupua-kaia pretended to wake with a great start, asking what was the cause of the great noise. The reason was explained to him. He got up quickly, went off to get his carrying pole, loaded his baskets on the pole and called to the Witi man that he was ready to start back to the beach. But when the Witi man went to his baskets he found two of them very light in weight. Thinking something was wrong he opened the top and found that they were empty, the bottoms of the baskets being torn as if by the claws of the crabs. He called out in alarm, "My crabs have all escaped. Wait for me while I go and dig some more." But Tupua-kaia replied, "No, we cannot wait, all the people of Witi are waiting on the beach for us that they may count our crabs. We cannot be late." "But," called the Witi man, "if we go back now, I will be beaten on the count, and I will surely be eaten for being the loser in this contest." Tupua-kaia remained adamant however that both must return at once, so they set off, the

539 Witi man imploring all the time that Tupua-Kaia should wait for a time, but Tupua-kaia remained inflexible. At last they came to the place where the Witi people were gathered. Then the official counters came forward, took the baskets and counted the crabs they contained. The count showed that Tupua-kaia had collected 100 more crabs than the Witi man, so he was declared the winner of the contest, and the Witi chief ordered his champion to be killed and eaten. Nevertheless, all of Lata's men were put back inside the stockade and the Witi men went off to gather firewood and oven stones to cook the Witi man. This was done and Lata saw him killed, cooked and eaten by the Witi gathering. Thus Lata and his crew were saved once more by the cunning of his well chosen crew.

Again, however, the Witi men decided to arrange another contest, hoping to beat the crew of Lata. This time the contest was braiding sennit (kawa). The name of the Witi expert was Lua-kawa. The chosen member of Lata's crew was Mata-pili-kawa. The two champions went to the meeting place, all the materials were brought to them, and the two began to roll and braid. While the Witi man was making up strands and rolling them into lengths, Mata-pili-kawa was in no hurry but worked along steadily. Then Lua-kawa went off to find some more materials, but Mata-pili-kawa continued to work steadily as before, and in the end won the contest, not by trickery, but by great skill.

The Witi men now found that the crew of Lata were too smart to be killed through the medium of a contest, so they decided to kill and eat them without any excuse whatsoever. Plenty of food was brought to the stockade and Lata's crew grew fat and sleek feeding on the good things provided by the Witi people. The chief of Witi sent a messenger to the stockade to find out whether the prisoners were fat enough to be good eating. This messenger came back and said to wait a while longer. Then later the chief sent a second messenger who reported that the men were fat and good eating. The chief therefore ordered his men to gather together the firewood and stones near the stockade, because on the morrow he planned to kill and eat the crew. Lata heard these orders so he asked his crew, "Whose turn is it now to save us from the Witi men?" Tupua-kele-ana called out and said he would save the crew. He began to dig in the middle of the stockade. He dug and dug until he had made a hole under its walls which at last reached the beach where Lata's canoe lay. Tupua-kali-ana returned to Lata and reported that a way of escape lay open. In the middle of the night the crew prepared to escape

539 from the stockade. As they were about to leave, Tupua-manatu suggested to Lata that Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu should be asked to discharge and fill up the inside of the stockade with feces. Lata thought this a good idea and it was done by the two men at his command before they crawled away from the stockade. All the men escaped safely and came to the beach. Here they found that the Witi's men had removed all the caulking from Lata's canoe. Matai-monomono was at hand so he came forward and recaulked Lata's canoe. Then the canoe was launched, all the crew embarked and prepared to sail away. The canoe was already some distance from the beach when Tupua-manatu thought, "The Witi canoes are fast sailing canoes; if they follow us they will overtake us again and we will once more be prisoners." He spoke thus to Lata, who was frightened until Tupua-manatu suggested that the canoe put back to the beach and a hole be made in each Witi canoe such that none would be seaworthy enough to follow Lata's canoe. Lata agreed to this. When they came near the beach, Pata-monono went ashore. He went from one Witi canoe to the next punching out the caulking of each. This completed he went back to the canoe and Lata pushed off again. They were not far from the shore when Tupua-manatu had another idea. He asked Lata, "What about the bailers in the Witi canoes? If these are not broken to pieces, the canoes are still able to follow us and follow us they will until they take us prisoners. I think the bailers should be broken to pieces." Lata agreed this was a good idea, so he turned the canoe shoreward once more. When it was near the beach, the Witi people still sleeping soundly, Matai-waowao jumped ashore and went to the Witi canoes. These were built very high above the ground, but Matai-waowao being a good jumper, was easily able to leap over the sides of each canoe, where he quietly smashed the bailers to pieces. This finished, he returned to the canoe again and Lata pushed off.

At daybreak the chief sent his men to bring Lata and his crew to the ovens. The Witi men to the stockade, but on opening the gates out rushed a flood of stinking feces which drove them away helter-skelter. Other men rushed to the beach. From here they saw Lata's canoe standing by outside the entrance to the harbor. They ran their own canoes down to the water, thinking easily to overtake Lata. But on being lifted into the water the canoes immediately began to fill up, and when they looked for the bailers they found nothing but crushed wood. The canoes sank to the bottom near the shore and as the Witi men danced with rage and fury on the beach, Lata waved a farewell, hoisted his sail and stood out to sea with a fair wind.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities
773 of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some
[762] other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or
[834] undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is
522 given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband
as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults
and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langililli and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan
[226] man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten
[226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, " I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me." Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.

539 was it?" Te Malo told them, "Where? Why in the house of Te Totoloa. The red-eyed sweethearts of Te Totoloa broke it off." The two children asked, "Are there many similar hooks there?" Te Malo said, "There indeed are the many hooks of the men."

They went ashore. They reached the shore. They told of the breaking of the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo went to wash his hook in fresh water. Te Malo was thirsty. He went to the well of Yelekoua. Te Malo asked Yelekoua, "Is there a pool of yours here?" He said to Te Malo, "What about my pool here? There are the gourds filled. Are you thirsty? Te Malo answered, "Yes." Yelekoua said, "Come then, there are the filled gourds." Te Malo went to him. Yelekoua said, "Sit there." Te Malo refused, "No, you move over." Yelekoua said, "Sit right there." Te Malo refused again, "You move over." Yelekoua refused because there was his adz hidden below the mat, inserted under his two thighs. Te Malo did it (sat there), Yelekoua would not (move). He sat on the place where were the two knees of Te Malo, Yelekoua handed over the gourd, Te Malo drank it dry. Te Malo also took the next gourd, drank it dry. The thirst of Te Malo was quenched. Te Malo said to Yelekoua, "You drink." Yelekoua took the gourd, drank, drank, drank, (the gourd) stood on top of the mouth(that is, was tipped way back). He removed also the next gourd. He drank also, drank, drank, drank, bent his neck to the back: Te Malo had tempted him in order to stupify the mind of Yelekoua. Yelekoua also removed the last gourd. This was the third gourd of Yelekoua. He drank, drank, while Te Malo watched. The neck bent right back. Te Malo pulled out the adz hidden below the mat. He seized it, slashed the throat of Yelekoua. Yelekoua died. Te Malo called out to the island, "Oh, the people, come to beat the shark who injured us.' The people came. They pounded Yelekoua, till he vanished. It is finished.

Of Te Ingoa

The story of Te Ingoa and the god Malangatiale is the last of this series. Te Ingoa and his father Te Moana were two of the survivors of Muliwutu lineage after the catastrophic tidal wave and this incident probably refers to a time when there was a sufficient body of old men to make an expedition to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to secure food for all the people.

The group of old men (tupele) made the journey along the eastern side of the reef to Motu Ko. When they reached the islet Te Ingoa left them and walked along the outer beach until he stood at the place called Tua-o-poutama. Te Ingoa looked up at the long line of birds flying to land from the distant sea.

539 These birds directed by his god Malangatiale flew straight to roost on the trees at the place where he stood. He called the old men to the place. They came with their nets and caught birds until they grew tired and their bones ached but still the birds came flying in from the sea to roost on the trees. When they had finished killing and had gathered the birds together, the canoes were full to sinking with their enormous loads. As the men paddled back to Wale they saw the line of birds circling back to sea, chased back to their perching grounds on ocean sandbanks by the god Malangatiale. The birds were divided among all the people and great was the fame of Malangatiale. To this day it is said when food is scarce, "If only the birds of Te Ingoa would come to us, then many would be the strange birds we could eat."

Animal Stories

The tropic bird's tail

The white-tailed tropic bird was perched on a coral rock in the lagoon. The many fish wished to pull out the long feathers from the bird's tail. The fish, one after the other, swam quietly up to the perching place, but each time the bird saw the intruder's approach and flew off, coming again to its perch when the discomfited fish returned to its fellows. Some fish changed their skin color to blend with the color of the sea, other fish hid behind coral growths, but the bird was always too wary to be caught. Finally the wumoemoe fish decided to try. It approached the tropic bird very carefully and whenever the bird looked its way the wumoemoe changed itself to the color of its background, first white like the coral, then black like loli coral, then speckled like another coral growth. The fish came close, reached right to the tail and before the tropic bird could fly away, the fish closed its teeth around the tail feathers. The bird squirmed loose, but when it rose into the air, it had left its tail feathers firmly gripped in the mouth of the wumoemoe. Thus the tail of the white-tailed tropic bird became short, and thus the bird today differs from the scarlet-tailed tropic bird which has a long tail.

The many fish rushed to the wumoemoe and pulled away the feathers from him. The lulusu and tiwitiwi and other fish inserted some of the long feathers in their fins and these fish have long fins to this day. The taotaoama and other fish put the long feathers in their own tails and to this day these fish have very long tails. The wumoemoe made up this verse:

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatataki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[171] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan
[538] version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
You crawl on the roof,
You jump down to the end rafters.
We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
You are killed by the people
And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions
171 of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 not have courage enough to come down. Perhaps this is why she called the winds (8) to blow her down.

The woman Kaliwi climbed to the windy heights of a tall tree. She chanted a call to the Wakalua wind that it might pound with its strength and blow her to the ground. The wind blew its hardest but Kaliwi could not fall. Next she called to the Tokelau wind. This wind blew so that the tree tops shook and the seas stood wild but Kaliwi could not fall. Then she called in turn to the Wakatiu, to the Palapu and to the Mauake winds. Each of these winds blew so that the coconuts fell down, the seas roared and the trees were bent against each other. But Kaliwi did not fall. At last Kaliwi prayed to the Tonga wind. Squalls sprang up and raced through the air. the sky was lost in rain, the branches of the trees broke and the cold wind pounded. Kaliwi shivered with the cold, her flesh quivered, her hands became numb and she fell from the tree top into the sea. As she fell her eye was pierced by a stick and gouged from her head. Kaliwi died and was turned into a komuli fish. That is why the komuli fish today has a sunken eye-it is the eye of Kaliwi torn by the stick.

Luea and his Children

Luea and his two children, Tuakatua and Kaimawu, went fishing one day in a canoe. A squall blew up and broke the anchor line so that the canoe drifted. The three paddles were broken by the father as he tried to move the canoe to land. A strange canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea came and took Kaimawu away. There remained Luea and Tuakatua. Finally the canoe overturned. A big fish swam by and Luea was swallowed up but not before he had time to tell his child, "If my strength rages inside the stomach of the fish, grasp its back and you will be carried to the reef."

Then the strength of the father raged inside the stomach of the shark. Tuakatua held to the fluke of the shark and was carried to the reef. He wandered inland, eating unripe fallen nuts until he regained some of his strength. When it came to other days, he climbed coconut trees and he soon had strength to walk back to Wale along the reef. The people supposed at first that it was a spirit of the outer reef approaching, but

8. The directions from which these Pukapukan winds blow are given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 22, category 116--analyst].

539 later they saw it was certainly Tuakatua. The boy was taken to the place called Matala and set down between two posts erected wide apart. They fed him food until he grew large enough to fill the space between the posts. Then he told his story that the men could hear.

The Ten Brothers

The husband was named Laumeakula, the wife Laumeamelo. Their family consisted of ten boys. The first born was Tayi (One). The second was Lua (Two). The third was Tolu (Three) and so the children were named up to Laungaulu (Ten).

The father and his ten children decided to go to the bush to cut trees from which to make fishing canoes. Laumeakula gave one adz to Tayi, two adzes to Lua, three adzes to Tolu and so on for all the sons up to Laungaulu who was given ten adzes. Then all went to the forest named Te Tea. Each cut down his tree and trimmed away the branches. As Tayi worked at his wood his adz broke. He knew his brother Lua had two adzes so he went to him begging Lua's second adz that he might finish his canoe named Te-po-lunga-te-po-lalo in which he planned to sail to the place named Tua-peaupeau. Lua refused his brother's request saying that if he lent his second adz and then broke his first he would be unable himself to finish his own canoe. Lua advised Tayi to borrow from Tolu who owned three adzes. But Tolu also refused his brother and so did each of the other brothers in turn, even Laungaulu who had ten adzes.

At this, Tayi cursed his brothers for being stingy (literally, "red-bellied"). He complained to his father of the meanness of his brothers and both parents felt sorry for their firstborn son. They advised Tayi to ask once again of Lua who should be the partner of his older brother in all things because the two boys were born one after the other. The parents further told Tayi that when he had finished his canoe he was to wrap his two parents in a Pandanus mat, tie them tight with an anchor line, place the bundle in the bow of his canoe and then drop the bundle overboard in the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. If the other brothers saw Tayi with his bundle he was to tell them it contained only Tikinau and Tekenau. Thus, by having Tayi throw his parents overboard to drown, the parents hoped to shame the stinginess of their other sons.

Tayi obeyed the instructions of his parents. His brother Lua was this time sorry for Tayi and lent his second adz, though not generously but with many words as to its care. Tayi finished his canoe. The canoes of his brothers were already launched and out fishing. Lua fishing on the sea colored

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net tiwitiwi fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and locks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wulua and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atua-pula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.

[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[71] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 disfigured body of her child. Enraged, she rushed after Tulekaleka but the latter quickly climbed a tree that leaned over the well. Wawine-mata looked in the water seeing there the reflection of her enemy. She dived into the well to grasp the image. Tulekaleka, seeing her feet pointing upwards, shamed her by crying: "There, there, I see the vulva of Wawine-mata!"

Then Wawine-mata found that Tulekaleka was not in the water but high up the tree. She climbed up the trunk to reach Tulekaleka, but Tulekaleka kicked her down and broke off her arms. Wawine-mata climbed up with her feet only. Tulekaleka kicked her down again, this time breaking off her feet. A third time Wawine-mata climbed, wriggling up by twisting her trunk. A last time she was kicked down by Tulekaleka. She fell dead at the bottom of the tree.

Of Vaetuaniu

There was a land on which only children lived. The children spent all their days surf-riding. A cannibal spirit from another land turned itself into a drifting log and in this disguise was found by the playing children. The children climbed onto the log in their sport which then carried them away to the land of spirits where all the children were eaten. Three times this happened. The third time Vaetuaniu was one of those carried away and put in an enclosure in the spirit land preparatory to being eaten up by the cannibals.

When night came the children tried to escape from the enclosure. One child tried to kick the fence down but he broke his leg with the kicking. Vaetuaniu repaired the fracture and asked another child to try. All tried, but even until daylight none were successful in making a hole in the fence.

In the morning, the spirit led the children to his house that he might eat. Vaetuaniu asked to be allowed to go to the beach to defecate. The spirit gave permission only when Vaetuaniu pointed out that it would be silly to eat his feces as well as his flesh. Vawtuaniu went to the beach. He made a small coconut leaf torch, then spat into a coconut shell and placed the shell on top of the torch instructing the shell to answer the spirit should he call. Then Vaetanuiu hurried away. Three times the spirit called and three times the coconut leaf answered, asking delay until the defecation was finished. When the impatient spirit came searching, Vaetuaniu was missing and only a piece of coconut leaf remained.

Vaetuaniu had meanwhile called on the seabirds to take him to the land of Tinilau. Only the matiku bird would do this.

539 The spirit, however, saw the bird flying away with Vaetuaniu on its back so he forced the bird to shake Vaetuaniu off his back and the boy came tumbling down to earth. The spirit ran to seize him but Vaetuaniu kicked him away. A second time he kicked the spirit and severed its head from its body. Then when it appeared as if the head would join itself again to the body, Vaetuaniu beat the spirit with a stick until its head and body were smashed utterly to pieces. Vaetuaniu called to the children and people of the island. They crowded on top of the spirit and pounded him with stones to such a degree that he was ground to dust. The island was safe and no more children were eaten by cannibal spirits.

Of Mokoyikungavali

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea were two parents who had a daughter named Yina. The parents were preparing taro for their next meal and so they sent Yina to gather puapua leaves with which to wrap the food before putting it in the oven. Yina hurried off to the puapua tree owned by her parents, then climbed to the top to tear off the ten bunches that her parents desired. Mokoyikungavali, who also claimed ownership of this tree heard Yina in the tree top and ordered her to climb down. Three times he ordered and three times the frightened Yina refused his command. Finally she slid down the tree and into the open mouth of Mokoyikungavali which he held gaping at the bottom. As Yina's feet were swallowed she cried to her parents:

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea, oh!
I fulfill your order to pick the leaves
Of the tree of Te Tea.
The creature Mokoyikungavali is here,
Sucking, sucking, swallowing,
I am finished inside his body!

She called again when she was swallowed to the waist, yet again when only her head remained free. None heard her. Her crying finished. The belly of Mokoyikungavali was so swollen with his meal that he could not stand, he simply sprawled on the ground at the foot of the puapua tree. The parents waited long, they then came to search, thinking perhaps that Yina had fallen from the tree. They found the ogre where he had fallen and questioned him as to the whereabouts of their daughter. Mokoyikungavali admitted he had swallowed her but stressed the fact that the girl had been stealing leaves from the tree which shaded him from the hot sun.

The parents would not be pacified. They threatened to

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

53? Te-unga-tupua on seizing Te Palo that he did not notice when Te Palo lit the piles with his torch.

Te-unga-tupua crawled over the first fire and was scorched. One of his legs was broken off. Te Palo still moved backwards and on the second fire the creature broke off his second leg. This continued for nine fires and after crawling over these all the legs of the demon crab had been broken off. Only the crab's body and his testicles remained intact. Te Palo still continued to attract him and over the tenth fire the body and the testicles of the crab fell from their shell. Then Te Palo called the people of Yayake to come and kill the ogre. They rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded Te-unga-tupua until nothing remained but a soft mass.

Te Palo and Malele

Malele was a cannibal in the land of Yayake who owned a pool in which people came to bathe. If the people came in groups Malele would not molest them, but if they came singly or two women or two children together, then Malele would kill and eat them, hiding their bones in a secret place.

One day two people came to bathe. Malele killed one but the other escaped and ran back to tell the people that it was indeed Malele who was responsible for the disappearance of many people. Te Palo heard this and when it came to another day he went to bathe in Malele's pool. Malele was resting in the water and he invited Te Palo to bath with him. Te Palo did so and soon the pair began arguing as to which should dive first. Te Palo said Malele should have the privilege because he was the owner of the pool, but Malele insisted that Te Palo should be the first to dive because he was the invited guest bather. Because Malele was stubborn in his insistence, Te Palo dived first but he came up very quickly. There was Malele preparing to press his head underwater and drown him.

This time Malele dived down. Te Palo quickly pressed on his head and placed his second hand on Malele's malo, holding his head and body deep under the water. As Malele's anger surged within him, Te Palo composed his chant:

Held under the water is Malele,
Under water in his own pool.
Air bubbles break the water's surface,
Angry is the rage in Malele's intestines.

The two men struggled back and forth in the pool, Te Palo always keeping Malele's head towards the deep water. Then

539 as Malele grew weak from lack of breath, Te Palo pressed down harded and harder until Malele died. Te Palo called to the people.

Oh Yayake, vicious Malele has lost the laugh.
Come here to pound him so that his skin
is in shreds,
So that he is smashed to pieces,
So that his skin is rotten,
So that he is as soft as taro pudding!

The people rushed forward and pounded Malele's body until it was smashed to pieces. Then they looked for the place where he lived. It was chockfull of the bones of the people he had killed and eaten. Te Palo claimed a bone from the hand of Malele. Ever afterwards he used this bone as a needle for sewing the sail of his swift outrigger canoe.

The Bird of Witi

After Te Palo killed Malele he heard that there was also a man-eating creature in Witi. This creature had the shape of an enormous koloa bird. The bird would wait on land for returning fishing canoes. If the canoes had been successful the bird ate all the fish. If they were unsuccessful, the bird ate all the crew instead.

Te Palo went to Witi and inquired there from the people the habits of the creature. They told him and Te Palo decided to kill the bird. Te Palo went fishing on the first day and when he arrived back the koloa bird, as described, came to eat all his fish. On the second day, Te Palo made a wooden cover to fit over the bow of his fishing canoe. He caught many fish and distributed these over the canoe so that some were in the stern, some amidship and others in the bow. When he returned to the beach with his catch, he was met by the Koloa which as usual began to devour the fish in the canoe. The koloa began in the stern and steadily ate his way towards the bow. When the koloa reached the bow Te Palo picked up his cover and fitted it tightly over the bow, thus enclosing the koloa. The anger of the koloa raged and seethed inside the cover, but Te Palo kept it pressed down tight until the koloa weakened with exhaustion. Then he called all the people who came running with sticks and stones. They pounded the koloa until it was broken to pieces and ground the pieces to dust.

Other Stories of Man-eaters

Of Kaleva

539 Kaleva was a man-eating warrior. He would walk through the bush striking down and eating all the people he found there. Thus it was for many days and soon there was left no straggler that he might eat. The wife of Kaleva, a woman named Yina, and her two children Te Lupeamanu and Te Ikamaitai, became frightened thinking that Kaleva would probably kill and eat them next. So Yina said to her children one day, "You are only little morsels to eat, but you are my two children. Let us raise our house high on wooden piles so that Kaleva, when he comes for us, will be unable to reach us." The children listened to their mother and the house was soon raised high.

Sure enough Kaleva came soon from the bush looking for victims. He came to his house and seeing it high in the air he called to his children to hand him down his bunch of coconut fibers from which he wished to make some rope. The children replied that the fibers were nowhere in the house. But each knew that they were only pretending. Kaleva wished the children to descend and the children wished Kaleva to ascend that they might tie his neck with a rope as he came up and then strangle him with it.

Kaleva became impatient at the prevarication of his children and he jumped up the piles to his house. His children were waiting for him with a rope. They snared his neck and then strangled him. Then they composed a chant and called it out that the whole village might hear. This was their chant:

Concerning the growth of Kaleva,
He was born a man-eater.
Who were his two parents
That they did not pinch him at birth?
Kaleva was indeed a shameless person,
He ate the menstrual pads of women.
This it was, that made his heart rotten!

Of Papalangi

Papalangi was a man-eater and the people of the village punished him for this. Papalangi was shamed by this and his brain became stupified. He became mischievous and decided to have his revenge on the people. One day as he walked along the road of Walepuka he saw two children playing on the platform of a house. He took his spear and drove it through the bodies of the two children until they were dead. Then he

§39 realized what he had done and he rushed a away to hide. He found no safe place anywhere until he came to a horrible rubbish pile where things of the parturient women were thrown. He hid under this pile and was safe though the people of the island hunted for him everywhere.

One day a woman went to this pile to throw there the feces of her infant child. Papalangi stirred inside the pile and the woman saw him move. She roused the people and they hastened to the place. They captured Papalangi and decided to punish him for his murder by beating him with switches of ngangie wood. Papalangi was whipped until his skin hung in shreds. The parents of the murdered children came last. They heated two oven stones until the stones were red hot, and then applied these stones to Papalangi's testicles. The final punishment was decided on: Papalangi was to be thrown into the sea and not buried in his family cemetery. One rope was tied to his arms and another to his legs. Papalangi was taken to sea and dropped overboard. Men of one canoe pulled on one rope, men of another canoe on the other rope and thus they pulled until Papalangi was torn to pieces.

Of Wulukulamatoto

Wulukulamatoto was a man-eater who had two wives. He spent many of his days catching booby birds which he would bring back home for his wives to eat. One day Wulukulamatoto was struck by the canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea as he was sailing to his bird island and he died.

The spirit of the dead man could not desert his two wives so he brought them at night presents of many booby birds. The wives were pleased with this attention and began to eat the birds but their god warned them not to eat the food because the spirit of their dead husband would enter their intestines with the food and then eat them until they faded away and died. The wives were frightened and refrained from tasting the food. Then they composed an insulting chant about Wulukulamatoto:

Make a place of cohabitation,
A place for Wulukulamatoto,
He strings boobies to feed his wives,
But he was obstinate towards us,
For him our wombs are hard,
As hard as seeds of the wetau tree.

Of Witielo and Witilangi

Witielo and Witilangi were two priests of the paternal lineage

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-
773 Atua-pule, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotea and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko kioleloa te ma'ua tane; ko kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kula. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawale, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te papanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa lua matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Teia ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino, E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kele imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yolo mai na toe takanga. Peia mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, pakuongea, wakawewewewei a. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momoto ia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale e Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te Kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Mea loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na palo. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takele i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kioleloa was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

537 parents called out to their child, to Nonu. This was their call, "O Nonu, oh, open there the corner of the roof of our house; inspect the procession here (see) whether it is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. He looked out, it was no good. Nonu answered his two parents, "They're bad. My mind is not pleased. Chase them to the ovens to smear themselves with ashes." The procession of pairs went. Other pairs moved up. Nonu (said) the same to his two parents.

Moa was the name of a girl; she was a homely girl, with kinky hair, smelly, ugly. She had been thrown out by the girls because of her ugliness. Moa went to pick tiale. tiale buds only were her things, they had not yet flowered. All the open tiale had been picked by the girls. Moa sewed her lei of tiale buds. Finished sewing, she went to bathe. Finished bathing, she returned to get ready. She put on her lei of buds. She walked along the main road. She reached the house of Nonu and the others. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked out. They called to Nonu, "O Nonu, oh, examine this girl whether she is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. Nonu looked out. Nonu was indeed delighted. Nonu was pleased. He said to his two parents, "Fetch her, let her climb up here so that we two can play."

The story was told to the island: "Nonu and Moa have married." Indeed, all the girls were dumbfounded. They were jealous of the getting of Nonu by Moa. Nonu and Moa went to bathe. The girls also went to spy on them. The girls objected, "What a waste of a man, she's such an ugly girl." Nonu collected seaweed, decorated their house. It is finished.

Of Angaino

Ko Angaino e tane Yato. Ko te yoa o Angaino, ko Kalou. Ya wai ipo i a Angaino ki a Te Oi. Talatala loa i a Angaino ki a Kalou, "Wano koe ki a Te Oi, ke yau ki aku nei. Ka wo maua ki Tua o Wakatiu." Wakatika loa i a Kalou. Wano loa. Ko Kalou, e tane Ngake. Wano loa i a Kalou ki a Te Oi. Wo loa laua, wo atu laua ki te vao, konikoni atu laua.

Kali la i a Angaino ke yau. Kali, e. Kali mai te taeyao e, tutonu te la. Kali mai te tutonungala e, awiawi. Na wo i a Kalou ma Te Oi ki te vao. Yau loa la i a Te Oi ki Tupapa, ki te wale atua, no ai iai. E kiai i a Angaino na kakalo ki ai. Oti ai loa te tala o te poloaki ia.

Angaino was a Yato man. Kalou was the friend of Angaino. Angaino had made Te Oi his sweetheart. Angaino said to Kalou, "Go to Te Oi, tell her to come to me here. We shall go to Tua o Wakatiu." Kalou agreed. He went. Kalou was a Ngake man. Kalou went to Te Oi. The two of them went, they

539 went off to the bush, they two copulated.

Angaino waited for her to come. He waited, e-e-e. He waited from the morning, e-e-e, the sun was overhead. He waited from noon, e-e-e-, till evening. Kalou and Te Oi had gone to the bush. Te Oi came to Tupapa, to the wale atua, stayed there. Angaino did not look over there. Finished is the story of that love message.

Of Tutuila

Ko Tutuila ma Yikitia. Ko Yikitia e wawine loa vave. E malulu te wui tane; vave loa i a Yikitia. Yaula i a Tutuila, e yoa no Takatakai. Ko Yikitia, e wawine ke. Yaula i a Tutuila, ya wuna, e kiai na maua i a Yikitia. Timotimo atu i a Tutuila i tona po mua. Pangea e Yikitia. Oti te po ia. Oko ake ki te toe po. Wano oki atu i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia, timotimo atu oki. Pangea oki e Yikitia. Malama loa te po ia. Wano loa la i a Tutuila tangi ki tona yoa, ko Takatakai, "Kalekala E ye maua loa e Yikitia i aku. Ya pange loa i aku ki na konga. Kae au tionga la?"

Kakole la i a Takatakai: "E tai aku tionga. Kaleawua la ki te po nei. Wano loa koe kiai. Wano la pania to kili te pua o te wau. Ke oko koe kiai, ka yongiyongi mai i a Yikitia i to kili. Yongiyongi atu koe i tona kili. Ke wakanlunga mai i a Yikitia i to ulu ki tona lima, wakaulunga oki koe i tona ulu ki to lima. Ke yongi mai i a Yikitia i to kaponga, yongi oki koe, i tona kaponga. Ke kamu mai i a Yikitia i o tuauma, kamu oki koe i ona tuauma. Ke kata mai i a Yikitia ki a koe, kata oki koe kiai. Ko aku tionga ia."

Po ake la te po, wano loa la i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia. Na oti tona kili te pani ki te pua wau. Koa kakala pe te kili o Takatakai. Wakayongi ake i a Yikitia i a Tutuila, koa kakala pe te kili o tana ipo, ko Takatakai. Yongi loa la i a Yikitia i te aloalo o Tutuila. Yongi oki i a Tutuila i te aloalo o Yikitia. Wakaulunga oki i a Yikitia i te ulu o Tutuila ki tona lima. Wakaulunga oki i a Tutuila i te ulu o Yikitia ki tona lima. Otiake. Yongi mai oki i a Yikitia i te iyu o Tutuila. Yongi atu oki i a Tutuila i te iyu o Yikitia. Patu mai oki i a Yikitia i na uma o Tutuila. Patu atu oki i a Tutuila i na uma o Yikitia. Manako loa la i a Yikitia, "Ko Takatakai pe tenei. Ko a maua tionga tenei e wai nei." Koa oti a laua wemilinga ia, lave kawatau atu loa laua.

Malama loa te po. Langona loa la i a Yikitia, "Kalekala pe! Te tangata na yau i te po ki a koe, ko Tutuila." Kamuloa te lili o Yikitia pokalekele. Kae ana konga la yau ai. Ko no i a Tutuila i tawa o Takatakai. E tengia loa i a Yikitia. E konga waingata! Pau ai loa te tala o Tutuila ma Yikitia.

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila, Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the white man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernbrmal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

Of Pania

539 Pania was a man of Yalongo lineage. He was in charge of the fishing for the old men's group. One morning he gathered together his crew and put out for the fishing grounds. He was unsuccessful and prayed to the god Te Awuawu to send fish to his trolling lines. Meanwhile his wife had been taken to the bush by a man of another lineage. Pania suspected that trouble at home must be the cause of his bad fortune so he also made other prayers to Te Awuawu in order to nullify the bad effects of possible adultery on the part of his wife.

After these prayers Pania and his men caught many fish. Coming back home, he passed over the reef and left a gift fish (tapu ika) for Te Awuawu on the rock shrine called Te Watu-o-Malaetapu in thanks for the help received from the god during the day. After presenting the fish to the old men at their meeting place Pania went home. He consulted his god about the behavior of his wife and was assured that she had misconducted herself during his absence. With this assurance in mind Pania ordered his wife to leave his house and go back to that of her parents. Thus breaking his first marriage, Pania stayed until daylight with another woman. In this way he contracted a second marriage.

Of Pukiko

Maloatu was a man of Ngake village. Pukiko was his wife. Maloatu suspected that his wife was having an affair with a man named Pania, but whenever he challenged Pukiko she lied to him and professed complete faithfulness to her husband. One day when Maloatu was walking through the reserve of Uta he thought of a plan to test his wife. He sought out his friend Lawuatu, asking him to go to Pukiko with the message that Pania awaited her on the back beach of Yamanaia.

Evening came and the men of the reserve land guard were returning to the village with their hair gaily decorated with flowers. Maloatu hurried to Uta and hid behind a cluster of trees. Soon he saw Pukiko coming. The night was moonless and very dark. As Pukiko came up to his hiding place he came forward and Pukiko, thinking the figure her lover, made to embrace him. Maloatu grasped her tight and then shamed her by throwing her lies in her face.

On the next morning Maloatu spoke to his wife, saying he was going to throw her from his house. Her brother heard of the contemplated divorce. He came to reason and argue with Maloatu. In the end Maloatu decided to take his wife back.

Of Malaetele

539 Yavake was the husband of the woman Malaetele. Tawaia, another man, was in love with her. One morning Tawaia saw Malaetele groping for fish along the reef. Tawaia excused himself from his own house telling his wife that he must go to see who the strange person was trespassing on this part of the reef. When he came up with Maletele, the two walked along the reef to the reserve islet of Kotawa. On this islet the lovers stayed for ten nights and then they walked on to Motu Ko where they stayed together for twenty nights.

At the end of this period Malaetele came back to the village. Now Yavake was an unusual man in that he lived with his wife only, having no affairs with other women. Malaetele walked to her husband's house and climbed on the house platform where she set to with her domestic occupations as if nothing had happened. The maternal sub-lineage of Yavake, however, determined to shame the wife, so they came to Yavake and told the whole story of his wife's adultery. Malaetele from her house platform heard the words. Confident in the power of her hold over her husband's affections, she composed and chanted this insulting song, hurling it with contempt at her interfering relatives by marriage:

From my place above,
I laugh at the words
Of the crabs and the rats.
They are but small fish bait,
Taken from the coral heads of Oka.
Their vulvas smell bad,
They have no success with any man,
Only ghosts come to sleep with them!

Of Lengatu

Lengatu was the wife of Kieilu, warrior-messenger and servant of Maina, supreme chief of the island. Te Pa was the chief of Muliwutu lineage. One day Maina sent Kieilu to gather together the people of the island that they might meet and discuss island affairs. Kieilu announced the meeting at the place Matano, then went on to Loto village and finally made his way to the place called Na Walenamu. Here he stumbled upon Lengatu and Te Pa making love together. Kieilu became incensed at the sight and incapacitated Te Pa by striking him on the fundament. Lengatu helped her lover back to the village. Then she left Kieilu's house and ran to that of her father. Her father was very angry at this method of announcing her divorce from Kieilu. He reasoned with Lengatu stressing the fact that

539 Kieilu was a good food gatherer and a clever craftsman, generous besides and always making gifts to Lengatu's maternal lineage.

Even so, Lengatu refused to return to her husband. She preferred to live with Te Pa and soon this new arrangement was made permanent. The whole island gossiped about the business: "Indeed, Lengatu is without doubt a very cheeky girl, changing and choosey about men. She has left the best man on the island. Let her suffer for it. Let her people not try to bring her and her husband together again. Leave her to find out her own fault that in the end she may return contrite at heart."

Of Kaikiki

Kaikiki was a man of Matanga lineage who committed adultery with Loloko. These two went to the islet of Ko and spent many days there together. Their actions were seen by the gods of the lineage of Poutama, wife of Kaikiki. When Kaikiki returned to his home he became very sick. His spirit was taken by the gods and thrown inside the eight-walled enclosure of the god Te Vayi, a place in the Underworld where a fire burns unceasingly. Kaikiki's skin peeled off with the heat and he would have been burnt had not his wife relented in her sorrow for him. She prayed to her gods to cure his sickness. They returned his spirit to his body. Kaikiki became well again and the people made a chant for him that is remembered to this day. Part of it runs:

I am come to the enclosure of Te Vayi,
I am hot, my skin is burned,
It is cooked. Your sickness it was
That sent me to the back of the sacred skies
Where I am seared by the fire of Te Vayi.

Of Kupenga

Kupenga was the wife of Te Anga. She was a woman sexually dissatisfied by the love-making methods of her husband and every day she would go to other men seeking fulfillment of her sexual urges. It came to another day and she was led by a young man to the back beaches of the island. With him she stayed until the day darkened. Meanwhile she had been spied on by the relatives of Te Anga who came to him saying, "Your wife has cohabited at the place Tua-o-Wakatiu until dark. There she comes crawling back to you, trying to deceive you with lies and flattery that you may not know of her doings."

The heart of Te Anga was filled with jealousy. His jaws

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
577 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

539 Wekao had been killed by Kaleva-motu, and his son, Te Vana, sought revenge. Because Kaleva-motu was a strong man and a noted warrior there was no way to kill him openly. Therefore Te Vana sought a stratagem and planned the killing while Kaleva-motu was engaged in fishing. Kaleva-motu, Te Vana and their friends decided to net kaloma fish. They netted on many beaches and then prepared to divide the fish into shares. The shares were placed on the beach and each came to take his fish. Kaleva-motu's name was called but he saw a coconut wood spear hidden close by. He ran instead of coming and Te Vana chased him. Kaleva-motu was swift-footed inland, Te Vana swift-footed on the beaches. Just as Te Vana came up to his enemy, Kaleva-motu jumped into the sea. Te Vana hurled his spear and saw it strike Kaleva-motu in the middle of the back. It was dusk and Te Vana assumed he had killed the enemy. But Kaleva-motu pulled out the spear and then swam quietly with only his nostrils above water to a lonely beach.

He made his way back to Wale. There was only one place where he would be unmolested and that was the sacred resting place of the high chiefs. None would come near this place. Kaleva-motu hid here and some of his relatives came in secret to treat his spear wound. Soon Kaleva-motu was well again, but it became known that he was violating the tapu of the high chiefs. The men came to kill him. Kaleva-motu asked that he be allowed to commit suicide. The men dug a deep grave for him and led him to the hole. His maternal relatives stood around the hole that he might not play tricks and seek to escape. This was their duty after the island decided to punish. They placed Kaleva-motu inside the hole and buried him alive.

Of Uila and Palakula

Uila was the son of the high chief Tuliayanga. On many occasions he whipped the children of Palakula and Kutikuti, his wife. The children went crying to their mother, complaining of the cruelty of Uila, "Have we no father to protect us, why does he not stop our pain?" Kutikuti could only reply to that that no help could come from their father and that they were children indeed conceived by the weakest of semen.

Palakula happened to overhear these remarks and he was spurred to action, even though Uila was the son of the high chief. He went to Uila and questioned him. Uila became angry and jabbed his finger into Palakula's eye. Then while Uila gouged out his eye Palakula gripped his tormentor by the testicles and tore them from his body. Uila died.

The people of the island surmised that the whole maternal

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyla ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 The following group of stories defies any simple classifi-
773 cation. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the
[81] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command. and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead.(13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are
773 connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 Later his other son also died. Kui embraced him too and dropped him into the water.

Kui swam on. His wake was like the sea breaking on the reef, so powerful and fast a swimmer was he. He was in the water so long that coral rocks, barnacles, and seaweeds grew over his body, starting first on his legs, spreading up his body, and finally covering his head. He finally became so heavy that he dropped to the bottom of the sea. He was rolled along on the bottom of the ocean, until at last he was thrown up on the reef at Apia in Samoa. Though he looked like a big piece of coral, a living and breathing body was within.

The people of Samoa were at this time preparing for a great feast, and all the ovens were full of food. Kui rested until sunset. Then he awoke and decided to go ashore from the reef. He was too heavy to walk, so he rolled himself along. When he got to land, he visited all the ovens in turn, stealing food from each while the people slept. People came along and found the ovens tampered with, but all they saw was a coral stone lying by and, of course, they took no notice of this. From day to day Kui visited the ovens, stealing food regularly. One day a young girl came along the reef looking for fish. She noticed a big rock on the reef and, looking closer, saw that the rock was swelling in gentle movements, as if breathing. Sure of this, she went ashore and raised the alarm: "Yamoa e, teia la te kata ya wuke a tatou imu" (People of Samoa, this is the brute that has opened our ovens). The people gathered on the reef. They saw the breathing stone and carried it to the meeting place where they discussed what to do with it. They decided to build a big oven. The people gathered wood, coconut husks, and the like for the fire. When the huge oven was heated, they threw Kui in. As the coral got hot it melted from Kui's body, dropped off; thus Kui himself was exposed to the heat and died. His soul left his body and went about Samoa killing many Samoans in revenge for his death. Then his soul went back to Pukapuka. Kui landed on the reef off the reserve of Niua. He was met by the god Te Mangamanga, who tried to turn him back to the sea. But Kui wrestled with Te Mangamanga and threw him on a sea urchin so that Te Mangamanga admitted defeat. Then Kui went through the villages challenging all the other gods to wrestle with him. He passed by the place Lowia, in Uta, in the form of a blazing fire. When the gods who were gathered there saw him, they were afraid and threw over themselves a net of invisibility. Kui passed on to the place where Te Auta-pule lived. The two gods wrestled and again

§39 Kui was victorious. At the place Te Longalau, Kui met the god Malangatiale. (14)

Kui was in the form of a blazing fire, Malangatiale in the form of lightning. Kui called out, "Awi! " (fire), and Malangatiale shouted the same word in reply. Kui called out, "Ula! " (red), and again Malangatiale repeated the same word. Kui called out, "Awu! " (hot), and Malangatiale repeated the word. At every interchange each god flashed like lightning or blazed like fire in order to intimidate his opponent. They continued: Kui called out "Punga" (coral or meteor), and Malangatiale repeated the word. Then the two gods imitated the sounds of the tuli bird and the kawe, sea bird. At last they were close enough to grapple with each other. Three times they struggled back and forward between taro beds and lagoon beach, but neither was strong enough to conquer the other. At length they decided to become friends. It is said that their spirit was in every strong human being born in Pukapuka thereafter. Such a man was said to have na vave a Kui (the strengths of Kui). Kui became a god of Yangalipule, a lineage which produced many strong men.

Besides the three men of the stories below, the chief Kuluea also derived supernatural powers from Kui [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 539 or 116--analyst].

Uyo was a warrior. He gathered together a group of men and persuaded them to go with him to Motu Kotawa to live. Though Kotawa was sacred to Mataliki, Uyo trusted in his powers to save him from the dangers of breaking the tapu, and he knew his strength would save him from mortal danger. One of his followers was Te Pou.

On going across to the island, Uyo sent his followers to walk round by way of the connecting reef while he went on his own way. Uyo was a great jumper. Going by the reef he saw a shoal of fish in the lagoon. Taking his great seine net (kupenga uka yali lawi) 50 yards long, in his hands, he jumped from the reef onto the shoal of fish and caught many. Then he jumped from the eastern to the western reef across the lagoon, carrying his net and the fish as well. Arriving thus at

14. The god Malangatiale with whom Kui fought this drawn contest is the same individual whose accidental death is mentioned in the previous story.

539 Kotawa, he made a fire by rubbing his finger on a piece of puapua wood, built an oven, and put the fish on to cook. To get some nuts, he took a tree in his hand, shook it, and the nuts fell to the ground. Those nuts that hit his head broke in two. He husked the nuts by using his finger for a husking stick. Much later his men arrived on Kotawa, hungry after their walk around over the reef. The men decided to get food, but Uyo told them that the food was already cooked and opened the oven for them. For many days Uyo and his men lived thus on Kotawa, fishing and eating the nuts until, at last, the people on Wale became angry at the loss of so much food. They went to Kuluea, the chief, and asked him to repair matters. Kuluea consulted his god.

Now, Te Pou on Kotawa was a man possessed with the power of double sight. While on Kotawa he could see with his inner eye all that was happening on Wale, and, as if in a dream state, Te Pou told his friends on Kotawa all that he saw: Kuluea consulting his gods, the meetings of the people, men preparing their war malo, preparing canoes, and getting ready to fight. But his friends refused to take notice of Te Pou, saying he was having a nightmare and laughing at him. Still Te Pou talked in his vision, saying the people were leaving Wale, mentioning all the places in the lagoon that the canoes were passing in turn, and saying at last that the people had come to the landing place at Kotawa. But the men paid no attention to him and went on with their eating and sleeping. At last the people of Wale landed and, shouting "Manava Pukapuka i---, a---", as their canoes touched the beach, rushed forward. Te Pou then said to his friends, "I have warned you of this but you have believed me not." In fact, Kuluea had prayed to Taua, and Taua had made the man crazy (wakavavale or neneva).

A fight occurred. Two men of Wale were killed as they rushed after the Kotawa men, both Wale men having their skulls shattered by being knocked against coconut trees by the fingers of the superman. But all the Kotawa men were killed, all save Te Pou, who was reckoned a good man who had gone with the others to Kotawa against his will. Te Pou would collect the husks of nuts and cover them in the ground while the others would throw theirs carelessly on the ground. Therefore his life was spared. Uyo was killed thus: the men of Wale came up to him and found him paralyzed in body by the gods. But even so, all the men of Wale, even Kuluea, held back from him in fear of his supernormal strength. But Kuluea summoned courage, went up to Uyo, and thrust at him

539 with his spear. The spear rebounded from the tough skin without making a dint in it. Kuluea hit him on his head with a club, but Uyo blinked not even an eyelid, and the club was shattered in Kuluea's hands. Kuluea took an especially strong spear and thrust it through Uyo's eyeball, but the eyelids closing broke the spear off short and still Uyo was unhurt. Then Uyo, in his god-made craziness, spoke, "It is impossible to kill me by ordinary means. But if you lift up my arms, you will find in my armpit a big boil ready to burst." The men did this, and through the boil, also sent by Taua, Kuluea thrust his spear which penetrated to a vital part and killed Uyo. Then the men, curious as to Uyo's powers, opened his body and found there, instead of two livers (ate), eight livers; and to this abnormality is attributed his great jumping powers. Uyo was buried on Kotawa, and even to this day is seen the imprint in the rock, called Te Vae-o-Uyo, where one foot of Uyo landed after his jump from reef to reef. All the men went back to Wale, taking Te Pou with them. Later on when Kuluea had to face the danger of the Tongalelevan invasion, he said, "I am sorry I had to kill my comrade. His help is sorely needed at the present time to fight these giant people."

Waletiale, the second of the warriors with the strength of Kui, was a man of gigantic stature, who decided to start in Pukapuka a copulation group on the Yayake model.

Waletiale was a man so strong that he was like the supports of the island. He gathered about him a group of tall, handsome men at the place called Te Nau-o-te-tupua. When the women merely came to their sides, their penises stood erect and ripped off their malos. Waletiale announced the formation of his group to the women and invited them to visit him frequently. The women came first by pairs, then in a stampede. Some disliked, others were pleased by, the strength and vigor of the men. The single and the married women all went to Waletiale, so that the houses were deserted. The married women were particularly thrilled and their husbands saw them no more.

For many months their husbands waited. Their penises were yellow as slime from masturbating. They wilted with unsatisfied desire. As long as Waletiale stood guard over his meeting place the men were afraid to venture near in case they might be killed. They went to complain to the high chief of the island, to Kuluea. Kuluea was indifferent at first, being also afraid of Waletiale, but later he consented to pray to his goddess Taua, asking her advice in the matter. This was his invocation to Taua: "O Taua, press the bones of Waletiale

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare! "

Taua gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua man were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au mai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the
181 sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

539 lower back. His skin was smeared by their vulvas. They covered his nostrils. Welei stank. He could not tolerate the smell of vulvas. His god taunted him that his desire for women had subsided. Then the women chased him away, but because his nostrils were still blocked he soon died. His god was quite indifferent to his fate. "The child has got what he deserved", he said, and that was the end of Welei. They made this bit of verse about him:

Crowded below like Welei,
Stepped on by the many,
Stepped on by the thousand,
Crowded on top by the women
Who bite the good of man!

Of Yawau

Yawau was a man of Yamaunga lineage. This lineage went one night to fish Ruvettus. Ten fish were caught and brought back to the meeting place for division, which was close to the sacred worshipping house of the lineage. The priests in this house received their share, Yawau among them. Sitting on his sacred seat within the house, Yawau finished completely the tail portion of his fish.

Then Yawau went on with his chanting to the gods. There was a stirring through his back and frequent flatulence. Unawares, he suddenly began to excrete the fat of the fish. The priests behind poked him in the back and drew attention to the fact that his seat was dirty. At first he thought his friends were joking, then he was dumbfounded, ashamed.

A personal shame developed for Yawau. He was continually being teased by the children. He could stand the thrusts no more and prepared his voyaging canoes. He reached first the Tokelau islands, but when he landed the people greeted him with his shame. Again in Samoa, in the islands of Witi, in all the islands to the south, people knew his reputation. At last Yawau came to Kapiti-te-wue. The people did not know of him and his scandal was lost. Yawau rested here happily, married, and raised a family.

Of Wue

Wue was both chief of Yangalipule lineage and supreme chief of the island. He planned to sail to all the islands of the east and then to all the islands of the west. He built and provisioned his double canoe, gathered together the men of his lineage and his two sons and set forth. First he visited

539 Manihiki, then he went on to Rakahanga. At this place the people were playing at swings. Wue was contemptuous of the game, saying that in Pukapuka only children played with swings. In the evening the people left their swings hanging from the trees. Wue came secretly by night, cut down the swings, placed them in his canoe and sailed away with his treasure. At the next island the people were playing jackstones with Conus shells. Again the people were fooled by Wue's words when he said that only Pukapukan children played such games. As before, Wue gather the shells when the people went to sleep and sailed away.

At other islands and by similar tricks, Wue learned the game of juggling with immature coconuts, various hopping and kicking games. In Yiva and Yake Wue managed to cut the anchor ropes of fishing canoes deserted when a squall interrupted a fishing contest and thus stole long lengths of rope. On the island of Wakalava, the people were playing the game of disc-throwing (tupe). By a trick Wue learned the game, then stole away with all the discs used in the game. On the island of Yavake Wue visited the famous copulating places of which people who had gone before had told him. The Yayake men were proud of these institutions but Wue remarked that they were but mediocre compared with the copulating clubs of Pukapuka. In the island of Motulau the people possesed a feather which turned the whole body red if placed in the mouth. Wue desired this feather to take home but no matter what his words, the people were unimpressed and would not allow Wue to lay hands on the precious object.

Wue sailed to the islands to the southwest. He visited Tonga, Samoa, Witi, Witi-lewu, Witi-lelelele. On this last island he left one of his sons to settle. Wue was overwhelmed by the number of islands in the west. He could not visit them all so many were there. He returned through the Tokelau islands and arrived again at Pukapuka. He told of his journey, of the people, of their doings and the games he brought back with him.

Additional material on these voyages of Wue is found in variant accounts. It is related that the islands of Yiva and Yake were close together. They were separated by a narrow channel so that a fishing canoe might throw one anchor on one island and another anchor on the other island, thus remaining securely anchored in mid-channel. A fishing contest was in progress when Wue arrived, and Wue anchored close to the fishing fleet watching the people enjoy themselves at swimming, diving, and playing in the water of the channel after the fishing

539 was finished for the day. When the strong wind broke up the fishing fleet, Wue was better able to ride out the storm in his big canoe, and he profited by the dispersal of the other canoes to take with him as he sailed out to sea, all the fish and anchor lines that the Yiva people left behind them.

A man named Vailaki, whom Wue met on Wakalava, is remembered as a Samoan who built a plank canoe from a single large wetau tree. He sailed to many islands from Samoa, exhibiting his canoe to the people, and came on to Pukapuka from Wakalava. When he left to go back to Samoa, one of his crew, a man named Pokena, decided to stay on Pukapuka. Vailaki sailed without him, but Pokena soon died on Pukapuka without leaving issue.

Little more is known of the magical red feather that Wue saw on the islands of Motulau, said to be a group of many islands close together. When the feather was put in the mouth it turned the whole body a deep rich red color; when the feather was removed the body turned brown again. Wue asked three times for this feather, but the people of Motulau valued it too highly to allow him to take it. Wue evidently could think of no stratagem this time so he had to leave, bringing back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather.

Te Palo comes to Pukapuka

Te Palo, the Yayake warrior who fought with Te Nana, visited Pukapuka on a journey from Yayake which also led him to stop at Nassau Island. (16)

Te Palo's journey from Yayake to Nassau and Pukapuka was a journey of woman-seeking. He arrived on Wale in the middle of the night, quietly beached his canoe and then went in secret to scratch the women in all the houses. By daylight he was afloat again and drifted down to Nassau. Three times he came thus to Wale.

The married men soon began to notice that their wives were scratched and striped on the cheeks and breasts. They began to inquire one of the other as to the reason for this. At last some of the women whose cheeks were not scratched, being jealous of the good fortune of the married women, told of the night-visiting canoe. During the night the men waited and spied on the visiting Te Palo. Te Palo was seized and angrily charged with being the cause of the scratching. Quite unabashed

16. The atoll of Nassau is 42 miles southeast of Pukapuka.

539 Te Palo answered, "There is nothing to it. My comings were only comings to scratch your women who are so nicely established with you men here. Are you going to get angry over a mere nothing?" Under this calm reasoning, the ideas that had angered the men subsided.

Te Palo remained on Wale for one day. For his journey back to Nassau the island prepared two huge taro puddings. The voyager set sail and almost immediately opened his smoking hot puddings to eat. So great, however, was the speed of his canoe that he arrived in Nassau before the puddings had sufficiently cooled to taste. Similarly on a return trip from Nassau to Wale, Te Palo's wife who was with him in the canoe, arose from her seat to watch the waters curling past the bow. She overbalanced and fell into the sea. Te Palo made a grab at her but she was already far out of reach so fast was the canoe.

During this visit to Pukapuka Te Palo took the opportunity to inspect the land. He was greatly impressed with the quantity and size of the taro growing in the reserve of Uta. His words of praise are remembered to this day: "To look at this place here makes me realize that the taro beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by the small plover bird!

During all this journeying, Te Palo's sail had become torn to bits by the heavy winds. He laid it out at the place called Pingalu behing Ngake village and set to work to sew the rent places. One of his sailors brought him his favorite needle, made from the bone of the man-eater Malele, killed by Te Palo in Yayake. Unmindful of the fact that the use of human bone for any purpose was tapu on Pukapuka and that the breaking of this tapu would be punished by the goddes Taua, Te Palo went ahead with his task. Soon he felt his arm paining him, then he realized that there was a tumor growing in his armpit. This was the punishment sent by Taua. Te Palo immediately sailed away from Pukapuka, back to his homeland of Yayake.

Of The Tini

Another legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka concerns the activities of a group of Pukapukan people called The Tini:

The Tini were a group of people from the three villages of Pukapuka who used to go frequently to Nassau, spending their time on this island at fishing and playing at water sports. The group would fish for flying fish at night and then spend

539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it with ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant
[613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance,

533 is not always clear or consistent. Thus the lalau, Wakaoli io koe, (see page 126) was composed by the subject Lialo, assisted by friends. A happy phrase suggested by a friend in the second person, addressing Lialo, is incorporated verbatim. Phrases suggested by Lialo himself are naturally in the first person. Though in extreme cases, the pronouns chop and change with great frequency, informants saw no cause for confusion. In line 1 of the lalau, the phrasing, "Wakaoli io koe", dance out you, was suggested by a friend; the phrase in line 3, "Akaanowia oku tino manu", cool my body birdlike, was obviously formulated by Lialo himself. These examples could be duplicated in many of the chants collected. They show that a certain consistency of craftmanship in these matters was of no value or interest. They also illustrate one of the pitfalls which makes the translation of such chants no easy matter.

Analysis

Structural analysis indicates that any chant is composed of an arbitrary number of sections or phrases (yikunga) of varying length, each unified within itself by meaning. The very short chants may consist of but one or two sections. Each section is divided into three minor sections, a first, the uyunga pu yikunga, a middle, the lolotonu pu yikunga, and the end sections, the yiku pu yikunga. These subsections mark off pauses, a fresh breath being taken at the end of each; they also serve to break up the meaning of the total phrase (yikunga) into several minor meaning units. I do not think that a chant is composed with these divisions and subdivisions clearly outlined in the mind of the composer. They represent a pattern of composition that is more subconsciously rather than consciously followed.

Another structural device is the wakamaunga, which consists of one or more sections and serves as a general introductory statement to the main chant. In the elaborate cycle of chants making up the Tamanu series two long wakamaunga preface the three main chants. But these wakamaunga were so long that it was necessary to add an introduction to the introductions; this explains the first section of the Tamanu called uyunga. Wakamaunga of more moderate length are those attached to the kupu malama: "Na yayae to matokatolu" and to the lalau: "Akaolia tukia ki te vaka" (see page 132). A second introductory device is the lolominga, a short set of phrases which adds material not incorporated in the main chant. This use of the lolominga is illustrated in the lalau: "Wakaoli io koe"

533 (see page 126). A lolominga may be sufficiently long to stand on its own; it is then not different from a short love chant. A lolominga of this type is the chant: "Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga" (see page 106), which is the elaborate development of a metaphorical comparison between a woman and a canoe.

Meter

The general characteristics that distinguish the chanting of different chants are termed tanga (from ta, to chant.) This may be roughly, though incorrectly, translated as meter. It may include meter, but in general the meter of a chant refers also to its pitch, volume, speed, and accent. The chanting depends for its musical quality upon rhythm obtained through accent and sometimes meter, through crescendo and diminuendo of volume, raising and lowering of pitch, acceleration and decrease of speed of chanting. In terms of these characteristics informants distinguished the following types of chanting: ta wakatato, fast, pitch low; ta wakateka, fast, but voice a semi-falsetto; ta wakatoto, a fast falsetto, considered appropriate to the expression of grief; ta wakatokotoko, the pitch moves up and down frequently in sharp changes of emphasis, with crescendo and dimuendo of the voice; ta wakamotumotu, characterized by sharp changes of pitch, starting with an emphatic low, then raised to a high pitch which is held for several beats, then dropped to the previous low; ta wakaleka, an even flow of sound with voice on the same pitch; ta ki lunga, the voice is kept at semi-falsetto pitch throughout the chant. A further type is ta waka e e, so called because of the frequent, long accented e sounds occurring throughout the chant.

One informant made a hesitant, but not absolutely successful attempt to base some of the distinction between different tanga on metrical considerations. According to him a meter which alternates notes, long-short, long-short, is termed ta wakatokutoku. His metrical version of one chant is presented below. Beyond this, however, he could not present any further consistent distinction, save one in terms of relative smoothness as against choppiness of recitation, or calm as against excited chanting. Perhaps in ta wakamayangi, a meter may be established. This is the rhythm for the juggling chants which accompany the throwing of the articles into the air. It is a slow even flow of sounds in rhythm to the even throwing. It is evident that formal meter is not an intergral part of Pukapukan chanting. Meter is of course present in all the chants but it is not harmonized into a consistent system that can be named and used. It may be noted that accent is of great importance in chanting. It falls with the length, but is

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are: —, for a long vowel; –, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″, a strong accent; ′, medium accent; ↓, low pitch; ↑, high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e e; 11 to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e , e, e, te tawito niu loa.

2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.

3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.

4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:

5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.

6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.

7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;

8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--84 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

533 9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.
539

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.

11. Ya wakakuekue; ya wakatuloutulou.

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.

16. Ko titike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.

21. Yuatia teia; wakatangilia teia.

22. Na tama i te mata luluma, na topetopea;

23. Yoko a Wenutu ki te lakau wakatalatala.

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category I16--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 Wuli vakevake is to dance by tilting the body backward from the hips.
Wuli pulou is to turn the palms of the hands downward; wuli vakevake te lima is to turn the palms upward.
Kakalo na mata is to dance with wide open and staring eyes.
Kekemo na mata is to dance with the eyes half closed.
Yopo te leo is to dance with a protruding tongue.
Wakaponga te ngutu is to distort the face with mouth in an attitude of defiance.
Wakamanga te ngutu is to dance with wide open mouth.
Wakanuku te tua is to dance rhythmically raising and lowering the abdomen and back, usually with knees and hands on ground.
Wakamakaka is to bend the head and shoulders backward.
Takawitiwiti is to squirm and move all parts of the body rapidly.
Wakaeiei is to sway the hips and buttocks forward and backward, and from side to side.

Several phases of the dance, no longer performed, were described. To dance moving forward out of line (atu) and then back into line is wakaoloolo. This was done by an especially good dancer who wished to come forward to display his skill. The term vilo refers to dancing in circular formation. Depending on the number of dancers, several concentric circles with eight to twelve dancers in each danced round in the same direction. A dancer might change from one circle (also called atu) to another during the dance, and the general effect of the vilo was one of circular movement with frequent interchange between the several circles. In the kaputata movement, the dancers lined up in concentric circles, with only alternate circles facing in the same direction, and all moved at once. Further variety was achieved by following dance phases in which the dancers moved in rows.

In general the movement of the body accompanying the chanting is a matter only of the rhythmic motions described. But, in addition, simple actions mentioned in the words of the chant are described with gestures of one or two hands to indicate, for instance, falling, throwing, or distance. The best dancers are those who most consistently and gracefully keep the body and buttocks swaying. Those who perform the most spectacular or energetic movements are not considered especially good dancers. for their movements do not involve skillful control of all parts of the body.

The Pukapukans do not seem to have had named dances or series of dances as, for instance, Canoe Dance, Talo Dance,

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowel is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--92 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Naku pulua ki te welo ke lavalava	Covered with a spreading of welo flowers.
Tu la lunga o te unu ya o Mataliki,	She stood above the sacred worshipping stone of Mataliki the god,
Te mayui pe tilitili malo.	The one beloved as the elements of a malo. (3)
Ya ue pepe i te tiniu ko te nokenoke o te lalanga;	As quickly as if chasing butterflies, the women run to see the beauty of her plaiting;
Watu tonu ina, yayako ki mua;	Exact is her plaiting, straight in front;
Tau malo wai matapili ika	Your malo made well enough to serve as a fish noose.
Ya manea i na tupuna o te moana	Ancestors of the sea admired
Ki te kave lua o te lauena,	The two designs in the elements,
Watu wala kula ina la loto,	Designs worked within with red pandanus,
Yimu toki ina Wakalakalaka.	Designs as varied as the lashing of an adz.
Te matai te wawine tuwunga.	The most expert of expert women is my beloved.
Kavea ke wakayawia te mayakitanga tupu lelei,	Come, let me show you off, o sacred maid with your lovely face,
Vaimata uyi matangaleka,	Black your eyebrows, perfect to look at,
Wuwuke i loto o te wale tapu tapipi ia.	Brought from the sacred house (as if a real sacred maid!) then sprinkled with oil.
Wakalepua ke uluia mai oku tino	Stirred and excited is my body
E to amonga lalao maki,	By you, member of the lineage famed for healing the sick,
Na pulutia koe nanaia.	Secretly I embraced you.
Kavea o taua ki vao ke wakataukoti	Then fought with others over you in the bush
Ki te toki i na lelei o te tama pe Yinaliulu.	Cutting ourselves with adzes, child beautiful as Yinaliulu. (4)

3. This line is obscure but the implication seems to be that the sacred maid is as closely under the protection of the god Mataliki as the plaited elements stand to each other in a finished malo.
4. A double reference to the goddess Yina and the child Yinaliulu.

539 Na ta lau ina takitakina mai lunga	Chanted now the song for the lifting high of the sacred maid (5)
Kavea e,	Chanted the song for carrying her,
(Talowia, yau toku yana nei!)	(I beckon, come my beloved!)
Koa tangi te pu,	The shell trumpet sounds,
Tangi te nawa tokelekele,	Deafening the beating of the wooden gong,
Te lau o te aliki mai Loto.	Loud the chants of Loto's chief.
Te ulu vavai lau kenakena	You are as a cluster of white-leafed creeping vavai
Ya kotowia i te mako a te atu Tokolangi,	Picked in Tokolangi for the chanting,
Te taumakomako wakatongele	Or as the taumakomako plant, smooth and beautiful.
Ya takitaki tu ina mai,	I carried you and you stood there,
To tauyala, to lelei,	Handsome in your beauty,
Ya waingaina mai titinga,	Well fed from your childhood onwards,
E talo tu koe, lau ngavali no Wenuaeke	Standing as taro with swaying leaves in Wenuaeke (6)
No to tava loa ki Uta.	On the far side of Uta's reserve
Te wawine o Te Vai Talo Po,	For you, woman of Te Vai, taro gardens of the Underworld,
Naku lavalava ko te kie o lulunga kakana-langi,	I spread kie leaves for the gathered kakana-langi fish, (7)
Te pulotu o te mako o Loto,	For you, o beauty of Loto's chants,
Putenga mawakiwaki wua,	With thighs opening and closing,
I te ulu kalolo, koa takinai au.	With straight hanging hair, that attracts me.

5. The special chant sung when the sacred maid is lifted high in the hands of her retainers and carried about the island to the sounding of trumpets and the beating of gongs is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 238, category 116--analyst].

6. A taro bed famed for its luxuriant growth of taro in the reserve Uta of Loto village.

7. Figurative reference to the woman's genitals. Note the association here between the sex act and the concept of eating: the woman is as if fish gathered for a feast and spread on leaves to be divided among the people.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--94 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539	Valea e to ta wuti kula	I am satisfied with your bunch of red bananas (8)
	Na malu vevenu i oku lalo.	Soft and moist to my lower body.
	Na taia ngalo toku yiku o tai ika la mua,	I struck at the hook, then lost my tail as the first fish caught, (9)
	E to ngako wu toto pe te tala o te malau	Fat your vulva, blood red like the , fins of the malau fish
	Malili au--	I am lost in amazed wonder--
	Koa oyoia i lepa iai mumula la loto	Your labia stand burning-red there
	O to titi ilangia te kilitai i lunga	Inside your kilt, lighting the skin above
	E na koyi tenga o te lelei	The striped thighs (10) of my pretty one,
	Ke wo mai mau ngutu i taku ipo lelei na tupungatai,	Let them come talking of my sweet-heart, beautiful, quickly grown,
	Wua pupuku, na wenake ma te alangalanga,	Fat and round her body, plump her buttocks,
	Uyi to kava kololo pe te ulu o te yamuti	Dark her pubic hair, hanging as the crowned leaves of the yamuti tree
	Tulekina ki lalo, olo te lau.	Flattened down, but well-growing leaves.
	Tama o te matangi wakalua	O child of Loto's wakalua wind
	E leionga ika tauila, e wuwulu i o toto,	The fresh-spawned fish come in, but bathed in your menstrual blood, (11)
	Ko te tuayilivalu,	Blood of the tuayilivalu fish,
	Ko te yiku o te tawola tu,	Is only the tail of the Right whale, (12)
	Ko te wakamatua tena o na tupuna o te moana.	The largest this, of the creatures of the ocean.
	Kai ye yuayuakina mai titi wonu e,	Do not open to others your turtle kilt,
	Titi taepu, to ulunga kea wonu manini--	Even your small turtle kilt, do not open to the group of green turtles--(13)
	E maneai au la lunga o to tuapali tupu tala.	Let me alone play above your mons veneris, plump, well-grown.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

8. Reference to the vulva. There is frequent metaphorical reference throughout the chants to the woman's genitals in terms of a bunch or cluster of red fruits. In other contexts however, the banana is frequently used as a symbol for the penis.

9. Sexual intercourse is here likened to the activity of fishing. Just as in fishing the fisherman pursues a fish with his hook, so in love making the man pursues his mistress. There is a real parallel in the Pukapukan mind between the skills, the excitement, and the suspense of fishing and love making.

10. The thighs are very commonly referred to as being striped. This is a metaphor drawn from stripes on a fish's body and may also refer to the blue veining of the skin on the inside of the legs.

11. Carrying on the previous reference to Yina the culture heroine, the woman is endowed with the power of Yina to color fish with her menstrual blood.

12. The chanter boasts that his penis is like the right whale, largest of all and that only he may have intercourse with her.

13. The woman's other suitors are compared to a row of male turtles pursing one female turtle.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the sub-soil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E toaki atu tona nunuinga, wiliwili ake tona ao lua,	Spread the big tubers, separated the second class tubers,
Kauwia io mata lualau, moe mai mua tau Katikatinga.	Counted two hundred tubers; then you rest before your next activity.
Na matatini ma mata mano o te monotanga olo a Ngake,	One thousand, ten thousand, tubers you have for the taro puddings of Ngake's feast,
E tau tokalua te olo koa kave la wale	Two men are needed to carry your pudding from the house
E mangungu pau to yolonga, e toaki ngalepe ko te tulanga,	Members of your lineage rush where the food is spread, bursting from the houses,
E kati mai lunga ona lopa, na tala valea,	The young men bite into the food, speak satisfaction,
Takapelupelu ona wawine wai muli lele alangalanga.	The women fill out, their buttocks become round,
Na wua pupuku na putenga.	Their thighs become plump.
Ke wuli au mai lunga o te wu,	Let me turn towards your vulva,
Kai wakaata pe te ui pa,	Irridescent as pearlshell,
Ko pali mawolawola, toaki te wuluwulu	The labia part, the pubic hair of youth
Na matili ma to tuapali,	Spread across the mons veneris,
Uyi pe te ulu o Tongaleleva, wakalava te wu laingaloa	Dark as the distant tree tops of Tongaleleva, the vulva stretches like a tall tree (3)
Na muia pe Wenua-loa. Na tawiwi te lepe ma te kakano.	More and more visible as the islet Wenua-loa through the haze. Male and female organs conjoin.
Na ngatata pe te ayioyio	Struggling like the ayioyio fish on a hook
Na motumotu i toku niwi, aku akalava ke lave,	My penis breaks loose, I am caught again tightly,
Na pipiki makeke ma te pukiko,	I am hooked fast behind the clitoris,
E kukume atu kalali pe te vave o te ika.	I pull away swiftly with the strength of a fish.
Na toina au ki lalo,	I fall down below,

3. A legendary land frequently mentioned in traditional history and legends.

539 Wotu o mua, koa melo pe te laukape kea,	Your front is engorged, gold as turtle fat,
Wakaata mai. Tango ki te lima, yongi ki te iyu,	Suffused with red. I fondle with my hands, touch with my nose,
Wuli ake au ke aku kaina io mai lunga,	I turn upwards where I feasted,
I te kai manako o te tangata.	On the food desired by man.
E wakalililili lua vaimata, waka-lililili to koyi manava,	I am thrilled by your eyebrows, thrilled by your belly creases,
Wakalililili lua putenga, maea au i to tupu,	Thrilled by your thighs, ravished by your body,
Koa ata, koa kauwonoi,	Beautiful and fat,
Na yeyele, koa matanga kapa, tino nui koa matangawie,	A smooth, greatly desired, large body, pleasant to the eye,
Na onoonowia, lole te tupu matangaleka,	I looked, perfect your lovely body,
E avatu ma o muli yina.	Perfect right to your waist,
Wakaayawi mai i na wale, e tauyala koe ki mua,	Show off before the houses, handsome above all others,
E popoti te tupu tala i lalo.	The sides of your body below are beautiful.
I toku mata tu wakapulawa, i te manako ulu ma to tino	Before my eyes stand naked. My mind goes through your body
Naku takunatu ki te kalele ke pole mai koe ki aku.	And I commission a messenger to learn whether you favor me.
Lolo taua e toku tangata, ma to matamatangi ko Ngake,	Let us stroll, o my woman, to where Ngake's winds blow,
Naku akakoyia o mua ki toku malo nuanua, toku malo ula toto,	Your front I cut with my rainbow-hued malo, (4) my malo blood-red,
Toku wuti malo ula, toku malo wakaluia, toku malo akavai,	My malo red-streamered, my malo desired by women, my malo envied by others.
Yelea te wakatiu, pakia te palapu,	Tamed Yato's wakatiu wind, struck by Ngake's palapu wind,
Koa lauveve wua i oku ala matangi	Gentled by winds of Yato
Ya veve mai te tonga.	And made gentle the south wind too.
Manea taua mai Ngake, ko moe i Tipia ma Wakakoyi,	We stroll from Ngake to sleep in Yayake's lands of Tipia and Wakakayi,

4. A favorite transferred metaphor in the chants where malo is a symbol for that which it covers.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--99 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Ka yala ki Yake ma Awuawu.	And visit the lands of Yake and Awuawu.
Lio ake au ko na wutiwanga o Lapaiva	In your defense I challenge the houselots of Lapaiva
Apoapo ai taku lakau, wakaoli au ma na tangata o Langilili,	I flourish my weapon, fight the men of Langilili,
Ma na wutiwanga o Lapaiva, yau e te Yake	Fight the houselot men of Lapaiva. Come, woman of Yake, (5)
Ke manea taua ma to mulitaua,	Let us wander, your body's organs are like a dart throwing base, (6)
Wengatu au ke aku kitea o pawonu i Walalanga,	I go to see your turtles enclosed at Walalanga,
Pe ko pei taku mataweo, na wua pupuku,	Comparing them with my turtle woman, plump and round,
Una pulapula, una tanetane;	Whose turtle-shell-like skin is spotted with Tinea marks; (7)
Kai wiwi lunga, kai kapilele, vayia io,	I turn on top to feast on sliced layers of flesh,
Koa melo to laukape kea,	Turtle flesh golden in hue,
Ula pe te koyi o te nuanua naku tukiatu, ngaolo ko te tawa o te langi.	Crimson as the rainbow's stripe that I place along the horizon of my sky-woman.
Yeke io loa ko te kotianga o Avaloa	I move quietly to Avaloa's village boundary
Pe ko no ai te wawine lelei o Wulia,	Wondering whether the beautiful woman of Wulia (8) lives close by
Ya wakawiwi lakei ma te pua walakula,	We met, she was decorated with red Pandanus flowers,
Omo ko te yinu, puya te kakala.	Oily her skin and sweet smelling.
E wakavovi au kiai, wuli mai koe ke lolo awu taua	Shyly I look at you, you turn to me and we go wandering
Yala i o nuku lau mamake, ko te patenga o te naupata mai Yayake,	To your shady islet, to the leafy bed of naupata from Yayake,
Ke wai io ai e wainga ma taua.	That we embrace together.
E wakayangayanga mai, na lite ko toku tapele,	Spread are your legs as you lean upon my leafy couch,
E wulitonu mai koe, e angaiatu au ke wemili ake akalelei,	You turn to me, I move toward you that we may feel each other well,
Poio au ko akaaka lua oku vae, lalao atu ai oku lima	I clasp you tightly, my legs convulsively moving as I use my hands

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--100 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

539 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langilili are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitaua, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulia an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

539 E apo vae tai ina, e apo vae lua ina e wakatau ki te koni,	Lifting your first leg, then your second leg, preparing for our embrace,
Kunuwia mai na pakakina, witi atu, tavili io mai lunga,	We move up and down, I climb above, oscillate over you,
Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,	Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,
Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--	Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--these are the sounds of our embracing.
Pia au e te vale wu, na valea, e te maniania	I eject, your secretions flow, satisfied our excitement
Na tuki oku vave ya lulu mai loto o to wu,	Pounded my strength, gathered inside your body,
Na mawelawela wua atu ki lalo,	Then I fall back, down,
Tokutoku au ke malama ake ma oku mata,	Gasping till my eyes become light,
Ke nui ake ma toku manava,	Till my belly swells large,
Ke paki atu taua wakalua, wakatolu.	That we may embrace twice, thrice.
Wolaia mai te potu yakali tawa niniva,	Flattened is your mature coconut, (9) once pointed sharply,
Na yeyele, ye atatelekia pe te tawa o te yuvelovelo	Now smooth, no longer sharp to pierce like the spear's edge
Na kotia au, motu i loto, ko takoto ai oku tala tupua, oku wanongo;	I cut you, broke you in the middle; now my history is established, my tale will be told;
E nunumi au ke nono taua i te konga i tai	I hold you to me so that we stay in one place
Wakalata ko te vao o aitu ke momoe mai wakalelei,	Faithful to each other in the forest of spirits that we may sleep well,
Wakamatala ke kitea, na ngalo vale koe ma te tinui,	Loosen your kilt that I may see; you have lost secretions like other women,
Na wetike o ipu laukape, matolu to kaokao wonu,	But your cup of turtle fat remains; thickset are your turtle-like sides,
Na malu te puku na tangitangi, na yeyele to papa waulua,	Soft the sounding fat to the touch; smooth the bottoms of the double canoe,

9. A roundabout, though not to the Pukapukan mind, obscure reference to the clitoris.

539 Na mawola lua laungutu wu.	Spread apart your two labia.
Na wuli tawa ai au mai lunga te puaka nui o Tonga e,	I turn sideways above you, large pig of Tonga,
Na mawola to aloalo ngolo, aku toina ko te wuti o te ngayu i Taupe,	Spread apart your pig's breasts. I pull you to the shady leaves of the ngayu bushes at Taupe,
Te konga e tangi te lingolingo i te tala o Pepe i Yayake,	To the deserted beach where the landshells cried in Yayake' story of Pepe, (10)
I te lua talo na yokaiai ko Wuina, na kave o lalo o te launiu	Deserted as the taro pit where Wuina was speared beneath the drooping coconut leaf
Ya wakaoli ai ia Kape i te imu no Malamalatia.	Speared as Kape feinted, revenging his dead brother Malamatia. (11)
Na mulu nei taua. Na tupu i wea taku lakau?	We touch each other. Where was my stick grown? (12)
Na velo ko te va o Avayiki,	It shot up in the spaces of legendary Avayiki,
Kekeo ko lunga o te ulu o te talakelake,	Towering above the tops of the talakelake trees,
Koa lueia, e wati te lau,	Which shook, broke off leaves,
Koa pakia, pakia, e tatane te kili koa wakia.	That hit your body, spotting your skin, leaves torn off.
E popoti te tupu toyeyele,	Your pubic hair grows trim and smooth,
E litolito i ngalu lele, e vevia au,	White your skin as foam-crested waves, I am excited,
E yakayaka mai koe, ni lelei no Ngake,	As you dance for me, you, the beauty of Ngake,
E tavake mokomoko o te ulu ngayu nui,	You, the white-tailed tropic bird of the large ngayu grove,
Ko tu ki Alapata, kanapanapa wua ko te mata o te maina,	That stands on Alapata's island, shining to the face of the moon,

10. The reference is to a story no longer remembered. Whenever the Pukapukan wishes to give the feeling of a deserted place, he commonly characterizes it as being so quiet and unvisited that the landshells may be heard.

11. For the story of Wuina and Kape see page 59.

12. The word lakau meaning tree, stick, wood, or weapon has here the obvious sexual connotation.

539 To popongi na kili o te tiniu, peia waike te kili o te pulotu	Dark the skin of women, different yours, skin of the beautiful one,
E yuyulu i te tini o Pana, taku ngolo o na ulu tavai	Shining among the many of Pana's (13) women, o creature of the tavai tree top,
Na wakamate mai ki oku lunga, ya wakaili ki oku pi wu pa matangi,	You were as dead above me, resting on my breasts, sheltered from the winds,
Te tamawine na wuwuli i toku winangalo.	The girl who returned my desire.
Wakamatala ake te tai tua, ko ulu titimo ko te Po.	Open up the sea coast path, we enter stealthily into the Underworld, (14)
Yuli oku ala kauliliki, ko takoto toku unu na vae, na makoyi,	Treading on my narrow road, my foot tracks remaining well-marked,
Na wano ko te matangi, na yala i na nuku o aitu	We go to the place of the winds, to the islet of spirits
Toki i te wuti o Mulua,	Planted with the banana tree of Mulua, the god,
Toki i te kapi o Tangaloa, livai ia ko te niu a Malu,	Planted on the level of the Tangaloa gods who surround the coconut tree of Malu,
E liliva ko te va i matau,	Surrounding the space to the right,
E liliva ko te va i mayui, kakalo te atua wai newu,	Surrounding the space to the left; the magic-making god looks round,
Ko tu i te watu a Yokamani,	Standing at Yokamani's balancing stone.
Te palenga o te Po ma to ao, wakakati ai	Where the Underworld and the world of light join together, blocking the path
Lua wata wano ola ko te Po.	Of the two priests who went as living beings to the Underworld.
E mawiti koe la oku lunga, e kiai naku pukea mai;	You broke away from me, I did not catch you;

[103] 13 An old name for Ngake village, and one frequently used in the chants to refer to the village or the activities of its members.

14. For a description of the places and gods in the Underworld referred to in the following lines, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 326-328, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--104 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Na yelea ko te talakelake, wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo.	You were tied to the talakelake tree, your soul trap-tangled, died, stank.
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka o Tangi;	We were both thrown to the foot of Tangi's puka tree;
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini;	We entered Leva's house of a thousand posts;
Kauwia toku yana ko te Po, e manata ko te yolonga mua,	I count over my death gifts taken to the Underworld; then look for my early ancestors,
E mamata ko te yolonga muli; wakaake ko te ui a Lepiu,	Look for my later ancestors among the spirits; climb up to the taro beds of Lepiu,
Te mata taia a Lea, alualu ma Lepiu maua	Where Lea gathers tubers. Lepiu and I hasten on
Ke kiteake na ui liliku o te Po,	To see the illimitable taro beds of the Underworld,
E wai muli koko, tawanga wua, e wai motuinga,	Their corners far apart, the beds divided into sections,
Koa lalava, e wakia ko te talo lau kula,	Plentiful the taro in them. broken is the red-leafed taro
E wakia ko te talo lau melo,	Broken the yellow-leafed taro,
E pule tauina ye mawiti, e kotowia mai lakeia te pua o aitu,	Surrounded the beds by a guard that none may break, we cut decorations of spirit-flowers,
Koa kakala, e maneanea, yulu na ma to tuapali, taku newu matangi!	Sweetly they smell as we play, fastening them to your mons veneris, o my wind spirit!
Te ata wai o te waiti o te Po ma te ao malama	Into the shadowy space between the Underworld and the world of light
Ya velo ai toku vae tapu	I thrust my sacred foot
Ya wakakokia, tangi te lupe;	Stamping loud, and calling the pigeon's cry; (15)

15. An inadequate translation of the phrase tangi te lupe. To lupe is to beat the thighs and make with the lips sounds of a pigeon. It is the method of establishing communication with a god. In referring to a sacred foot the chanter is comparing himself to the well-known character, Te Yoa, who was saved from danger in his conflict with the man-eating demon Te Atua Pule by thrusting his sacred foot into the ground (see the story on page 48.)

539 Ya puyitai na te tangata, wakapuke ai oku wale maki.	The man blew once, seized my house of sickness.
Omoyia ki te wakamanongi, wakataka mai te tokanga;	Smeared with your scented oil, bring together the sickness makers;
Koa avake i lalo te yiva nei,	The yiva chanting rises,
Koa ta te kapa a tangaloa;	And the kapa chant of the tangaloa gods;
Wakaolia mai te atu mua, wakaolia mai te atu loto,	The front row dances forward, then the middle row,
Newuta e Vave mai lunga, na mimia ki te matamatangi.	The god Vave beats his drum, the gods rush in all the directions of the wind,
Wetuki ki ngake, ki te malamanga o te tangata;	Rushing to the east, to the cleverest among the people;
Wakatu polo ta mo Leva. e wakia to tili	They arise, chanting for Leva, singing your tili chant
Na watu ai i te Po.	Composed in the Underworld.
E avake loa tuveina, wakalonga ko te tama leoleka.	The sound of chanting rises and the gods marvel, listening to your sweet voice.
E mawola to lava koti ika e kiliti i to tapu tangata,	Spread out your coconut leaf on which the fish is cut, bring forward your food gifts,
E ueia mai ki ngalepe, tuku teletele;	We chase away the people, scattering them in all directions;
Polokemeyia ma te ngutuala,	We embrace each other on the main paths,
Wai ki te koni, toka aku pole, e ulu atu au kia koe,	And embracing, satisfy desire in my entering into you.
Ko wuluwuluna, ko takelea, ko kanapa i te vau yina ma,	We wash, bathe, shiny the skin in the pool,
Ko tu i te vai i yua tili,	We stand at the pool of spraying water,
Ake ko te vai i Wuluna,	Go on to the pool at Wuluna,
Ake ko te vai i Wualolo,	Visit Wualolo's pool,
Ake ko te vai i Tamulua.	And then on to the pool at Tamulua. (16)
E maneanea ai taua, e moungutuina, laulapua mai ki te ngutu	We play there and talk, speaking with our mouths

[103] 16. These are the names of well-known pools on the islet of Pukapuka.

539 E ni wakaiponga loa lata te manako ulu.	Of that adultery that delights the heart.
E tala to pali ia wuluwulu-lena,	I think of your smooth mons veneris covered with hair,
Na mapua pe te ulu yelu mai.	Hair standing as if just combed.
Awa! lalo kai kula pe te ngako taiva kauaki,	Awa! below is red food like the fat of the taiva fish,
Ka momono ki toku wuti malu, kai puyonui, kai tiketike wua,	I shall insert my banana soft, food swoolen, food high-standing,
Na yikai ai au, motu, koa teka.	I pushed in, then broken, separated.

A Lolominga chant in praise of a woman (1)

Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga,	Lash the house above with sennit,
E Ato i te wale, koa niniva	Thatch it, sharp are the sides,
E tuki te peau koa nonoke,	The rough seas pound, splendidly firm stands the house.
E kayiva te uiite katea,	With pearlshell fastened on the starboard side,
E nokenoke, e vaka Lakawanga.	Splendid is the canoe of Lakawanga.
Ke yaeiatu te muavaka,	Let the bow of the canoe be torn open,
E mapipipipi a na wainga.	Torn wide open in the doing.
E uila mata takemo ake--	A flash of lightning dazzles me--
E wakakekeyu ki te puapua,	Fine is the canoe made of puapua wood,
Taukonekone mai Lakawanga.	Of stripe-grained wood from Lakawanga.
E wakatau ai au tuta,	I fit together the flanges,

1. This short chant is a somewhat elaborate comparison between a woman and first, a house and then a canoe. The second analogy is a frequent and very apt one to the Pukapukan mind. There is first, a close association between the form of a canoe and a woman's sexual organs and second, the beauty of a finely constructed canoe; its perfect shape and build, immediately call to mind beauty of form and line in a woman's body. In this chant the woman is compared to a canoe from Lakawanga (Rakahanga), where it is customary to decorate the canoes with pearlshell ornamentation. This comparison is all the more appropriate in that the woman is descended from Rakahangan castaways.

539 Koa pu wa, pu lima,	They have four holes, five holes,
Pe te pu ui mai Lakawanga.	Like the pearlshell-holed canoe from Lakawanga.
Na weniti, koa makavekave,	Thick is the sennit, hanging in a fringe.
Te kalaka kula e, na pae mai ngake nei,	Before the crimson kalaka seeds drifted from the east.
Keukeu keu a e!	Perfect is the canoe, it is perfect!

Introductory Chant from the Tamau Cycle (1)

Ko wakangaki atu ai au, penapena toku vaka, lokiloki malie--	I long for you as I prepare carefully my canoe for launching--
Wakatele atu au ki o nuku i ngake,	I sail to your islets in the eastern seas, (2)
Uta i te lakie, te puaka tino nui,	Loaded my canoe with tern and large-bodied pigs,
Te manu o te maunga ya wakaolioli	With the soaring birds of the mountain tops;
E unu i tiku yana, e lolo taua ki te tili puanga a Te Malenga	Taking out my pearlshell necklace, we two go to the flowered offering place of the gods
E liliva ko te niu a Malu. E wakamatau ki te matangi	Gathered round the coconut tree of Malu. (3) Grown used to the wind,
E popoti te tupu wawine, na topotipoti nonoke i aku onoononga.	Soft and neat the hair on your maiden's body, lovely, beautiful to my eye.
To tu tolo mua tu witu, teka i te va o Yayanga wakatuloutulou.	Ahead of your seven sisters, you crown the space of Yayanga, humbling the people.
E ta tau papa malalilali, payekeyeke,	Your plaiting board is cut smooth and slippery,
Tio te malo wakamaepa te wuluwulu,	Plaiting a malo, your elements are spread apart, untangled,
E liaki te kie kula, e taki te kie wete, e lalanga te epaepa,	Display your red kie mat, your kie wete mat, your plaited epaepa mat, (4)
E wakamaonioni, e tovili i lalanga,	Your hands are industrious and quick at plaiting.
Taku yana tamawine, e aku onoonoyia,	My beloved girl, I gaze on you
Naku puipuia ki te ngutu, naku wakiwakia na la	And would ward your from idle gossip, trimming
Kae tupulia nuku te ulu.	The tree that is you from growing crooked.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--108 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[621] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--109 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Na ulu atu, yala ko loto o na kaputinga a na palu	In my canoe I join the men fishing for palu
Tele ake te ika lalo moana ya tuki i te wui tane,	The fish swim below the sea chased by the fishermen,
Yele koti te kino-mata momole--	Rivals for your beauty, those with ugly, flat eyes--
Koti tau o taku akaiponga i taku lakau	Would cut the anchor that marries me to my tree
Tu ko loto o te puyo wenua o Tonga ma Yake,	That stands within the back lands of Tonga and Yake,
Ta te uluanga mai lunga, na nenewu pe na yamatangi,	Cut the branches of this tree, branches close pressing as the prayed for wind,
Yau ko te mumu o Matakula toliki. Yeyele o waitunga,	Coming through the star-clusters crowding round Mars. Smooth is your waist,
Yau ko te koyi o te nuanua.	Prettier far than the stripes of the rainbow.
E liaki toku vaka wiwi, e pepelu i toku malo lepe,	I display my canoe (it is you!), I am girded in my malo of testicles,
E wuti wawa tau au ma to Nukuloa mamao,	I draw the sail sheet, come to your islet of Nukuloa, (5) far away,
Na wakatete i te ama akatipa i te wuli,	With outrigger raised, the canoe sailed erratically with steering,
Kai maka ko na mata tau ko Tawiti,	So that we were thrown wide away from the landing points of Tawiti,
Ki au e to malamala wetau o te vao o Te Tea,	I am filled, warmed with your tamanu fire chips from the forest of Te Tea. (6)
Ka tipu motu te puapua, yakoi te wakanava,	I will cut down the puapua tree, the straight wakanava tree that challenge you, the tamanu tree,
Na lio mai Ngake lelei, koi uyunake na lau o te wawine i mua,	I will protect the beauty of Ngake; start the hundred chants known to you, woman superior to all,
Na tokele ngungulu i Muliwutu	The booming sound fires with excitement the men of Muliwutu lineage
Lakalaka ia pau na muna o Tuyiyauola, wakakeyu koe e wawine vave	For you, the superior, the strong I would pass over all the wives of the chief Tuyiyauola (7)
Lio atu au e tane wua pe Te Nana,	I guard you, I, as skillful a fighter as Te Nana, (8)

[103] 5. Nuku Loa, an olden name for Ngake's reserve islet Motu Ko. The meaning of these lines is that the man will take his beloved in secret to the islet that recurs time and again in Pukapukan stories as the one best suited for love-making.

6. The forest of Te Tea is that in which Lata chopped down the tree for his canoe. See story on page 17.

7. Tuyiyauola, chief in the land of Yayake, is well known in Pukapukan traditions for the fact that he had many beautiful wives.

8. For the story of Te Nana, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402, 405, category 116--analyst].

539 Yala ko te pu o lua wenua, tuki mai o koe e wawine,	I come to the hole between the two islands. Turn to me, o maiden,
Pange atu au i o lalo, koa puyangin e te lauwala	I touch you below where is the scent of Pandanus fruit.
Yau i ki nei ke aku pelukia to titi.	Come that I may gird on your kilt
Ki te makavenga o te wau tai ai te matangi	Fringed with the wind-cut bark strips of wau.

Naku tukuna i te ulu punga, koa wakayeke i te laulau	I drop my line to the rock heads two hundred fathoms deep
Ke kai ake te palu-malau ma te katakata	There bite the palu-malau and the katakata fish
E lolomi ki te yinu kanaka, kao wai imu malie, e lemolemoyia au.	Eaten with your rich taro pudding, your oven is delicious, richly tasty.
E to muavaka na ta wakaya-yako, tama o te atu Yiva,	Your canoe bow is well cut and straight, oh child of the isles of Yiva,
E wakatangi taku poko ko te vai ayanga;	The well at the outer reef hears my sounding buttocks;
E wakatau ki te wu ke tau te mania, e tuki toku puna ia!	Smooth and slippery you are as the wu fish, my gasping breath pounds.

The Second Tila chant from the Tamanu Cycle (1)

Toko toku tino awi mai Yayake, Mumula e, mumula!	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's isle, It burns, ah, it burns!
Toko toku tino awi mai Yayake, Mumula e, mumula!	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's isle, It burns, ah, fiercely it burns!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue Kakaya e, kakaya!	Clustered torches in Niue Glowing red, ah glowing red!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue Kakaya e kakaya!	Clustered torches in Niue Glowing red, crimson red!
O uila kili e, e nokenoke tenga,	Your skin bright as lightning's flash, your fair thighs,

1. The second short chant from the Tamanu cycle is a vivid comparison of the desire that burns in a lover's body with the fiercely burning torches that consumed Te Nana's canoe, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--112 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Pupula kiai lua oku mata,	Strain to them my two eyes,
To welowelo mukavakevake.	Staring at the flushed whiteness of your body.
E teka wua au i o yau	I slip away to your leafy bed
E tutipi niwi pati au,	Swollen, embracing,
Ki tu ulu kayo langi memelo.	Flushed like a crimson sky,
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Sounding, ah sounding!
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Embracing and sounding!

Third chant of the Tuyiyauola Cycle (1)

Alu, au, na wota ki o lunga te matou	I climbed to the top of the matou tree (2)
Ya wuli ai au kekeo mai te ulu o Tawiwi	I turned there, towering above the tree tops of the island of Tawiwi
Tu melo te weniu kalaka totokeye i to mua malo	Red was the bunch of kalaka seeds, scarlet before your malo front
Taitai au, koa niniwi e o koyi alongamanava,	I swoon, then relax against the creases of your belly,
Kakati te wainga na awukele,	Close the embrace and hot our bodies,
Kakala o nene pua wau,	Scent of semen, sweet as flowers of wau,
Omo ai au e tamawine.	I smear it over my maiden's body.
Ko koe te tane na takayia na nuku o te ika wainga	You are the man who visited Yayake, islands of many fish
Tele ma toku tino wano ko ngake,	Sail away with my body, let us go to the west,
Wuwuli taua i Tonganui, mamata i na nuku o Tonga,	We steer to Tonganui, visit the islets of Tonga,
Toi ma taku ulu puaka o na wanga o Tuyiyauloa.	I clasping the hand of my pig, (3) pig of the houselots of Tuyiyauola.
Ko tuyimate koe e wai mana,	You are like Tuyimate, that chief of magical power,
To ai te tane leoleka o te yau tawanga o Poike,	You were born the sweet-voiced man of Poike's distant cohabiting place, (4)
E konia vayia wakamananga, e to ko te ayiayi;	We embrace at the place of spreading thighs, where semen rain showers fall;
Talanga, e wakamata ia wawine,	Erect the penis, exposed the woman,
E tutuki ki te yau timotimo--	And embracing, my thoughts turn to tales of famous cohabiting places--
E kotinga welo i Timalea.	You cut me as welo bark is cut in the islet of Timalea. (5)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The matou is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

539 E ulu kumala unu i te va mai ngake	You are like the tops of kumala leaves picked in eastern places
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya	In our love, set apart and sacred as gods of the Underworld
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku ngalo	We will disappear like islands lost in the sea.
Te uila e nunui i te kili	Your skin is bright like constant flashings of lightning,
E kalipo kili e angalua	A skin irridescent and flashing,
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi	As of a delicious fish I cut and remove your head
Lele i to koyi tapu o Moula	The colors of your skin run like the tapu rainbow stripes of Moula the god
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku wai ya	You are my fish caught and pulled up at the tapu islet of Ko
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau	As sacred, you, as the worshipping place of Ulutakapau (6)
Ko no takuake e tama ya	Where you stay praying, you, the holy one,
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi	For you, I brushed aside the entreaties of my lineage.
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki	You grew like the wutu trees of the land of Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,	Tall trees but stunted in their branching,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu	You flourished like the leaves of the tatapu tree.
Unu mai na pa koloa	I drew you safe from the enclosure of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
Te tane o na nuku kokoa	You, o man of the legendary mischievous islands to the east (8)

6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--115 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Wakatele yau ma te tino ika	You swam and came with the shoal of fish to my net.
E tapu lemoyi taku mea nei	A delicious food-gift for you is my body
Ika mai te va o Lautala	Brought to you from the wide spaces of the island Lautala.
Ko taku lava ta ko te tangata	My leafy lover's bed is cut by the man
Apo ma taku laukoe pala	Who brings me my knife of bamboo, (9)
Tatangi ngatata i te kilitai	Driftwood, sounding, rattling, washed by the water's surface.
Wakaulu ake ma toku manako	My mind is absorbed in you,
Ulu ki te lelei a te wawine	Filled by your beauty for women.
Ko no mai loto o Lulu-ipo, ko wakatalava i Longolau	We will live in Sweetheart-village, lie together in the island of Longolau
Wakawiwi ki te vavai mamake.	On a bed crisscrossed with pretty vavai creepers.
Tu mai ko wale ko te moana	You stand in the house under the sea
E tupilitia e Malokula, ni yoani no te tikitiki	Close by stands the god Malokula with his helpers, the small servant gods
Pole ai au ma te wua a tangaloa ngalu	Him I worship and all your group of tangaloangalu gods,
E aumanga una peva yiyika ko te ala o Malangatiale,	You, wearing your priestly head-dress of turtle shell cut straight as a line of Malangatiale's turtles,
E wakapa kaiyo ki ngalu, e tutuki ki te one mai Ko	Calling, "Turtles ho!" where waves break on the sands of Motu Ko
E takiwuliluaina te wonu.	Turtles of which you each turn over two.
E ayuye wakapaea io, kitea e toku newu ayanga.	Like drifted wood, seen by my minor gods of the outer reef.
Maneai taua kiai, puna mai koe tu ko te lepa	We stroll there; or you emerge, standing in the soil of the taro gardens close by.

9. Following out the association of her lover with the islands to the east, the chanter thinks of the man as bearing a piece of bamboo in a complicated symbolism where the use of the bamboo as a knife is linked with the idea of the man's cutting into the woman in sexual intercourse. Further, bamboo cast up on the beach as driftwood and scraped by the waves over the coral beach, calls to mind the sounds made in coitus.

539 Pepelu ma toku ulu vayavaya	I girt myself with vayavaya grasses from the gardens
Wuli mai e tino kaikaina, wakataia mai,	Turn to me your lovely body, let us become as one,
Lulu ki lunga yongi wakatakaina to kili i na lelei lopa,	Moving above you, let me inhale and caress your skin, beauty of young manhood,
O te koyi o te vaka,	Beauty like the keen cutting of a canoe,
E kakala angaoti e malau,	Sweet scent like that of a malau fish,
E wuli ki lalo ki vevenu, venu pe te io o te tapotu	I turn below to your softness, soft as the eyeball of the tapotu fish
Wakapeke ai au, na valea, wakaluia mua koa mania.	I raise my buttocks, satisfied, I lower the slippery front of my body.
Na kai wakapi na wakakume,	Another came to you with rich food-gifts, favors,
Na patia, koa wetangi;	She you spurned, she wept;
Yoko ko te loloi, te malo yilu,	She brought you taro puddings, pandanus-plaited malo,
E ye wuli atu ai koe;	You did not turn to her;
Longo mai ki aku wakawitinga ia koe,	Listen to me who tells this of you,
E toku yana maniu, taulanga malo tala ki lunga,	You who are my beloved perfect coconut tree; girt in malo, you stand straight,
Wenake ma te tupu takatoa, na makeke tama o te atu ngake,	Body rising perfectly, strong man of the eastern isles,
E tali keinanga, e maloyi, manaki i to lulu kiai,	Guardian of your lineage, strong champion of the wrestling ring, on whom your village depends,
Lomia pokia mai lunga, e loa	You smash your opponents down, throw them from above, you who are tall,
E tai lapui yayae te lopa toyiliki	You blow down with one breath, tear apart, the tiny young men
Wai taku au matamatanga.	You take away my breath as I watch you,
Wuwuli te ngolo matangawie, wakalelei mako a te Yawea	Turn to me, o animal easy to look at, you who glorifies the chants of Te Yawea (10)

[103] 10. An old name for Ngake village.

539 Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--	Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
Lalapa pe te ika matayau,	Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,	Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,	Gloroious is your skin with its Tinea spots,
Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;	Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,	Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
E wetuki veve ki o lelei	Hastening, running to your beauty,
Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,	Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
E ye lakaia tuku talatala i na kikino	Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,	You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!	You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--	Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino.	Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[835] 1. This is a lament (tangi) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (wale atua), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--118 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539	I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
	E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
	To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
	To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
	Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
	Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovel skin.
	Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
	Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
	Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
	Loa ngalo i tana muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
	Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
	E vayia io toku kili, koa taukulakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

539 Koko te toto ko te ngutuala, uluia te ala o te tupua,	Blood streams to the road, floods the path of the bush-walking mourners. (4)
Koa maeia te wui atua i te tupu o te tama wano kino.	Grieved are the many gods over the face of the child whose going is evil.
Koa maka au pa yulu ko tu mai loto o te ui,	I left the row of pandanus trees standing in the middle of the taro gardens,
Te leo kaka ki tau tane, to longo liaki ki te matangi,	Your voice calls to your husband, your fame is spread by the wind,
To pua matangi yau mayala, vayia niu inai au,	Wind-wafted scent of your flower makes my body a slashed coconut,
Ta wa inake toku manava, vayia ika ngalepelepe.	Cut four times is my belly, a fish broken to pieces.
Weto oku wonotanga ki lalo, tupeke mai te tangata wakaola.	My limbs fall to the ground lifeless, the people revive me.
Koa mate. Ke wano ai e yui wawine ni tali no au wangainga,	You are dead. Let me go instead, my life return gift for your feeding,
Na yelewutia wao a tuli, tuia mai koa takitakina,	Sick with your convulsions, jerking like a plover, you clung to me who lifted you,
Yapayapaina pe te tawola, laulango o ulu ka'inga	Carried you from place to place, well wrapped by your relatives, like the legendary whale. (5)
Maeia ma to tupuakenga, i taku kea kili tanetanea,	I was ravished by your beauty, your skin like my spotted turtle shell,
Ya wakaniti ma na aua o Tinilau	Like the shell of the turtle family of Tinilau (6)

4. Bush-walking along deserted paths was seemly for those going to attend a wake; passing mourners along the main village road made others uncomfortable at the sight of grief.

5. The reference here is to the whale of the story of Tuyiyauloa page 71.

6. According to some informants Tinilau was the owner of all the turtles in the sea and dwelled in some distant legendary land.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--120 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path, (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa numiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[776] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

Lament for Watuya (1)

539 Ulu taku tangi vavalo ki ngake, e yau aliki,	Come, sing my chant, call it to the east, a gentle chant it is,
Maka te tanganga, tike te potu, ko takoto te niu wakavale,	Dropped is the fishing group, bare the sacred seat, left standing are feast-reserved coconuts, (2)
Ya tataku i o atua, ia Mataliki ia Tamayei	We prayed to your gods Mataliki and Tamayei
Ke wowo ake oku tupuna ma na papa ula o Kui,	To bring together your ancestors and the red-rocked god Kui, helpers in your fishing,
Ya wakatele ika mai ngake, e wetuki i aitu wangota ko te moana--	Fishing spirits hastened to sea to help you, fish swam in from the east--
E tane na apoapo matai, e kiai na wakayopu ki tua,	He was a man with already prepared snoods, though not yet gone to sea,
Ya tapena to matua i o penupenu mau mea,	Your father had made ready strong, permanent fishing gear,
Ya kumeia ona tope, ona kawilo uwi, e likolikowia	Fashioned were the tope hooks, the pearlshell kawilo hooks, tight-seizing hooks
E kumekumeia, te mate o te ave ma te kakayi,	Nicely polished, death for the ave and the kakai,

1. This chant is also called the lament about Mataliki and Tamayei because these two gods of Loto village are mentioned in it. It was composed by a Yato man, Vaipo, for his nephew Watuya of Loto who sometime previous to the first missionary contact sailed away in a European ship and later died in Samoa.

2. The group of young men who formed a fishing team to provide food for the older men has now lost one member; the sacred seat in the god house reserved for Watuya will now be unoccupied; coconuts round the cemeteries reserved for the feast which was to mark Watuya's assumption of sociological adulthood will now never be eaten. The following lines comment on the fact that Watuya was about to join the young men's fishing group. His father had prayed to the gods to help the young man in his fishing and had prepared for him a now useless fishing equipment.

539 Niniva te mata o te akavae, wakapoi, koa pipiki ngaleka,	Sharp-pointed was the barbed wakavae hook, tight-gripping at a jerk,
Ni makupuna tutupu a Te Upe	Descendants, these hooks, sprung from the first maker Te Upe (3)
Ko te tama na vayivayi manava, na wemiti wano ko te moana,	Your longing for the sea cut throug the hearts of your kinsfolk,
Te palo o Wetau, koa taki i taku uluaki na taumua--	Your death stunned Wetau, cherisher of you, his first-born-
Na mawiti i tana mata toki, newu te tuta, koa ye pi--	Thrown aside his adz, halted his work on the joinings of his watertight canoe--
Wenake ma tona matua tane.	You, the boy, who had sprung from him.

Chant of Boasting (1)

Koti ati i te ava no Panau,	Cut is the boundary of Loto and Ngake at the reef channel of Panau,
Te yae iatu i te tukutai--	Separated are the villages along the lagoon beach--
Ke tulituli aliki-tai	Let Loto men grope for the worthless aliki-tai fish (2)
Ke wai ai au lavaya.	To prepare for their village feast.
Kinaki ki te namu o Uta;	Food complement of the mosquitoes of Uta;
Kinaki ki te pepe o Uta.	Butterflies of Uta to complement their taro.
E toai io to ulu, koa pakilakila!	Men of Loto have cut their hair, are completely bald!
I a!	I a!

3. By metaphor the fishhooks are considered to be lineal descendants of those famous hooks made by Te Upe who is reputed to have invented the Pukapukan barbed fishhook.

1. This is a chant of insult (tila) sung by the people of Ngake village after winning a contest to determine boundaries of the village.

2. Loto village controlled very poor fishing grounds, hence the taunt that for a big village feast Loto must be content to eat tiny worthless fish like the aliki-tai along with mosquitoes and butterflies as a food complement for the taro instead of the fat deep sea fish enjoyed at the feasts of Ngake.

A tila in praise of Motu Ko (1)

539 Malama te ao, ka malama,	The dawn whitens, it is light,
Yelea, yelea, yelea toku vaka nei	I tie, tie, tie my canoe at Motu Ko
Au niu e, au talo e, au ika e! au wonu e,	I gather coconuts, taro, fish, turtles oh!
Yiliyili atu pe awa tena oku atu i e.	The people ask whether anything remains for the late comers to get.
E loloi talo no Ava e,	Loloi pudding of taro from the island of Avalau, (2)
Wai e Pana aumai kai ai te Yawea,	Prepared by the women of Pana, eaten by the men of Te Yawea,
Na wakamalu ina likoliko,	Soft is their likoliko taro pudding,
Koa olo wala o na wawine o Yayake e.	Flavored with pandanus is the olo pudding of the women of Yayake.
Ya wakawiwi, wakatikei, to tauanga i te tawatai o Laka e,	Naked we embraced, embraced on the beach of Laka,
Wuli mai koe, e puaka e,	Turn you who are as a pig to me,
Wuli atu au, e tavake e,	I, a tropic bird, turn to you,
Ka tuvali io, ka tuvali e,	We will move up and down,
Ka valea koe, ka valea koe.	You will be satisfied.
Puya te kakala o te yei tu,	The scent of your flower wreath is wafted to me,
Puya te kakala o te takataka,	The scent of your dried coconut oil comes to me,
Melo mai loto wakatauyeu ki na lelei,	Red is the oil mixed with beautiful seeds,
Ye kalaka kula, ye wua tipi,	Countless kalaka seeds, innumerable tipi seeds,
Wuti, wuti kula, wuti melo,	Flowers from the banana, the red banana, the yellow banana,

1. Tila is the type name for this chant which dates from the time of the regent Tuiva. It boasts of the richness of the food resources on Ngake's islet Motu Ko, not neglecting the opportunity to include reference to the desirability of Ngake's women.

2. This is the island on which Te Nana found great abundance of taro during his visit to Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp, 402-405, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--124 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Wutia te kai kia malie!	Delicious is the food gathered for me!
Malamalama te tawa ki Ngake,	Daylight breaks in the eastern sky,
Malama e e.	It is light.

A tila of the expedition to Motu Ko (1)

E vanangananga te pule,	The guard of the islet gives the announcement, (2)
Te koyo o Te Alo-lauina	Husking sticks are placed on the canoe named Te Alo-lauina
Ka yolo te vaka e, ka yolo	The canoe will speed along, speed along.
Te toki o te toli kauwi	Ready is the adz for cutting pandanus keys,
E payi wano ki te ayanga,	Our canoe is a vessel going along the outer reef.
Tuta, wano ki te Nukuloa	Stopping, then going on to Motu Ko.
Viovio ko te iki tawia, iki na,	We erect the anchor sticks, (3) anchor the canoe,
Na lele loa ki loto, yoka i te niu mata.	Rush into the islet, husk ripe drinking nuts.
Wakanau ake au: malie te kikokiko,	I sing praise: sweet is the coconut's flesh,
Tama o te ulu wutu.	Child from the grove of wutu trees.
Onoono atu au ki te pakayau ngongo,	I watch the wings of the noddy tern
Ko tipitipi ki lalo i te koanga wua,	Dipping low over her nest of eggs,
Lele au i te ata, tango i te mulimuli ngungu.	I run under its shadow, grasp its grunting tail.

1. This short chant records an expedition made by Ngake villagers to their reserve islet Motu Ko to gather food and catch birds.

2. The food reserve is controlled by the village acting through a guard composed of village members. When a village council decides to take food from its reserve, it is the duty of the guard to announce this fact and arrange the particulars of the expedition. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beagleholep.p.38,category 116--analyst].

[501] 3. To anchor a canoe in shallow lagoon water a long stick is thrust into the sandy bottom behind the outrigger boom in such a way as to keep the canoe from drifting.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki.
[133] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the
[103] island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--126 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Fishing Chant (1)

539	Wakaoli io koe, na ulu ko Malokinuanua,	Dance you, who have the spirit of Malokinuanua (2) the god within you,
	E ta ko te timu, na lueie o ala matangi,	You were conceived in squally weather and so changed the path of the wind,
	Akaanowia oku tino manu, e kului ko tu matavaka,	Come wind, cool my bird-like body, a kului bird perched on the bow of my canoe,
	E wakawaoa ki te tutuku, te manu tino nui o te moana,	Tutuku birds are my crew, the large-bodied birds of the ocean.
	Tu mata ki ai te kakai ki na wotunga a kili a yua, moe lelepo,	The albacore stood to watch the skill of him with water-wet skin, whose sleeping place was ocean dirt,
	Ko no ko te peau watiwati ni uyu no na timuangi,	Who lived on white-capped waves, went out when heavy winds blew,
	E tautapake kokoto te leo, tauvalo kia Malokitelangi:	Mellow the voice praying to Malokitelangi:
	"Yuatiake la to moana, langa ki lunga tau wangota,	"Open wide your ocean, raise up your fish for me,
	Mimia ko te pu o na ngutu, ki te waiti o te kilitai,	Wash them to the deep waters of the reef shelf, to the sub-surface waters,
	Ki te papa o taolo te yua, tu te newu kanomoana."	To the ocean bottom where waters move back and forth, where stands the dark, deep sea."
	E avake tau ika la lunga e kokoti tali i te pakupaku,	Raise your fish high, it nearly bites off the teaser bait,
	Taki te ulu o te kauyele. Tutapa tu au	Lift the loop of the noose. (3) Standing I call to my crew

1. This chant called tangitangi is sung in praise of the skillful fisherman for whom it was composed.

2. This is an alternate name for the god Malokitelangi who is mentioned in line seven. The rainbow (nuanua) is closely associated with this god.

3. Throughout this chant the fishing method referred to is noosing. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 69, category 116--analyst].

539 "Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama!"	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side!"
E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
Akatu te ao umunui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
Ke wano maku pulu ika, e ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 E lulu ma te kauyele ki lunga, e ta ki te akayiku,	Pulled up another fish without releasing the noose pole, struck it on the tail,
E tu pilitia e Yawenga e manoatia e Matanga.	While the god Yawenga stood by, god worshipped by Matanga lineage.
E avake loa te tui loloa, yula ki lunga.	Again, Yawenga raised for me a long line of male turtles, their backs exposed,
E wenake i lalo te mataweu, te ika talau te taepu.	Largest green turtles risen from below along with large fish and small.
To vaka ko pae matangi tona, e kanapa ko te wua Aliki,	Your canoe was drifted by the south wind, canoe glistening like the fleet of Aliki, (5)
E yau i ona wua tikou, te atua uli o te ayanga.	Whose fleet came quickly on high waves, helped by black god Yawenga of the outer reef.
E pupua i te ala la uta, e koyi i te ala koyingalu,	I was so swift I raised dust on shore paths, cut through striped sea paths,
Na uta ki te ayuye moana, na yele ki te akula panoko,	Loaded my canoe with flotsam of the ocean, noosed the swordfish,
E vaka palata mi te timu;	Placed in my canoe a thresher shark caught in the squall;
E lakau pae ko te matangi, lulu na atua wawine.	My canoe was as wood drifted by the wind, gathered by the female gods. (6)
E momotu io te kaungutu vaka, te papayiva	In my strength I could break off the bow of a canoe, tear apart wreckage
E vivio na yulu ki te waoa.	Hammered, fastened together with iron. (7)

5. Informants thought this referred in some way to the sailing away from Pukapuka of the man Aliki who was exiled because of his supernatural powers. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 408, category 116--analyst].

6. Lazy men too timid to go fishing in heavy weather were called female gods (atua wawine). Only male gods were interested in fishing.

7. The Pukapukans knew of iron before white contact. Driftwood and wreckage cast on the ocean beaches were burnt to ashes and the nails often used as drill points.

539 Lulu tu ake io wowoakenga, ni longo nou wotunga ika.	I stood proudly among gathered fishermen, great my fame as an expert.
E avake loa tea te moana, wetike wua loa te tupuna	Fish rose whitening the sea, exposing indeed the ancestors
Lulu mai na lau talake loa	Gathered with their hundred retainers
Akapono ke pono na ika.	Met to gather together the fish for my hook.
Koa tuku ki aku na wole, aku taomia te atua ya.	Given to me are fishing victories, I press away gods sending bad luck.
Wai malo na velo te yila, mumula mi ko tu uluanga	I prayed to the god Malokitelangi, god wearing a malo that hurled burning lightning that stood overhead
E kalapa i to matoyia u e, i na newu o te moana,	That flashed to the dark ocean. I, to the attendant spirits of the sea,
E tataku i taku vai matala, avatu maku akatetea	Spoke my prayer for good luck, carried my gift to the god.
Yopukia au mi lunga o te vaka Utamanu,	Fortune seized me on board the canoe named Utamanu,
O te uyo o Ngaliyeyeu ma to taokete Te Awuawu.	Standing at the bow, protected by the god Ngaliyeyeu and your brother-in-law god, Te Awuawu.
E lokiloki toku waoa na wili ma toku lulu vavave	I prepared a crew chosen from my village of strong men
Ya takilitia toku vaka, e kae moana e telei!	Men who could whirl my canoe around, no ocean big enough for our journeying!
Ya takayia te akau ki Tima ma te muli toka.	My canoe encircled the reef as far as Tima and the last rock of Motu Kotawa.
E yele mi tu yele witu, wuwuli ona ika kailopa,	I noosed standing, noosed seven fish, then turned to the fish wary and cunning,
Ue ia e te atua mala, ya kotia wua taku matai.	Fish chased to me by the god of ill luck. It bit my snood right off.
Ko wotu wa mai aku yelea i taku uluanga palatimu	Then rose four small pala fish noosed to make my good catch
Naku vayia vivili i te liu o Telekino	Which I beat shuddering on the bottom of my canoe, Telekino.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--130. E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Yele au ke pupu te moana, tutuki pe popo wotunga,	I noosed till the sea foamed, pounded the fish dead like an expert food pounder,
E ulaki ki taku lau papa, koa akakayi taku lualau,	Loaded my canoe with my hundred pala, almost two hundred pala,
Taku ika amua ki Waletoa.	My fish were first to be unloaded at Waletoa. (8)
Wuwulu ki toku kili ika liki, pakupaku ki te tala o te eve.	I washed the fish scales from my skin. My teaser bait was the fin of the eve fish.
E longo i wea mea nei? E longo mai na kau mamao	Where did my fame carry? It was heard by people far away
Ko inu ki te yua o te moana, kai ki te vale o te pakipaki,	Of how I drank the water of the sea, ate the slime of the Portuguese man-o-war,
E vivio ai taku woe, na kililiti ki lunga tu e ayioayio moana,	Plunged my paddle, pulled up, and raised an ocean water spout,
Kakalo ki te yolo o na ngutu, ki te akapula a te lui-ave;	Could look at the swish of ocean depths, at the rising of the lui-ave fish; (9)
Taki ona takatakai wanaga, yala i te watu te wangamoana,	Of how a school of wanga fish came a wangamoana loosened the sinker,
E maka taku tope wua alake, veve ko te newu tata i te wao--	But I threw down my hook to the fish, jealous spirits pulled away the line--
Kavea ona wakatapatapa wano koa mate!	I made an incantation and the fish went to the surface, dead!
Lolominga:	Addendum: (10)

8. Waletoa is the open space on the lagoon frontage of Ngake village where fishermen landed their catches to be counted after a fishing contest.

9. This fish is mentioned in this context because it lives in the deepest waters and is only occasionally seen by those who spend most of their time deep sea fishing.

10. The remaining lines of this chant may or may not be sung with the main part of the chant. They are regarded as an optional addition probably added by the man for whom the chant was composed to make sure that all his skills and exploits were exhaustively recorded.

539 Koa likowia e te kawilo, e wua, e tili, e takitaki,	Fish were caught by the hook that I, skilled, threw, then pulled in,
Koa yao ia likoliko, yao i te wua a Yeki ma.	Hooks excellent for catching, excelling those made by the fishing fleet of Yeki (11) and others.
Liakina aku kotia lave te leke, ke yulu piki	Display my cutting of the shank-knob that the hook fastens tight
I te kalokalo o te ave, te ipo o Totoloa,	In the upper jaw of the ave fish, sweetheart of the god Totoloa, (12)
Wuwuli i lunga e te mayui a Te Alangaoa,	But turned on the top of the water by the favorite son of the god Te Alongaoa.
E tili, makake ko te vayi tonga o Tangaloa;	He threw and cast his line in the southern spaces of Tangaloa's ocean;
Toaki makave to papa kokowi ika,	Open wide the rocks that shelter fish,
Lulu ai na atua wawine leowia e Te Alatapu ma.	Though the lazy men gather at this fishing ground it is guarded by Te Alatapu and other gods.
Yau te yaunga o te vale moana, te ika e aku ulakinatu,	Smell of ocean slime came with the fish brought by me,
E avake na puke i toku wale, ko taku pakupaku ika malie;	The catch served in my house, my left-over bait fish was delicious;
Kai tuwonu toku waoa, kayiva te kili ma te piopio	My crew ate greedily, passing over the kili and piopio, fish usually eaten,
Na livaia au e te malau, te wowonga no na tupuna,	I was surrounded by malau, best eating fish; Ah, good fortune from my ancestors,
Wotu mai Ngake e!	Making my fame known in Ngake!

11. Yeki is a man remembered only for his great skill as a maker of fishhooks.

12. For the connection between this god and fishing, see story page 28.

Chant for a Fishing Contest (1)

539 Akaolia, tuki ki te vaka,	Paddle in rhythm, beat the canoe sides, (2)
E ta te lalau, koa tuolo,	Sing the chant, moving back and forward,
Ni wua lakau paea io, tilina i te va i ayanga,	The canoes, like driftwood, thrown up onto the reef,
Taupuke ki ai ko te tiniu,	Caught, held there by the helping women,
Wuliwuli ia na tino, koa kanapanapa,	Who turn to the men's bodies, glistening, shining,
Koa lata koe ko te kainga atawai!	You are submissive, o man, to the lineage generous to its sweethearts!
Moe au mai loto o toku wale,	I sleep inside my house,
E miti taku miti ki te awiawi,	Dreaming my dreams in the evening,
Moe wakamiti totongi ma te matoyia,	Sleeping, dreaming of enormous fish of the deep ocean.
Tu, kauia o kaveinga;	I rise to con over the stars;
E wenake Te Manu ma Te Toloa molunga o na Takitutolu,	Dorvus and Delphinus have risen above Cassiopeia,
Koa kaleka mo na towunga.	Exact is the time for starting.
E utu te vai, tuku ki lunga o mulivaka,	Fetch the water, place it in the canoe's stern,
E yayaki kia Te Matakiate, akayiku ai Tumulivaka,	Pray to the god Te Matakiate, petition Tumulivaka,
Taulia ki te manu mai mua	Count off the crew for the lifting bars
Pe koa towu mo te waoa,	To see whether there are enough,
Tutu ki te yiki, e ikiiki atu to ki tai,	Stand at the carrying poles, carry the canoe place it in the water,
Na wakatato ko te mulivaka, tautapa kia Te Alongaoa;	The canoe captain beats his thighs, praying to Te Alongaoa the god:

1. This chant is called a lalau. It is sung at the feast following the conclusion of an intervillage fishing contest.

2. The first six lines describe the evening return of the fishing contest fleet to Ngake village. The women help to draw the canoes through the shallow lagoon channels to the beach. In the excitement of victory it was formerly common for sexual license to occur at this time.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

539 Chant of the Wrestling Ring (1)

Apo, apo i lunga a,	Lift, lift him on high,
E akaui tuki pui a--	Throw him down flat--
Mawela tu tulivae.	He sprawls on his knees.
E tui kaokao, lolomi,	Take him by his malo, press down,
Taka ki te tua,	Swing him on his back,
Yapai, maka ngutu maka vae	Lift and throw mouth to the ground, legs to the ground
Lapuia e te vave o Ngake,	Blown down by the strength of Ngake,
Na vivio i loto o te malae.	Standing firm in the middle of the ground.
Mawaki te launiu-	Broken is the coconut leaf--
Pangulungulu te leo.	Rumbling low are the many voices
Akaangawia to nawa a!	Face your challenger to us!
Mai lala, yaeyae!	The challenger from leeward! (2) Ah, torn to pieces!

The third tila chant from the Tamanu cycle (1)

Ko te titi o Pana, e mea mawakiwaki--	The kilts of Pana's women (2) are easily opened--
Ka lolomi ki te papa	Pressed to the ground,
Ya newutiai au	Thrown by me
Numi, numinumia lua ia lulu	Rolled over and over by the rival villagers,
Wawati na lima ma na vae,	Broken their hands and feet,
Wakaakaia, ngalepe na ngutu ma na mata,	Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes,

1. The four following chants are tila, sung to celebrate a village victory in a wrestling contest. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 369, category 116--analyst].

2. That is, from the leeward village of Yato.

1. This short wrestling chant is properly a member of the Tamanu cycle of chants. It is inserted in this context to show how easily the Pukapukan slips over from triumphs in one activity to those in the realm of sex.

2. The women of Ngake village.

539 Wakataula wuake i lunga	Look from above, o two villages
Tau mea e winako ai koe--	On the strength you boasted of--
Yau, yaula ke aku avatu koe la lunga	Come, come now, that I may take you
Ko te tele o toku tino tangata	On the journey of my human body
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai,	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai!	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping embracing!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Ta taku tila,	Shout my chant,
Aka to tawa,	Kick to your side,
Wuwuli ki mua,	Turn toward the front,
Wuwuli ki muli.	Turn toward the back.
Wakatato ki te payu,	Beat the drum with fast rhythm,
Wawao ko te kakai.	The people jump high in their dancing.
Tangi te launiu ngatatatata,	Coconut leaf decorations rustle,
Newutia te pawola, koa leka.	Loud is the beating of hand against hand and thigh, fine is the sound.
Wuli tawa te kainga nunui,	The great body of dancers turns sideways,
Na wakatatawa na malatea,	Side by side, as numerous as a school of malatea fish,
E na! Motu ki mua, i a!	There! We have broken to the front with our victory, i a!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Taku unu tika mai te yulu, na matiti to i Tongaleleva,	My chant is a dart of the south-west wind, (1) flying through the air, falling in Tongaleleva,

1. According to the Pukapukan idea, gods controlling the winds are thought of as fighting among themselves, hurling darts or spears at each other. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--136 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Koa yao loa na vave o Te Yiva ma te Yake,	Defeating the champions of Yiva and Yake, (2)
E wuwuli ia pau na vaka, kopikopia.	Capsizing the canoes, crushing them to pieces.
E kokoti ai taku lakau, koa ave, koa tomoemoe,	I cut my log for a canoe, the wood fits well, lies straight,
E vaka a wu taku mea nei	My canoe is a woman's sexual organs
Pe Wue na ye mai lalo.	Confused by its beauty am I as Wue, bewildered by the many islands of the west. (3)
E kokoti ai tona atu mua o vavae ai tona atu loto	Cut off his first row of dancers, separated his middle row
Koa yayaka a!	Dance, dance together!
Motuyia na titi, tala e, tala e, tala na malo makatia--	Torn off are the men's leafy wreaths, untied and discarded their malo--(4)
Ka amo te payu, ka wakalele!	We will raise the sound of the drum, beat it well!
Ka nenewu tutuli na talinga,	Beat it till the ears are deafened,
Opotia ke lulu ki te nawa.	Sound the wooden gong till the village gathers.
Ka wakangaolo ko te atu mua, tiakina ke tupeke kiai,	The front row dances forward, waits there to raise their arms,
Opotia loa ke pukupuku, ke manatua ke tane--	Gather till the group of dancers in full, if you desire men--
Na mavete te unu, ke liakina, i a!	The chant is finished--the chanters display themselves, i a!

2. The names of these legendary lands are metaphorical substitutes for the names of Ngake's two opposing villages, Yato and Loto.

3. A reference to the extensive voyages in the eastern and western seas of Wue the great Pukapukan chiefly navigator (see account pp. 73-75).

4. For a note on the general license that often prevailed after sporting triumphs see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 289, category 116--analyst].

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

Introduction

121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

524 The comparative material is much too unequal for final results
171 to be adduced and must inevitably remain so until an exhaustive number of figures is collected from each island group in Occeania. Certain tentative conclusions however may be mentioned. Taking Polynesia proper and dividing it into four sub-areas (north, Hawaii; south, New Zealand; central and east, Aitutaki, Australs, Marquesas, Society, and Tuamotus; and west, Tokelau, Tonga, Samoa, Uvea, and also Fiji), the percentage of correspondence between Pukapukan figures and the total number of available figures for each area mentioned is shown in the following:

	Figures reported	Pukapuka	Percentage
West	54	17	31
South	36	7	20
Central-East	218	31	14
North	115	4	3

From this it is evident that prevailing correspondences between Pukapuka and the rest of Polynesia rather heavily favor the West. The percentage of 31 for the West may be compared with a total correspondence of 37 percent for Polynesia, excluding the West. If western and southern affiliations with Pukapuka are grouped, the percentage correspondence is 51 against a correspondence of 17 percent with North, Central, and East.

Of the 8 Pukapukan figures which correspond with figures from Fiji, 6 are widely distributed throughout the rest of Polynesia. Only 2 are reported for Pukapuka and Fiji alone. Of the 9 Pukapukan figures also found in the Tuamotus, 7 are found elsewhere in Polynesia, leaving but 2 which are reported for the Tuamotus and Pukapuka alone. Only 1 of the 7 Pukapukan figures found also in New Zealand is not reported elsewhere. This analysis indicates that unique Pukapukan figures occur equally in part of the West, part of the East, and to a degree, in the South.

The Pukapukan series of 6 figures which are grouped under the type figure, Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua, is strikingly absent in figures reported elsewhere. The Marquesan figure, Te-nohona-o-te-kua (Handy, 9, p. 32), shows vague resemblances to one of the series (Lua-tangata). The Maori figure, Kopu 2 (Andersen, 1, p. 65) bears some resemblance again to another of this series, Te-imu-o-Tima, but the Maori and Pukapukan figures are by no means identical.

4: Beagleole-3 E-5 (1934-1935) Pukapukans

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Pukapuka	Tuamotus	Austral	Fiji	New Zealand
1. Tava	Kokikokiko (3 Diamonds)	Itauri (Rurutu)	Suviauto Kapa	Parori Over and over
2. Na wiwi (Lau kape series)	Mangeongeo	Raupaka tatai (Rapa) Rurutu Tubuai Tup. Rim.	Imbi	Takapau
3. Tikonikoni	Moko (Meth. 2)	Ga ure (Rapa)	Tambua*	Mouli*
4. Wala yila wua		Matariki (Rapa)	Lalakai	Ikiki
5. Kumete		Ga kamia (Rapa) Mato (Rim.) Apoo tico (Rurutu)	Velovelo	
6. Te kolemu yengiyengi	Ki faru	(ia-ia) (Rapa)		Toemi
7. Wala ola		Tuara (Rapa)	Mataki lailai	
8. Te tai kiki		(Rapa) (Rurutu) (Rim., Tub.)		
9. Te itu wala kula	Kahongahanga* Na faro turu	Te Are Matui (Rurutu) (Rim.) (Tup.)		
10. Te kivi a te kahai	Puhanga toto			
11. Te itu wuvuli kilanga	Te waka Tiranga			Te waka a Tama Rererei
12. La palepale				
13. Kupenga			Kupenga* Lawa	
14. Patokiola ite (a) Kitikiti poia* (b) Tuna kula	(a) Komo rikirikii (b) Na taringa moko			
15. Te matangi pauleka (Meth. 1)	Te ruki o Hiro*			
16. Te imu o Te Lautala				Koura
17. Te pu o Munumaveka			Rara ni Kula	
Hand slip trick				
Authority	Emory (7)	Stokes (13)	Hornell (10)	Andersen (1)

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Society	Marquesas	Hawaii	Tonga	Uvea
Iolo	Tohiau		Matamata kupenga Moenga	Mata kupenga Illiki
Firi rau apani	Kou kape		Lou kape*	
Mo'o		Moo-iki B (Meth. 1)	Pilitaleiku*	
	Tapa'au tua fitu*			
Apoo unai ahana Apoo tio		Wa'a		
	Popo tikaue	Okole amo (Meth. 3)		
Rurutu	Tukii koa*			
				Tai loloto
Te tumu o te papa* Te fare no Oro*				
		Four Eyes A (Meth. 2)		
Fifi rau apo				Mata kupenga lalahi
		E loli e		
Handy (9)	Handy (9)	Dickey (6)	Hornell (10)	Burrows (3)

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

New Caledonia Loyalty Island	D'Entrecastreaux	Samoa	Aitutaki	Caroline Is.
Nameless X	Giwala			
		Pili - me'ime'i	Moko	
The sugar cane				Ten-men Betel leaf
	Fo'se			
Sardines				
		Laulau		
Compton (13)	Jenness (11)	Buck (15)	Buck (14)	Compton (5)

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Gilbert	New Hebrides	Tokelau	Nauru	
Tape		Tafa		
	Kilikia leaves			
				Flying fishes
Hornell (10)	Dickey (4)	Hornell (4)	Hambruch (8)	

524 A very individual Hawaiian ending for some figures which
171 is made by navahoing the thumbs, inserting the indices into the thumb triangles, and turning the fingers away under the figure and up which Dickey (6, p. 9) found elsewhere only in one figure reported from Africa, Ireland, and for one Osage Indian is employed in the Pukapukan figures, Te-kivi-a-te-kakai and Te-kivi-a-Yilewu in a manner which corresponds exactly to the Hawiian method. Emory (7) reports Te-kivi-a-te-kakai for the Tuamotus. The same ending is used in a related manner for the Pukapukan liu wuwuli figures.

Grouping of figures

Twenty-eight of the Pukapukan figures may be grouped into 9 series, each employing a characteristic opening or closing which is unique to the series. These groups are:

1. Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua
   Te-imu-o-Tima
   Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau
   Te-ikapaetai
   Te-langi-loa
   Te-papanga-o-te-waulua
2. Taku-laukape
   Na-wiwi

   Te-Va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga
   Te-pitopito-i-Kolo
   Te-kapu-ta-ika
   Kau-a-pulaka
3. Te-ponaunau
   Te-katatuna
   Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka
4. Te-matangi-tavili
   Te-matangi-yauleka
   Te-matangi-tavili
5. Wala-ola
   Wala-yila-wua
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
   Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
7. Paiokiole

   Tikonikoni
8. Te-tau-lunga
   Te-tau-lalo
9. Te-kivi-a-te-kakai
   Te-kivi-a-Yilewu

The remainder of the figures do not fall into any groups.

Most of the Pukapukan figures open in the usual Polynesian manner, position 1, opening A. Besides this orthodox opening, 11 other openings are used in 13 figures. The figures that have unorthodox openings are:

1. Te-tavatav-o-te-wui-kiole
2. Te-Pu-o-Loto
3. Te-matangi-tavili

   Te-matangi-yauleka
4. Te-matangi-taulele
   Te-tai-kiki
5. Te-itu-wala-kula
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
7. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
8. Te-kolemu-yengiyengi
9. Te-wua-ya-valu
10. Kupenga
11. Te-kau-a-pulaka

Terminology

524 In these descriptions I follow the terminology suggested by Rivers and Haddon (12), using it however in a somewhat abbreviated form in order to obtain compact presentation. The description should be readily understandable by the expert. In these descriptions the phrase, "proximally (or distally) draw back" a given string, is a shortened form of the more usual but cumbersome statement, "fingers pass proximally (or distally) into the (named) loop and carry back the given string on their backs." Proximally (or distally) in the following descriptions means therefore to enter the named loop from the proximal (or distal) side and proceed as further directed. The direction, "drop thumbs," or etc., means obviously to drop the loops from the thumbs or other named fingers by withdrawing the fingers from the loops. The direction "slip the index finger loops over the wrist" is to push other fingers into the index loops and stretch it so that it slips back, or to pick the index loop up with the opposite hand and drop it over the wrist. Preference decides which alternate the individual operator adopts. Again navahoing is done by the mouth, lips or teeth, by the fingers of the opposite hand, or by the fingers of the same hand, depending on the skill of the operator. Unless otherwise stated, it is to be understood that a figure is stretched after each movement. In opening some of the figures a secondary, unnamed figure results. This secondary figure is termed the lui of the main figure. Unless other wise specified, all the figures open easily without tangling by being laid on a flat surface and picked up in the middle point of the radial and ulnar strings of the figure.

Native Terminology

A string figure is termed waiwai; to make a figure is wai. To describe movements the fingers are distinguished as follows: thumb, matua; index, middle and ring fingers, all called loa; little finger, lewu. Any confusion which results from not distinguishing index, middle and ring fingers is resolved by personal correction of the pupil by the expert. The word tui means proximally to pick up palmar strings with the indices, that is, to proceed from position 1 to opening A. Tui also means proximally to draw back a string; thus, Tui i-a loa ki-a lewu, means: with the index finger proximally draw back the little finger radial string. Nape is distally to carry back a string. Ui is proximally to remove a loop

524 from one finger and is distinguished from ui yala which is distally to remove a loop from a finger. Tatao is to place fingers (usually the ring and middle) on a string and hold it. Lalao is to pass proximal and ulnar to a string, which is then carried back from the ulnar side. Kati is to navaho, usually done by the Pukapukan with the mouth. Takavili is to rotate: takavili ki lalo, rotate in an ulnar direction; takavili ki lunga rotate in a radial direction. Maka is to drop fingers or finger: maka i-a lewu, drop little fingers.

Pukapukan Figures

Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua (the-oven-of-Wale-Puapua)

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars,
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back middle finger radials.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop middle fingers.
8. Repeat 3.
9. Repeat 4, dropping little fingers.
10. Repeat 5, dropping middle fingers.
11. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
12. Thumbs proximally into index finger loops.
13. Navaho double proximal thumb radials.
14. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
15. Indices, from ulnar distal side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 1.) For the lui (figure 2) drop indices.

Te-imu-o-Tima (The-oven-of-Tima).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs pass proximally through index loops and, proximal to middle finger strings, draw back little finger radials.

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5. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally in middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally into middle finger loops.
10. Drop middle and little fingers.
11. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
12. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
13. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
14. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
15. Indices from ulnar side draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 3.)

For the lui (figure 4) of this figure, a larger oven, drop index fingers.

Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau (Two-men-standing-on-reef).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs pass distally though index loops and, proximal to middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally into middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials, dropping little fingers.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally remove middle finger loops.
10. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
11. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
12. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
13. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
14. Indices from ulnar side draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 5.)

For the lui (figure 6) in which the two men are seen with their fishing rods and baskets, drop indices.

524 Te-ikapaetai (Turtle)

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb placed distally on index radial; rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back middle finger distal radials.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop middle finger distal loops.
12. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
13. Repeat 8.
14. Repeat 9.
15. Drop middle finger distal loops.
16. Drop little fingers.
17. Indices distally remove middle finger loops.
18. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
19. Thumbs proximally into index finger loops.
20. Navaho double proximal thumb radials.
21. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
22. Indices, distally from ulnar side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs (Figure 7)

For the lui of this figure, drop indices.

Te-papanga-o-te-waulua (The-platform-of-the-double-canoe.)

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb placed distally on index radial; rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.

8. Thumbs, distal to intermediate proximal strings, proximal to distal middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into middle finger distal loops.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop middle finger distal loops.
12. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
13. Repeat 8.
14. Repeat 9, dropping middle finger distal loops and little fingers.
15. Middle fingers, from radial side of thumbs distally remove thumb proximal loops.
16. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger distal loops.
17. Repeat 15.
18. Repeat 16.
19. One at a time, rotate thumbs radially.
20. Indices distally remove middle finger loops.
21. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
22. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
23. Navaho thumb proximal double radials.
24. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
25. Indices, from ulnar distal side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 8) Drop indices and stretch for the lui.

Te-langi-loa (The-tall-sky).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximal to middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs proximally into middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, passing distally through index loop, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger loops.
10. Drop little fingers.

524 11. Middle fingers, from radial side of thumbs, distally remove thumb proximal loops.
12. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger loops.
13. Repeat 11.
14. Repeat 12.
15. Rotate thumbs in radial direction.
16. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
17. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
18. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
19. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
20. Indices, from ulnar side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 9).

For the lui (figure 10) of this figure, drop index loops and stretch.

Taku-laukape (My-turtle-fat).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, pick up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials and, from the ulnar side, index proximal ulnars.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
8. Navaho thumbs.
9. Drop distal index loops.
10. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
11. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
12. Thumbs, distal to proximal index loops, proximally draw back distal index radials.
13. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, proximally draw back index radials.
14. Navaho thumbs.
15. Drop little fingers, turning palms out. (Figure 11).

Na-wiwi (The-crossings).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.

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4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
10. Repeat 5.
11. Thumbs, distal to proximal index loops, proximally draw back distal index radials.
12. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, draw back index radials.
13. Navaho thumbs.
14. Drop little fingers, turning palms out. (Figure 12).

Te-va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga (The-space-between-Manihiki-and-Rakahanga).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Left index finger, distal to all strings, picks up left little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Right index finger proximally draws back left index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers and stretch figure until the middle loops of the figure separate. (Figure 13).

Te-pitopito-i-Kolo [The-navel-in-Kolo (?)]

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.

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3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index finger loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs, distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers. (Figure 14).

Te-kapu-ta-ika (Meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index radials.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers (Figure 15).

Kau-a-pulaka (Pulaka-stalks).

1. Opening A with a doubled string.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Separate double index loops into proximal and distal loops.

524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524 539 [533] 6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau,
Te potia ua, te potia ua,
Ua lele, ua lele,
Poloiti polo lau mea mea
Aleuei, aluei, pa na, pa na
E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,
} Meaning obscure

Motu la Manuyiki laua ma Lakawanga. — Severed are they, Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.

524 5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
7. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
8. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
9. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
10. Drop little fingers and thumbs. (Figure 19). With mouth pick up double strings which run across figure on side nearest the operator. Holding mouth strings, move hands to and from body to rhythm of the chant:

[539] Te katatuna e te wui wui makupuna e, The mosquito larvae of the many, many grandchildren,
Lua vae kolili o Moealo. The two kolili bird (like) legs of Moealo.

Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (The-hole-of-Mumumaveka).
1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Right index finger and thumb lift off and hold left palmar strings while left wrist loop is slipped over left index; right index and thumb place held strings back over left palm behind thumb and little finger.
6. Repeat 5 on right hand.
7. Indices proximally pick up palmar index strings of opposite hands. (Figure 20).
8. Navaho indices.
9. Indices distally into and through hectagon formed by distal strings in center of figure down into and through central diamond formed by proximal strings of figure; stretch while allowing index loops to slip down and off the finger tips. (Figure 21).
To open figure, drop indices.

Te-matangi-yauleka (The-gentle-wind). Method 1 a. This is probably the older of two methods of making this figure. It was known only to two old men.
1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right index

radial. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.

3. Left index finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers.
6. Place ring and little fingers on thumb radials, dropping thumbs.
7. Thumbs, distally inserted between double strings separating ring and index fingers, carry back the dorsal of the two strings.
8. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, proximally carry back thumb ulnars.
9. With opposite hand lift off thumb radials, carry them below string held by ring and little fingers, and back on to thumb.
10. Drop ring and little fingers. (Figure 22).

Method 1 b.

A slight variation in this method gives a similar figure known by the same name.

1. Position 1 on both hands.
2. Right index finger distally picks up left palmar string from dorsal side.

Continue with movements 2 to 11 above. (Figure 23).

Te-matangi-yauleka (The-gentle-wind). Method 2. The modern method of making a figure slightly different from that made by the older method.

1. Opening A on left hand; position 1 on right hand. Rotate right little finger in ulnar direction and rotate right thumb in ulnar direction.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right little finger radial. Left thumb distally draws back left index ulnar.
3. Right middle finger proximally draws back right thumb ulnar. Left middle finger proximally draws back left index radial.
4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers. (Figure 24).

Te-matangi-tavili (The-whirlwind).

1. Opening A on left hand; position 1 on right hand. Rotate right little finger in ulnar direction.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right little finger radial. Left thumb distally draws back left index finger ulnar.
3. Right middle finger proximally draws back right thumb ulnar. Left middle finger proximally draws back left index radial.

4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers. (Figure 25.)

Te-matangi-taulele (Shifting-wind). Though this figure does not fit into any series, it is here grouped with the other "wind" figures after which it is always made.

1. Double loop string over thumbs, carry remainder behind little fingers across palms.
2. Indices, distal to little finger ulnar, from ulnar side carries back little finger ulnar and rotates distally in ulnar direction through thumb loop back to position.
3. Drop thumbs.
4. Indices distally into little finger loops, rotate in radial direction back to position.
5. Thumbs proximally draw back radial index strings.
6. Drop little fingers. (Figure 26.)

Wala-ola (Growing-pandanus)

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally into little finger loops. Thumbs rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping little fingers.
3. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, distally placed on thumb ulnars.
4. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
5. Navaho thumbs.
6. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
7. Indices from distal, ulnar side, pick up thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs. (Figure 27.)
   To open figure, drop indices.

Wala-yila-wua (Meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally into little finger loops. Thumbs rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping little fingers.
3. Middle and ring fingers proximally placed on index radials.
4. Indices distally into thumb loops. Indices rotate in radial direction back to position, dropping middle and ring fingers. (Figure 28.)

Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo (The-inside-turned-down).

1. Position 1.
2. Thumbs proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
3. With mouth pick up left thumb proximal radial and retain.
4. Stretch hands away from mouth, lengthening string held by mouth. Drop mouth string below figure and swing it over figure from ulnar side.

524 5. With mouth pick up in middle of figure the crossing of thumb ulnars with little finger radials.
6. With hands remove mouth loop and, carrying it in ulnar direction, place it on great toe of right foot. (Figure 29.)
7. Indices pass distal and radial to thumb strings below figure and proximally up into squares formed at juncture of toe strings with little finger ulnars and string ulnar and parallel to them; passing distal to ulnar sides of square, rotate indices in ulnar direction back to position. (Figure 30.)
8. Release toe strings. (Figure 31)
To open, drop indices.

Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga (The-inside-turned-up).
1. Position 1.
2. Little fingers proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
3. With mouth pick up left little finger proximal ulnar string and retain.
4. Stretch hands away from mouth, lengthening string held by mouth. Drop mouth string over figure.
5. With mouth pick up in center of figure the little finger radials and thumb ulnars at the point where they cross. Draw strings taut by stretching hands from mouth.
6. Indices pass ulnar to little finger strings below figure and proximally up into squares formed at juncture of mouth strings with thumb radials and strings running distal and parallel to them; passing distal to radial sides of squares, indices rotate in radial direction back to position.
7. Drop mouth strings. (Figure 32.)
To open, first drop indices, then little fingers.

Paiokiole (Lozenge). A progressive figure.
1. Opening A.
2. Indices distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
4. Indices, passing distal and ulnar to little finger strings rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
6. Indices distally pick up little finger ulnars from ulnar side, carry these distally through thumb loops, and rotate with them in ulnar direction back to position, dropping thumbs.
7. Rotate indices in radial direction.
8. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back little

finger radials.

9. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop little fingers. The figure is Kiti-kiti-polo-iti. (Figure 33.)
12. Little fingers (as shown in Fig.33) proximally into two diamonds in middle top of figure and pull out lower outer diamond strings.
13. Drop indices.
14. Indices proximally carry back thumb distal ulnars. Figure is Taoa-kula. (the name of a fish). (Figure 34).
15. Thumbs distally into little finger loops, draw back lower outer diamond strings. Drop little fingers. Figure is Langai-tawola (A school of whales). (Figure 35).
16. Middle and ring fingers proximally hold thumb radials, dropping thumbs.
17. Thumbs distally into loops held by middle and ring fingers, carry back lower outer strings of center diamond, dropping middle fingers. This is Paiokiole. (Figure 36).

As he completes each figure in the series, the operator chants its name, attempting to arrive at the next figure when he finishes pronouncing the name of the last.

Tikonikoni (Copulation).

1. Opening A.
2. Indices distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
4. Indices, passing distal and ulnar to little finger strings, rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
6. Indices distally pick up little finger ulnars from ulnar side, carry these distally through thumb loops, and rotate with them in ulnar direction back to position, dropping thumbs.
7. Indices rotate in ulnar direction.
8. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
10. Navaho thumbs. Drop little fingers. (Figure 37).
11. Little fingers proximally into center triangle of the figure (triangle with base at top of figure and apex at bottom) and carry back strings forming sides of the triangle.
12. Drop indices and pull tight with little fingers, making fast the thumb loops. (Figure 38). Insert ring and

middle fingers into little finger loops. Drop thumbs and with other fingers slide figure around on hands.

The operator accompanies the making of this figure with a running commentary, telling how a couple go for a stroll to the bush, cut the lover's bed of coconut leaves (represented by figure 37 in movement 10), and proceed (movement 12) to copulate. He invariably ends by holding the figure in his left hand, saying that his couple now hang in the air.

Te-tau-lunga (The-anchor-above).

1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Rotate left little finger in ulnar direction.
3. Right thumb distally draws back right index ulnar. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.
4. Right middle finger proximally draws back from radial side right index radial. Left middle finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
5. Navaho thumbs; drop little fingers. (Figure 39).

Te-tau-lalo (The-anchor-below)

1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Rotate left thumb in ulnar direction.
3. Right thumb distally draws back right index ulnar. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.
4. Right middle finger proximally draws back from radial side right index radial. Left middle finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
5. Navaho thumbs; drop little fingers. (Figure 40).

Te-kivi-a-te-kakai [The-kivi(?)-of-the-people].

1. Opeing A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Thumbs, proximal to all strings, draw back little finger ulnars from ulnar side.
4. Drop little fingers.
5. Thumbs distally carry back index ulnars.
6. Little fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
7. Drop thumbs.
8. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into index loops at points dorsal to palmar strings.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Indices distally into thumb triangles (of which thumb palmar strings constitute the radial sides), and

524 rotate back to position, dropping little fingers. (Figure 41).

Te-kivi a-Yilewu [The-kivi (?)-of-(the man)-Yilewu].

1. Opening A.
2. Pass left index finger loop over right index loop on to the right index finger, placing right index loop on left index finger.
3. Drop thumbs.
4. Thumbs, proximal to all strings, draw back little finger ulnars from ulnar side.
5. Drop little fingers.
6. Thumbs distally carry back index ulnars.
7. Little fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
8. Drop thumbs.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
10. Thumbs proximally into index loops at points dorsal to palmar strings.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Indices distally into thumb triangles (of which thumb palmar strings are the radial sides), and rotate back to position, dropping little fingers. (Figure 42).

Te-imu-o-Te Lautalo (The-oven-of-Te-Lautalo).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally from ulnar side draw back little finger radials and ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs proximally on index ulnars.
5. Indices proximally into middle finger loops, carry back middle finger ulnars, which are proximally taken up by thumbs which return to position as the middle fingers and indices are dropped and the figure stretched on thumbs and little fingers. (Figure 43).

Te-tavatava-o-te-wui-kiole [The-tavatava-(trap?)-of-the rats].

1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right.
2. Left thumb proximally removes left little finger loop.
3. Left little finger, distal and radial to distal thumb strings, distally removes thumb proximal loop.
4. Repeat 2 and 3.
5. Repeat 2 and 3.

524 6. Repeat 2 and 3.
7. Left index finger proximally picks up right index palmar string.
8. Drop right index loop and, gently stretching right hand out, wiggle the rat (dropped loop) (Figure 44)
[539] along towards the left hand to the rhythm of the chant:

Te kiole e, ata ngingi,	O rat, good at crying "Ngingi",
E totolo koe i te taupoto,	You crawl on the roof's ridge,
E leio koe ki te tala lewu,	You jump down to the gable end,
Koa patua koe e te tangata,	You are killed by the people,
Koa tu to paepae watu.	They erect your gravestones.

Te-la-palepale (The-setting-sun)
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Index fingers proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back index proximal ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back index distal ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to index distal radials, proximally draw back index proximal radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 45).

Moamoa (name of a coral organism).
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Indices proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs, proximal to proximal index strings, draw back from ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximal to distal index strings, draw back from ulnar side distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers distal to distal index strings proximally draw back proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Turn palms out. (Figure 46).

Te-wua-ya-valu (The-fleet-of-eight).
1. With right hand, loop string across palm and back of left hand ulnar to thumb, then wind hanging dorsal string 6 times around left hand and fingers, each succeeding loop distal to the former. Place final dorsal string of 6th loop between left ring and little fingers, and hold thus.
2. With right hand, pick up end of hanging dorsal

string and make a loop in it by crossing dextral string behind sinistral string. Pass crossing pair of strings, at point where they cross, from ulnar side, under palmar strings of left hand.

3. Little finger and thumb of right hand take up hanging double distal loops. Little finger and thumb of right hand take up two proximal loops of strings slipped under palmar strings.
4. Let palmar strings slip on to the middle of figure as hands are stretched apart. Separate the loops in the middle of the figure to represent canoe sterns. (Figure 47).

Te-tai-kiki (The-tide-going-out).

1. Double loop string over thumbs, remainder over palms behind thumbs.
2. Indices proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
3. Thumbs, passing proximal and ulnar to little finger strings, proximally into index loops, rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping indices.
4. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Indices proximally draw back thumb ulnars. (Fig. 48). Drop thumbs.

Repeating indefinitely movements 2 to 5, the figure (the tide) becomes smaller (lower) each time (figs. 49 and 50) until only a line is visible in the center.

To show tide flowing in again and to open figure, place figure on flat surface; with left hand pick up loops previously held by right hand and with right hand loops previously held by left hand. Then repeat again movements 2 to 5 until tide is well in and the figure open.

Matua kalou [name of a type of eel (?)]. A progressive figure.

1. Position 1 on right hand. With left hand revolve hanging string twice, making a double cross in center, take up position 1 on left hand; proceed to opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Navaho thumbs. Figure is Matua kalou. (Figure 51.)
4. Drop thumbs.
5. Indices distally in little finger loops, rotate in distal direction back to position. Figure is Ui kauana. (Figure 52.)
6. Thumbs proximally draw back index radials which do not pass to little fingers.
7. Drop little fingers. Figure is Ui lalapa. (Figure 53.)

524 Te-ko-lemu-yengiyengi (The-yellow-anus).

1. Position 1.
2. Indices proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Thumbs, distal to index radials, proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
4. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 54.)

[539] Work thumbs and fingers in and out to the rhythm of the chant:

Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Titiko i tua, titiko i tai,	Defecates at the back beach, defecates at lagoon beach,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e.	The yellow anus.

Tava (meaning unknown). Played by two people.

First player:

1. Opening A.
2. Drop little fingers.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back from ulnar side proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Stretch right hand forward, bring left hand inward to body, turn both palms up and stretch figure. (Figure 55.)

Second player takes up figure by process called tui (to sew).

8. At end of figure held by first player's right hand, insert little fingers distally into two outer triangles (held by first player's thumb and middle finger).
9. Pass thumbs distally into and through next outer triangles and proximally up out of next outer triangles.
10. Insert little fingers into two outer radial loops held by first player's left thumb and middle finger.

First player removes all his fingers. Figure is Tava. (Figure 56.)

First player proximally inserts thumb and index of each hand into each of two outer loops of figure held by other players's thumb and index of right hand, second player dropping his hold on those two loops while taking hold proximally of each of the other two loops with thumb and index of each hand. (Figure 57.)

Together the players count: tai tava (one tava), lua tava, tolu tava, and on up through 10 tava, both players with indices

524 distally drawing back central "diamond" outer strings, releasing thumbs, and thus reproducing the same figure, Tava, for each count. Then with their hands players raise and lower the figure to the rhythm of the chant:

[539]	Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
	Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
	Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
	E kau lua te pola	Has twenty thatch sheets
	Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
	E kau lua te pola.	Has twenty thatch sheets

The figure is then laid on a flat surface and opened out to give the figure which resulted in movement 7, by picking up distally the distal of the two sets of loops on the dextral side of the figure and carrying these to the left. The next player now repeats movements 8 to 10, the sewing process, and the game is repeated indefinitely.

Taku-pu-lele-lua (My-hole-becomes-two).

1. Opening A.
2. Ring fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
3. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb, distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
5. Left index finger proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Right index finger proximally removes right thumb loop.
7. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
8. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
9. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
10. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
11. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
12. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
13. Ring fingers distally into oblongs formed by ring finger radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
14. Drop little fingers and thumbs. This is the first "hole". (Figure 58.)
15. Drop indices for the second hole. (Figure 59.)

Te-pu-a-loto (a canoe name).

1. Double the string and loop it over thumbs.
2. Indices distally draw back thumb radials.

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3. Right thumb proximally draws back left thumb radial-palmar string.
4. With teeth pick up right thumb double proximal strings from distal side, carry these over right thumb and to center of the figure, retaining hold with teeth.
5. Indices distally into thumb loops, rotate back to position.
6. Middle and ring fingers press down from ulnar side on index finger distal ulnars.
7. Release mouth strings. (Figure 60.)

Open by releasing thumbs and indices. (Figure 73)

Te-itu-wala-kula (pandanus-fruit-with-ripe-keys).

1. Position 1.
2. Pass right hand dorsally through left hand loop and left hand dorsally through right hand loop.
3. Indices proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
4. Slip index loops over wrists.
5. Indices distally pick up little finger radials and proceed distally into thumb loops, rotating in ulnar direction back to position.
6. Drop thumbs.
7. Thumbs proximally remove index finger loops.
8. With opposite hand, pick up double wrist loops and place them across palms behind thumbs and little fingers.
9. Repeat 5.
10. Drop little fingers.
11. Little fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
12. Indices pass from ulnar-proximal side below string running parallel and ulnar to ulnar thumb string, over the intersecting diagonal string, and under ulnar thumb string.
13. Drop thumbs and without stretching figure pick up proximally the distal index finger radials hanging down toward thumb. (Figure 61.)

For the lui of this figure, drop little fingers.

Te-tala-o-te-yamāyama [The-story-(?)-of-the seaweed].

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximal to little finger strings, pick up from ulnar side, little finger ulnars, returning to position proximal to little finger radials.

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3. Right little finger, proximal to right index strings, proximally draws back through its own loop right thumb ulnar.
4. Left little finger, proximal to left index strings, draws back through its own loop, from radial side, left index radial.
5. Navaho thumbs inversely: with mouth, draw back distal thumb radials under proximal thumb radials and drop them over on the ulnar side of the thumbs.
6. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
7. Counting upward on either side of the figure from little finger ulnars (which are counted 1), insert thumbs under second, over third, and under fourth strings in figure, drawing back strings 2 and 4. (Figure 62.)
8. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 63.)
   For the lui of this figure, drop distal index loops.

Kumete (Food bowl).

1. Opening A.
2. Indices distally into little finger loops, rotate back to position, dropping little fingers.
3. Middle fingers distally press downward on index ulnars.
4. Drop thumbs carefully so that thumb radials fall to the sides of and below figure, forming two central diamonds in figure.
5. Insert thumbs through lower outer triangles into diamonds, drawing back lower outer diamond strings. (Figure 64.)
   To open, drop thumbs.

Kupenga (Fishing net).

1. Position 1 on left hand.
2. Loop other end of string around big and second toes of left foot.
3. With right hand draw back string passing behind toes between the toes and place it on left index finger.
4. Place right index proximally on left index ulnar string passing under left little finger ulnar, carrying back the latter.
5. Rotate this latter string (little finger ulnar) under index ulnar.
6. Place right thumb behind, ulnar to, left index ulnar, drop right index, and carry right thumb distal to left index radial.
7. Repeat operation on index radial and thumb strings, inserting thumb proximally into loop remaining.

8. With right hand draw back from second toe the ulnar second toe string and loop it over little finger.
9. Repeat movements 4 to 7, as often as desired, each time increasing the net's length. (Figure 65.)

The number of warp strings will depend on the length of the original string.

10. Remove all loops off left thumb and hold. Remove loop off left big toe and slip through thumb loops, catching with each thumb an end of the loop slipped through. Repeat this process with little fingers and 2nd toe loops. Then stretch loops apart, spread net meshes, and display on hands. (Figure 66.)

Yele moa (Tie the chicken). Trick figure.

1. Place string around neck. Hold hanging string in both hands. With right hand loop string once around the neck and draw tight.
2. Place sinistrally hanging string over the palm of the left hand so that the string passes behind thumb and little finger and across palm.
3. Pick up dextrally hanging string with right hand and loop it over left hand, the string passing from the radial side parallel to the first string, behind thumb and little fingers, and across palm.
4. Drop little finger on left hand. With fingers of both hands, pick up loop hanging from thumb and place it over the head.

Pull on the loop hanging low on the chest and the string will disengage itself from the neck. As the demonstrator pulls he says, "Motu te ua" (Severed the neck); watchers also call this out when they see someone doing the trick incorrectly.

Hand slip trick. Nameless.

Hold one end of loop in left hand. Right hand passes from radial side through the loop, rotates with wrist turned down and to the right, behind and around dextrally hanging string, passes radially around sinistral hanging string, and reenters loop from ulnar side. Draw right hand out and the strings fall off.

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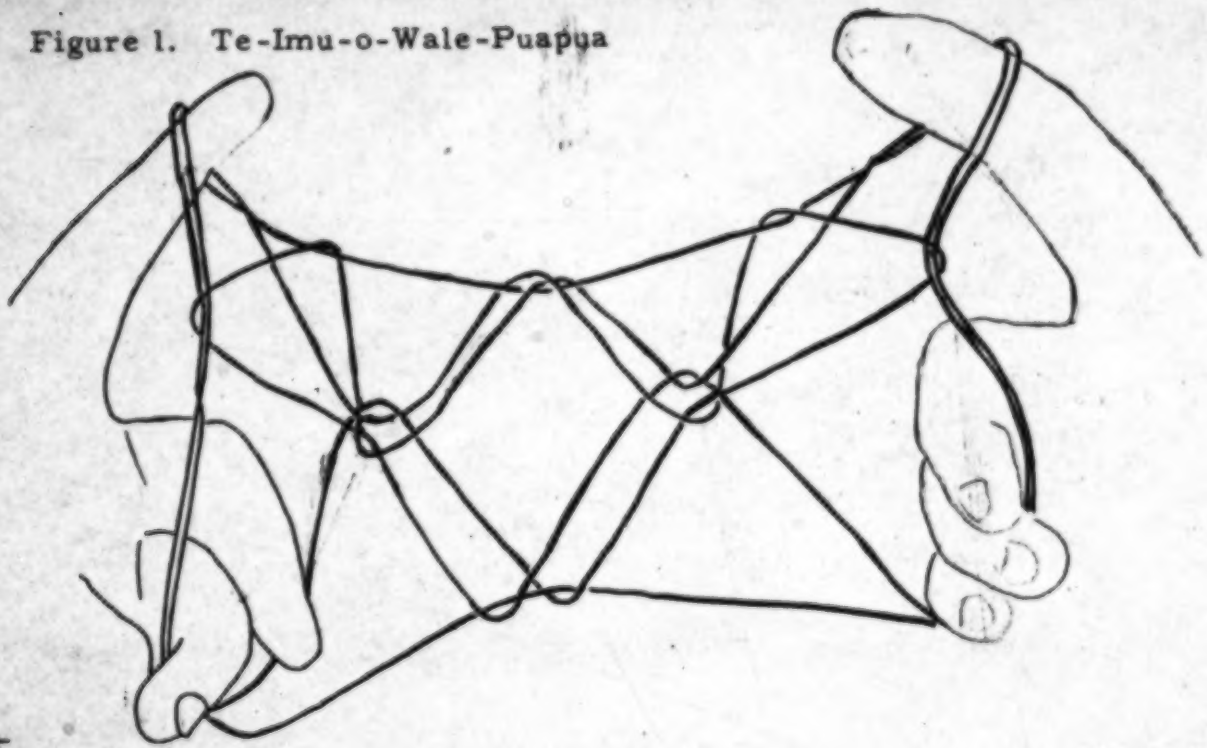

Figure 2. Te-Imu-o-Wale-Puapua (Secondary figure, lui)

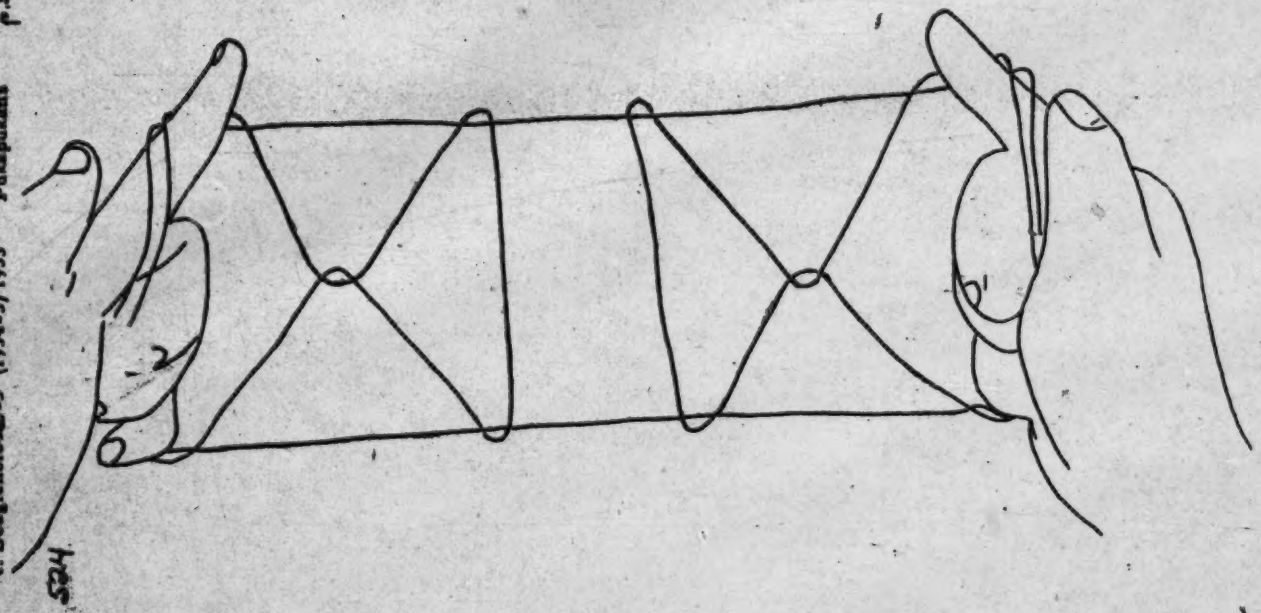

Figure 3. Te-Imu-o-Tima

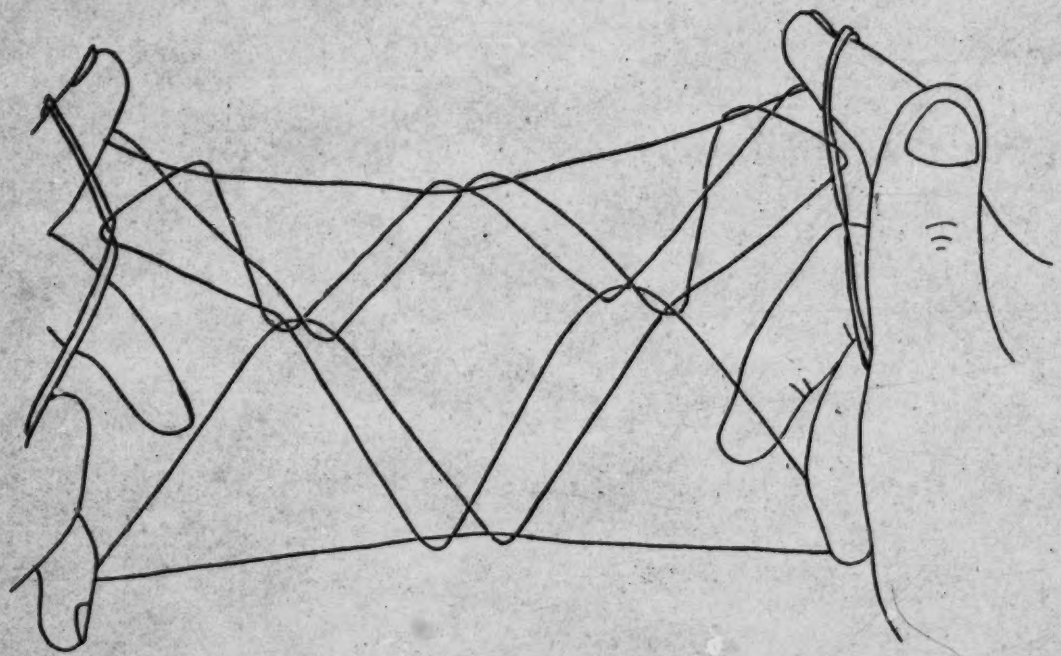

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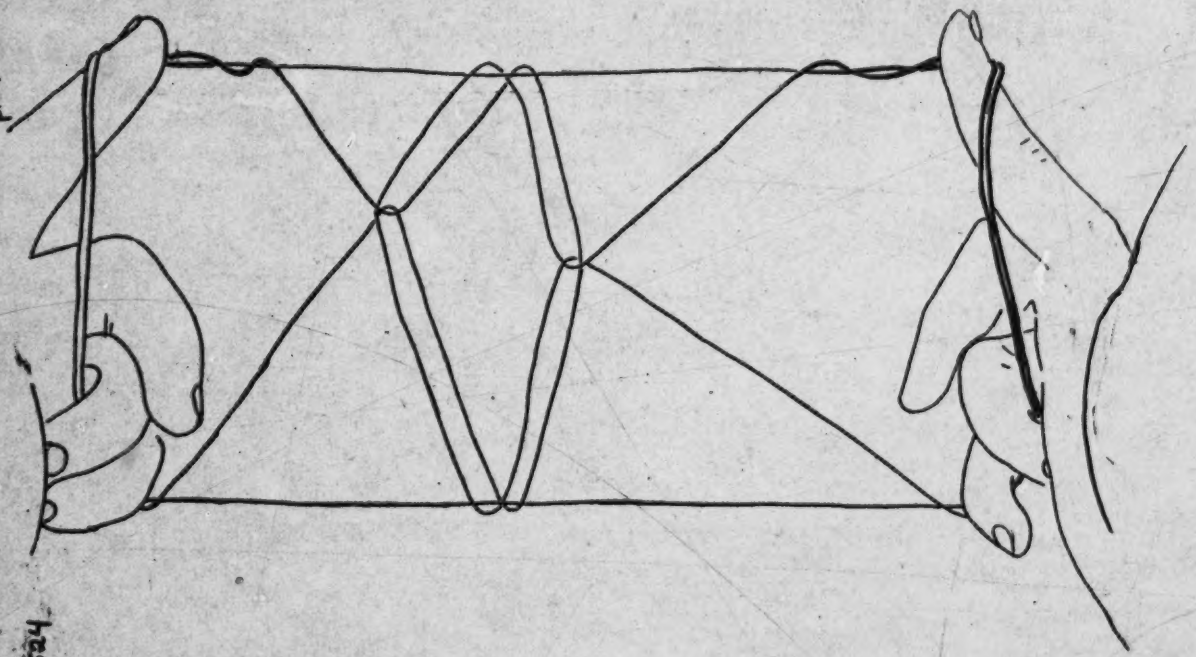
Figure 4. Te-Imu-o-Tima (Secondary figure, lui)



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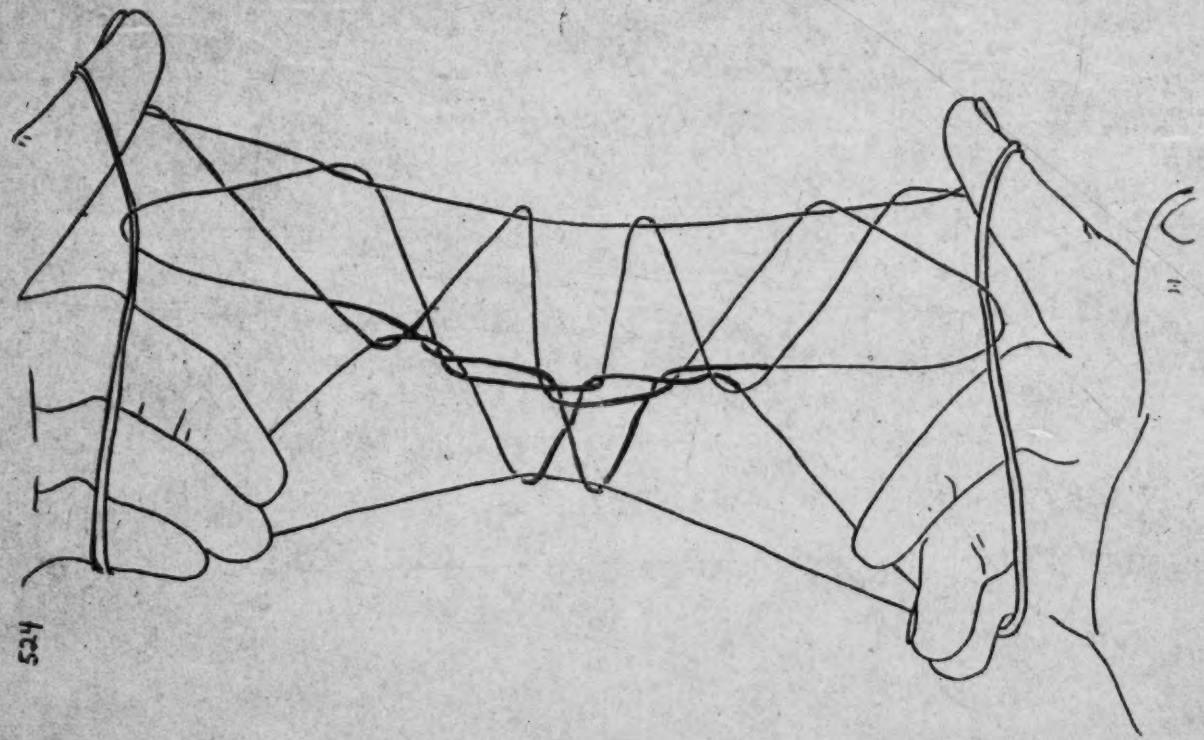

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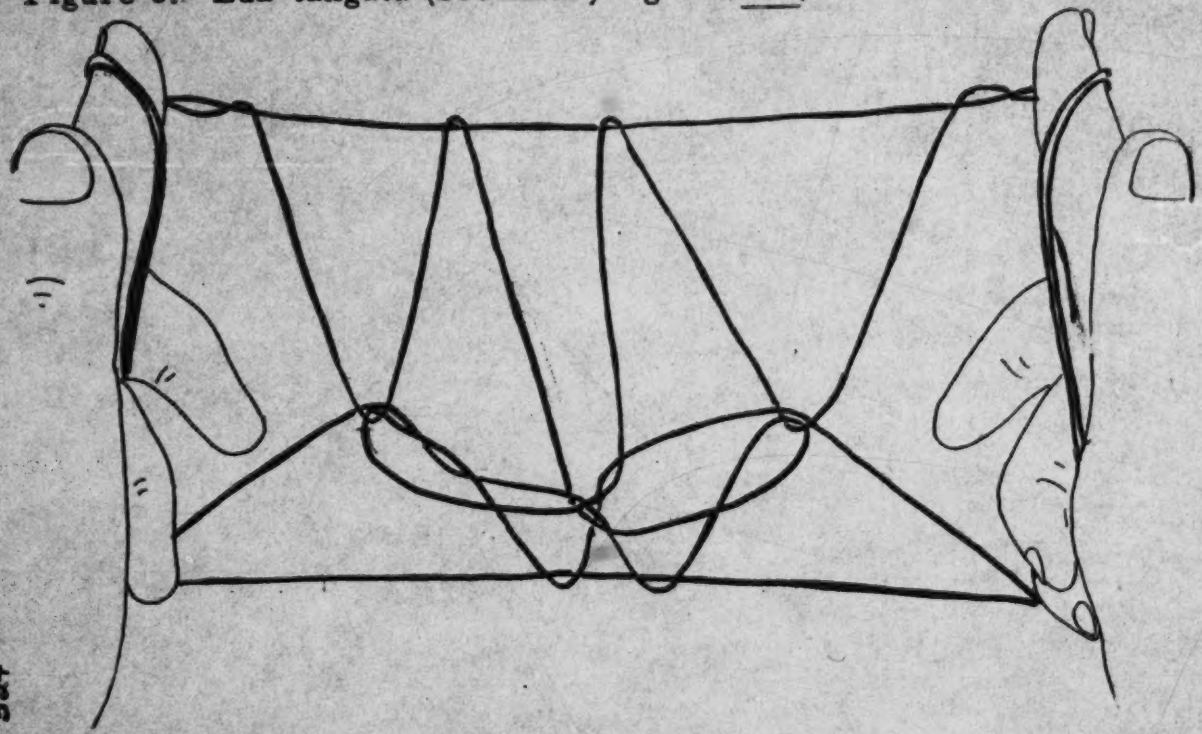
Figure 6. Lua-tangata (Secondary figure, lui)



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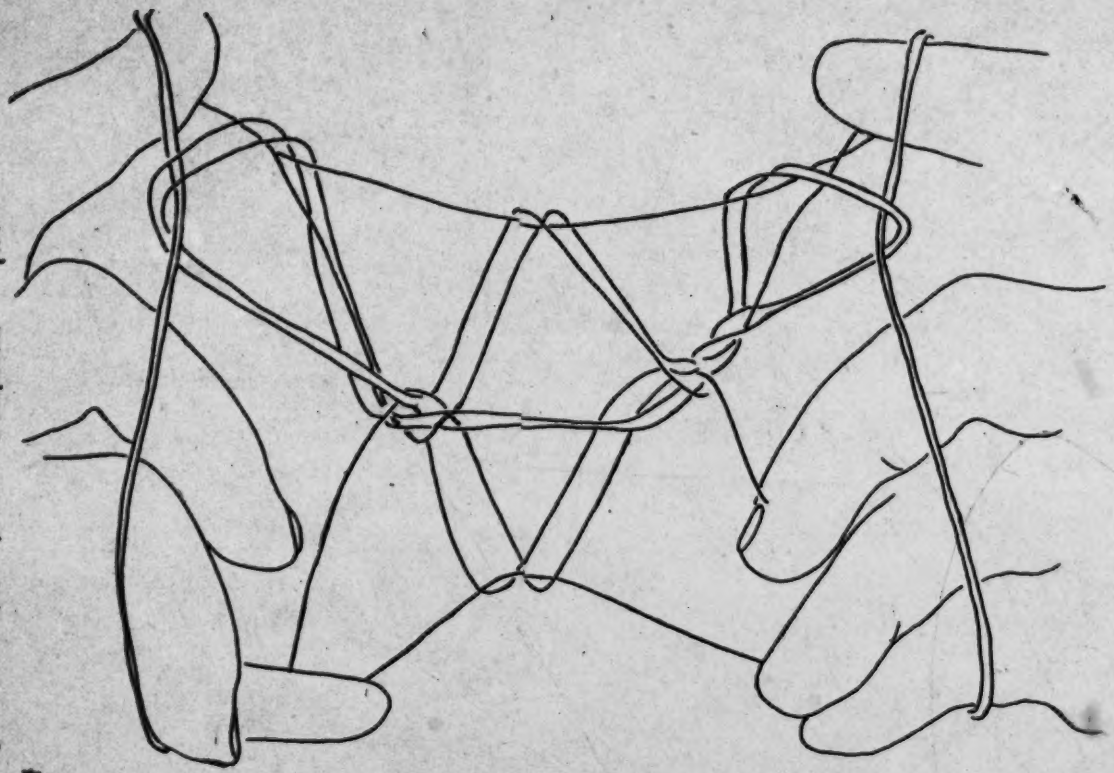

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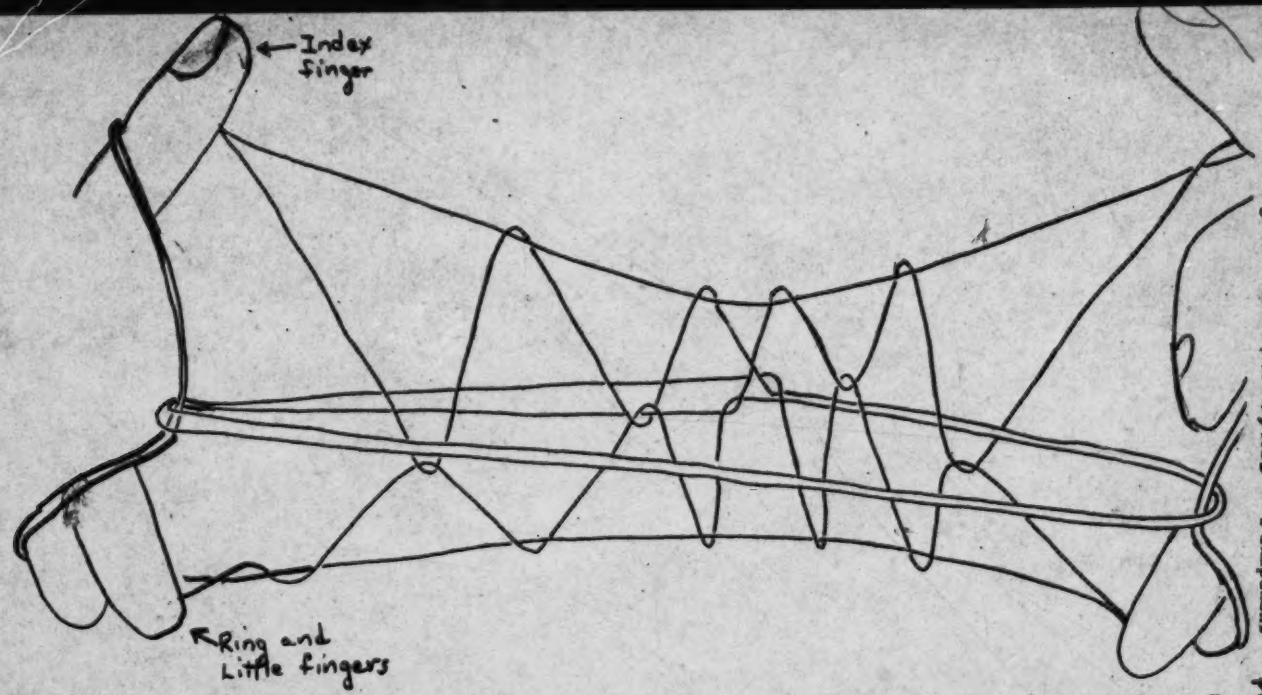

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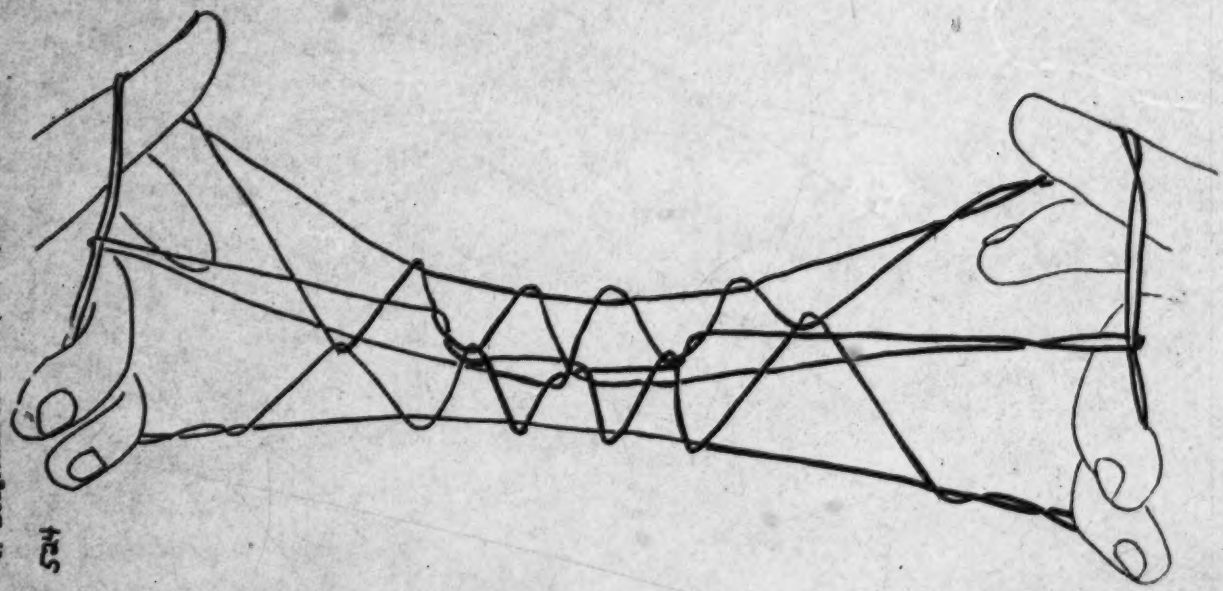

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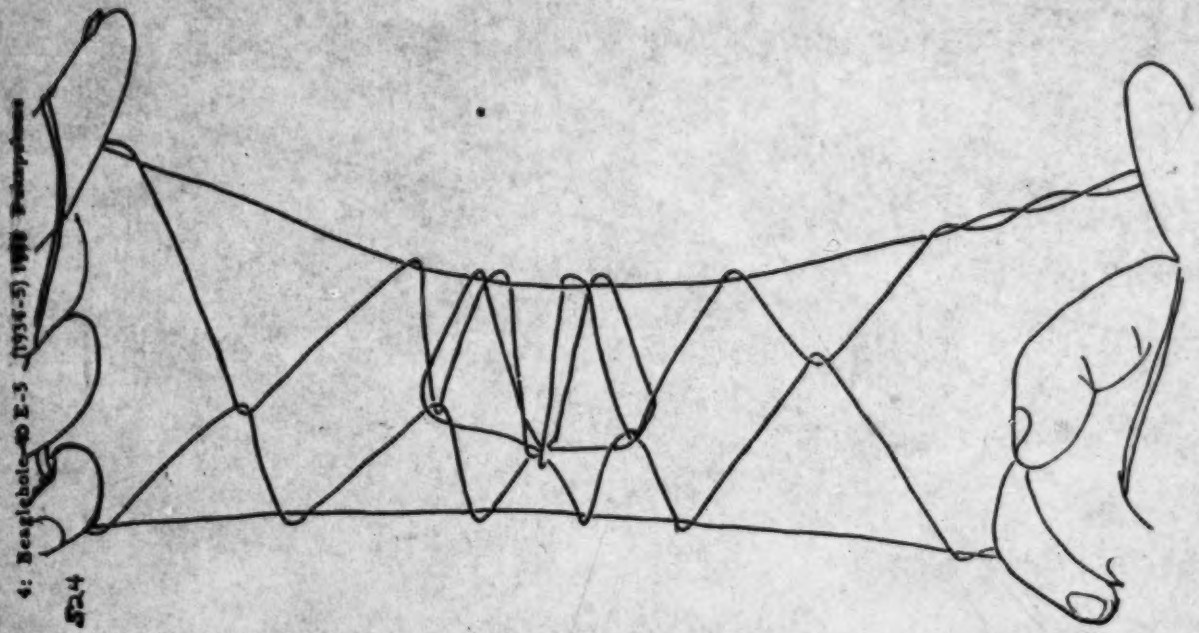
Figure 10. Te-langi-loa (Secondary figure, lui)



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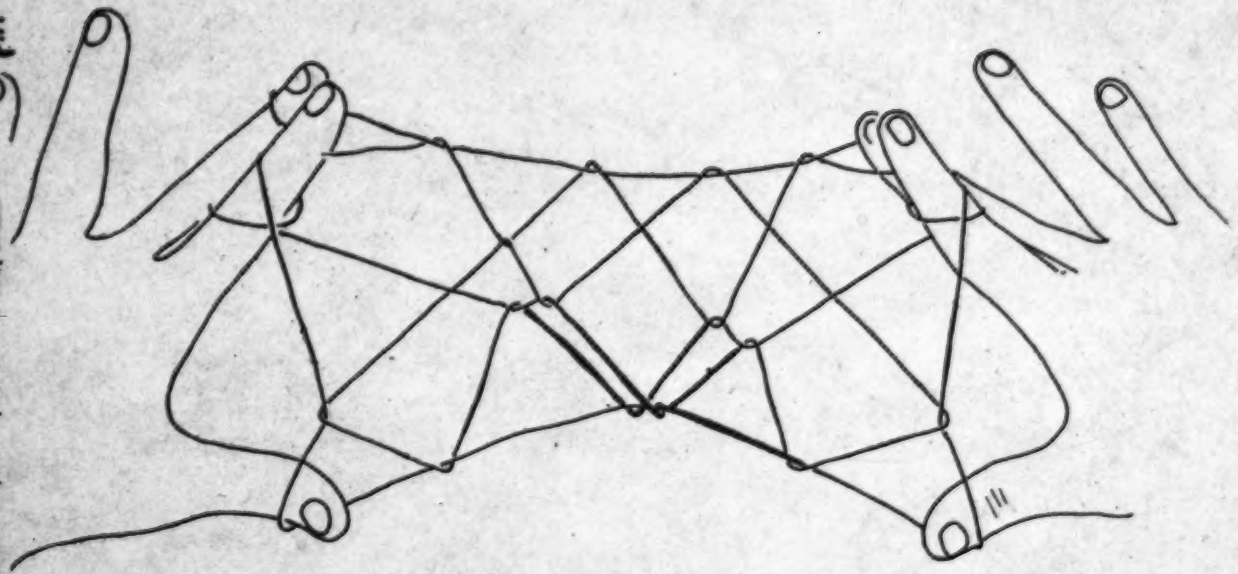

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Figure 12. Na-wiwi

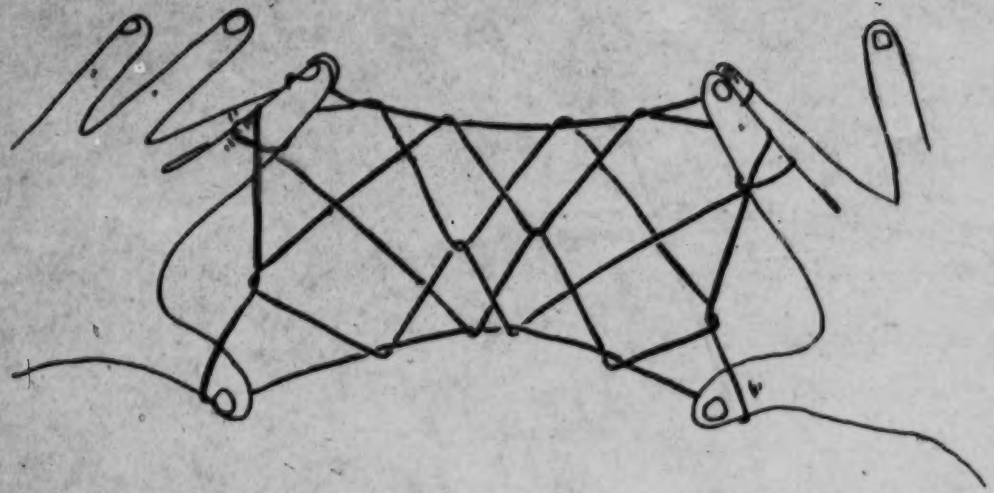

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Figure 13. Te-va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga

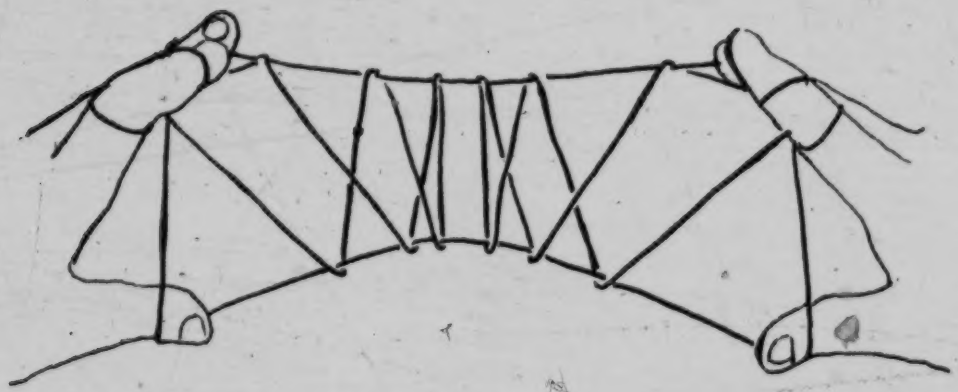

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Figure 14. Te-pitopito-i-Kolo

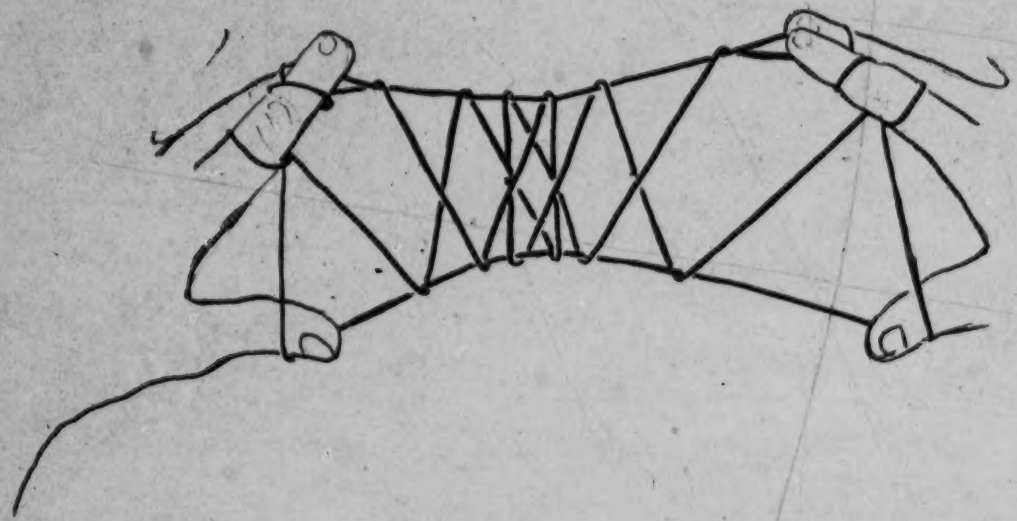
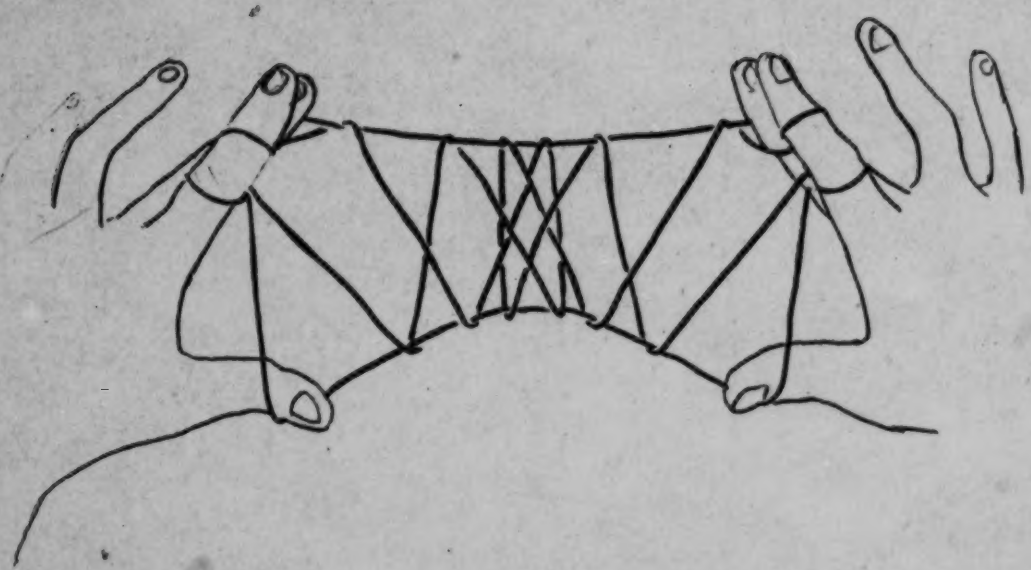


Figure 15. Te-kapu-ta-ika



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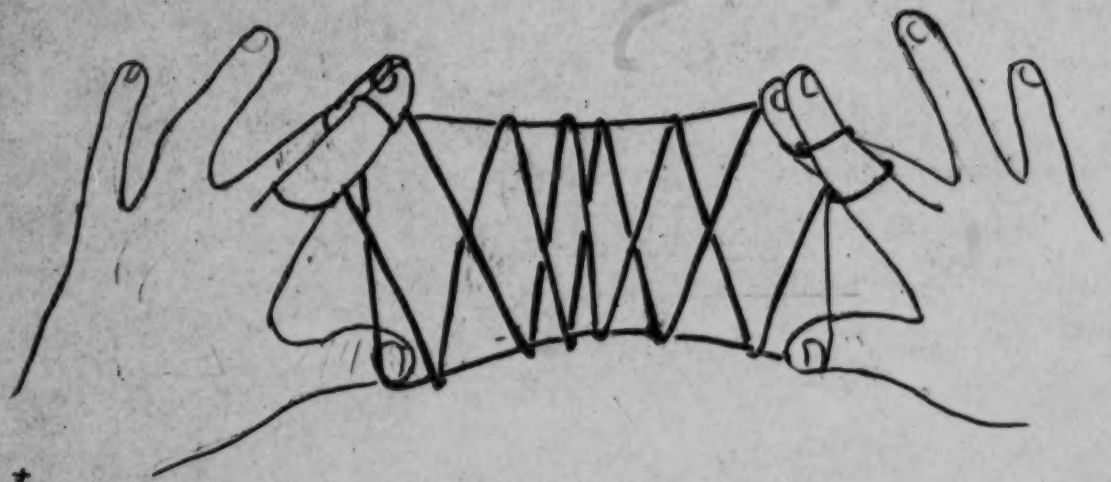
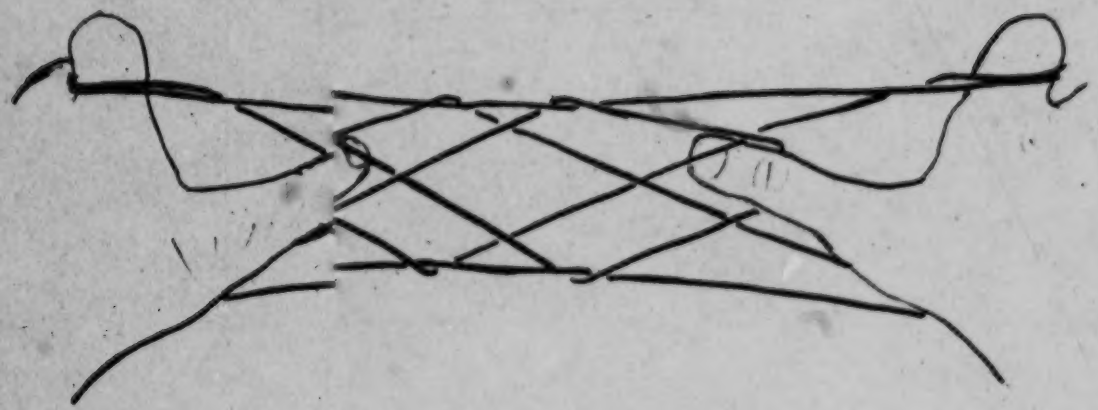


Figure 17. Te-ponau



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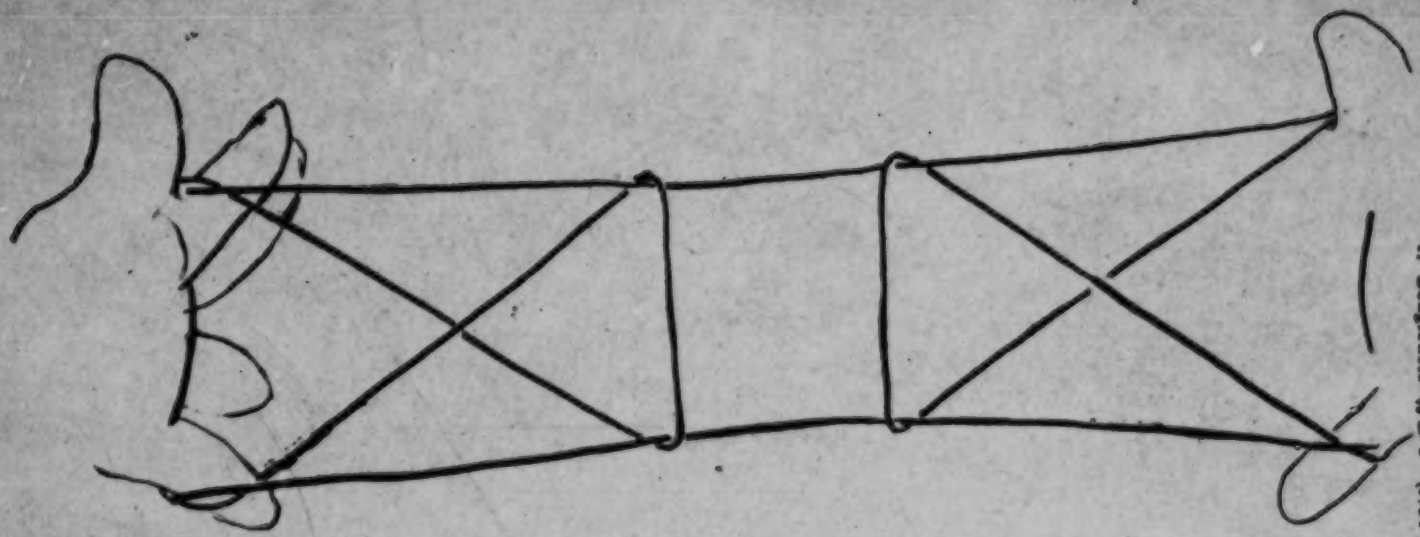

Figure 18. Te-ponaunau (Secondary figure, lui)

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Figure 19. Katatuna

Figure 20. Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (Movement 7, a three-dimensional figure)

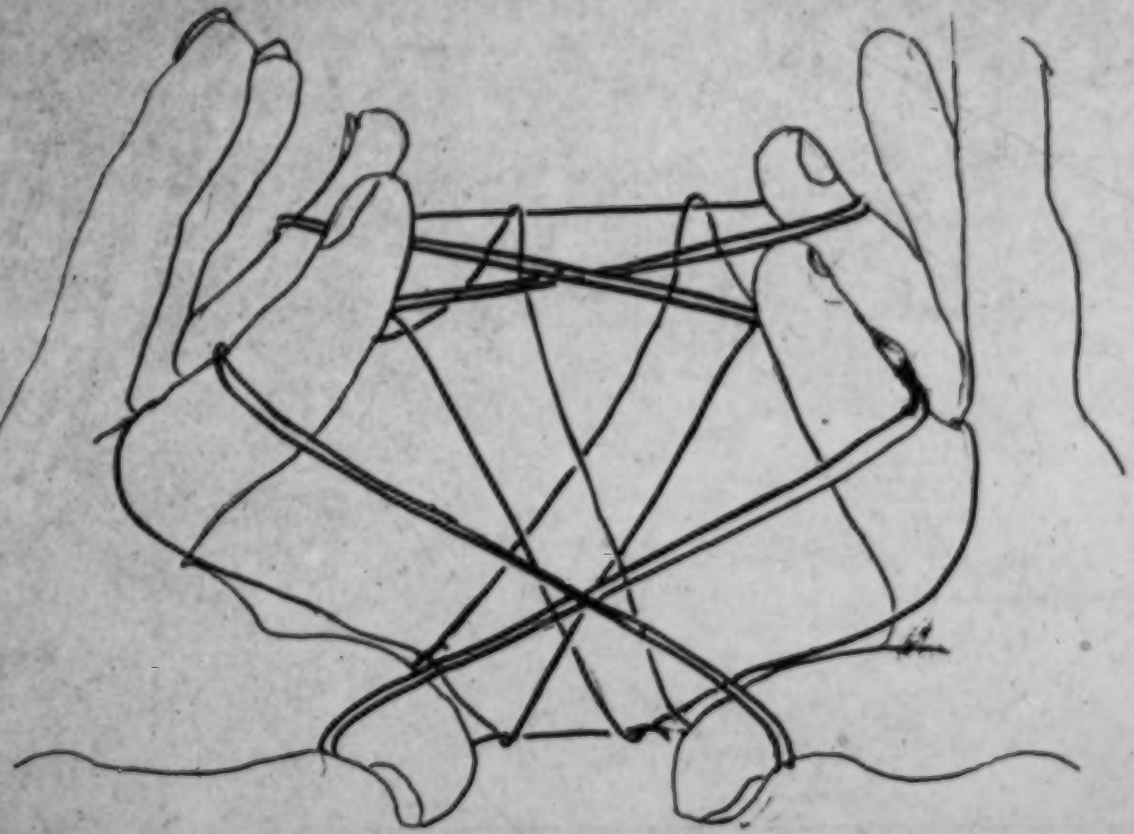

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Figure 21. Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (Completed figure)

Figure 22. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 1 a)

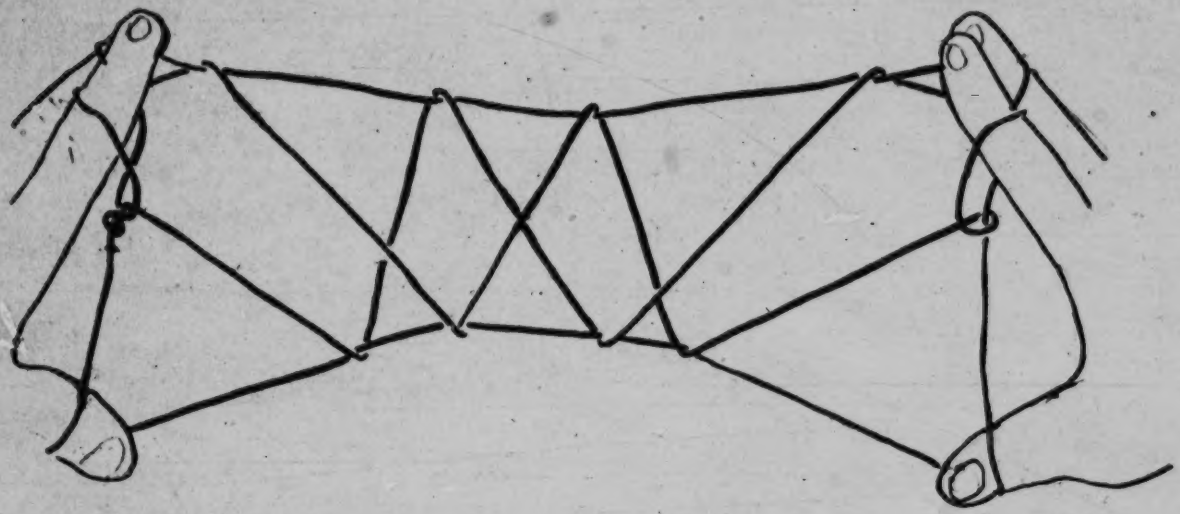

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Figure 23. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 1b)

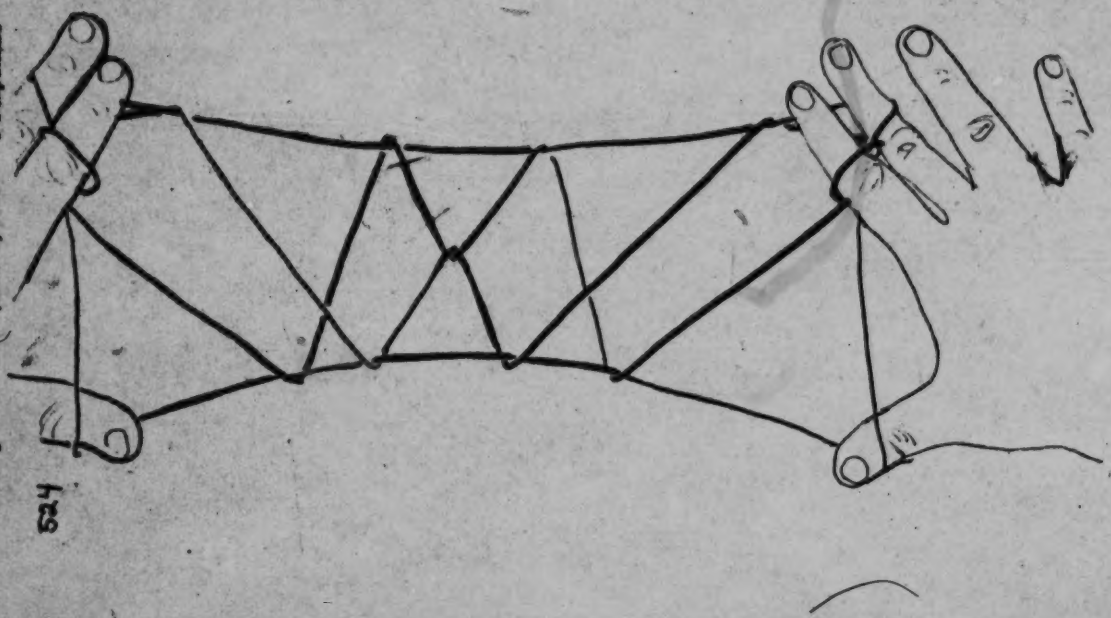

Figure 24. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 2)

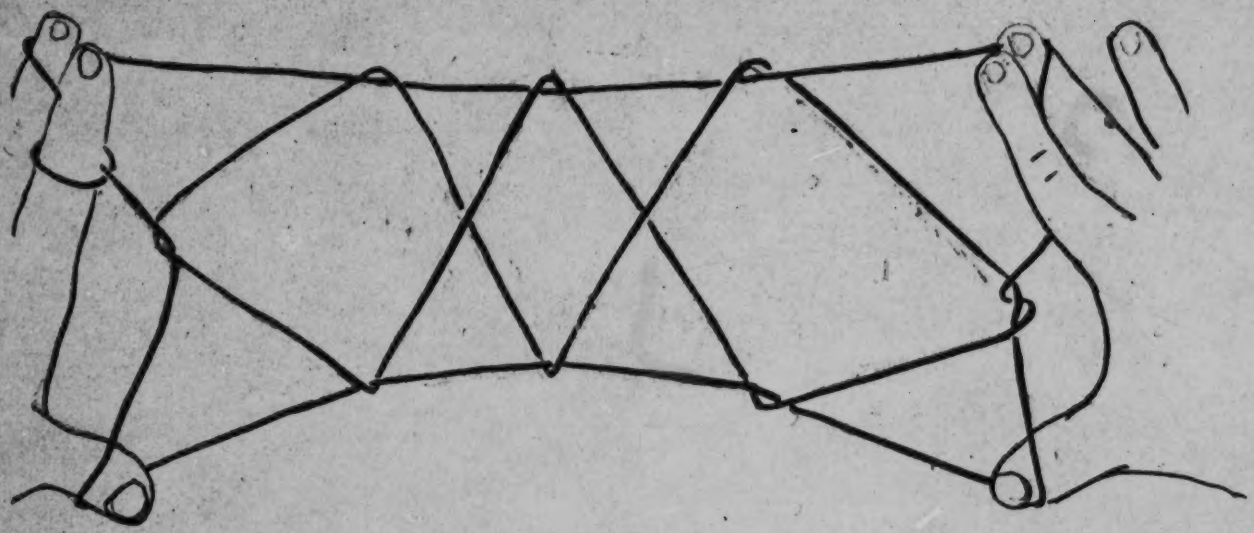

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Figure 25. Te-matangi-tavili

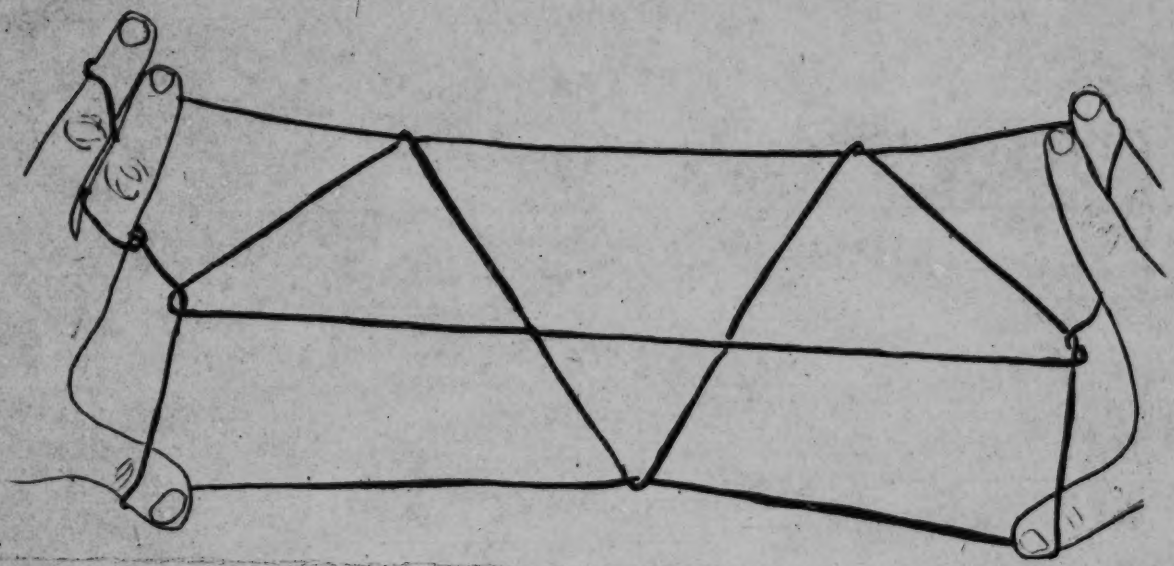

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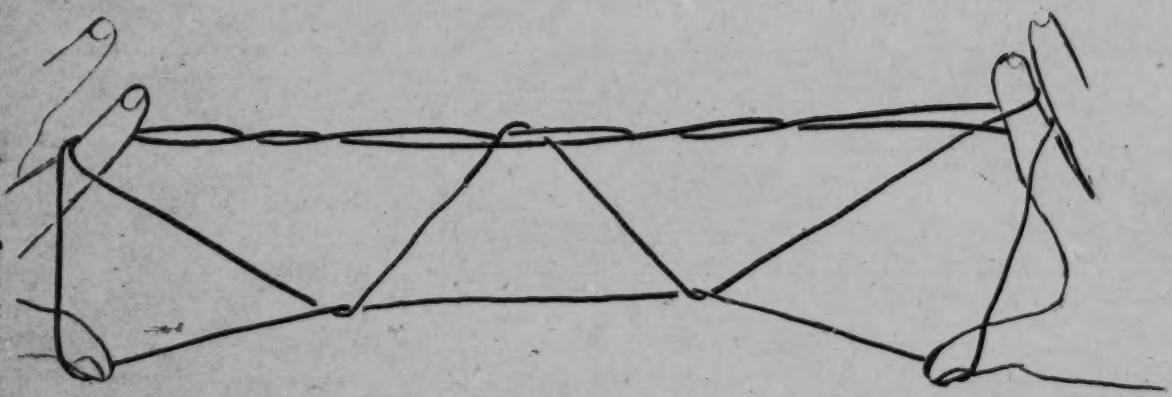
Figure 26. Te-matangi-taulele



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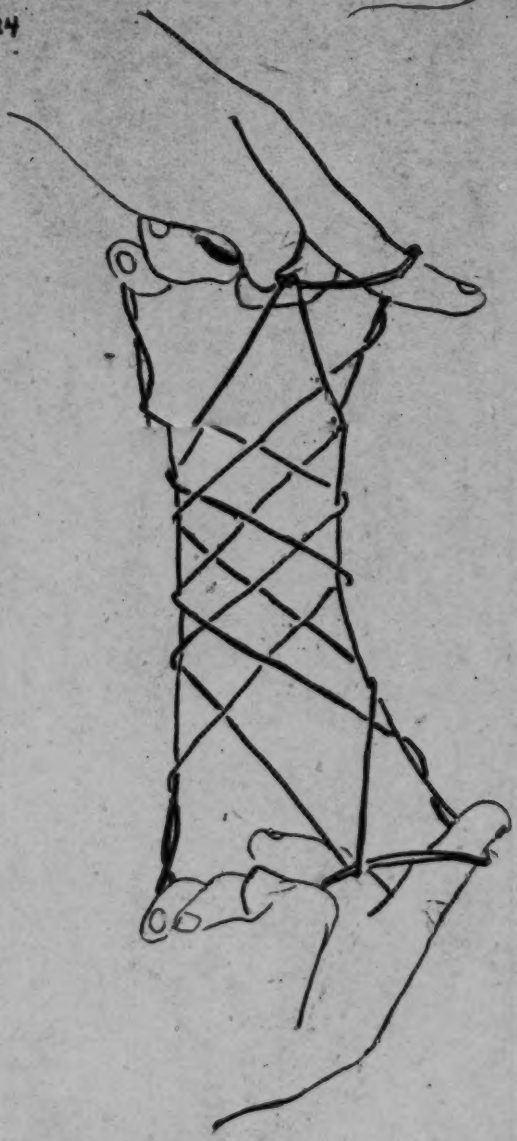


Figure 27. Wala-ola

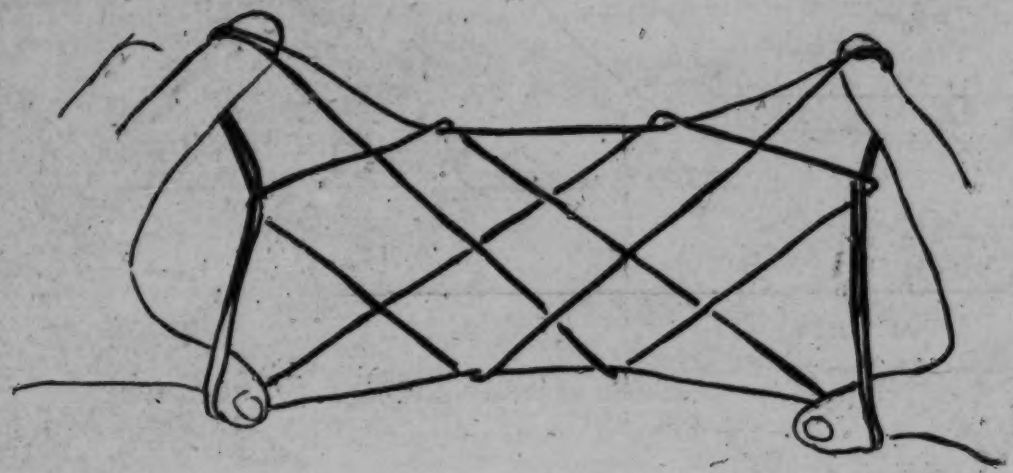


Figure 28. Wala-yila-wua

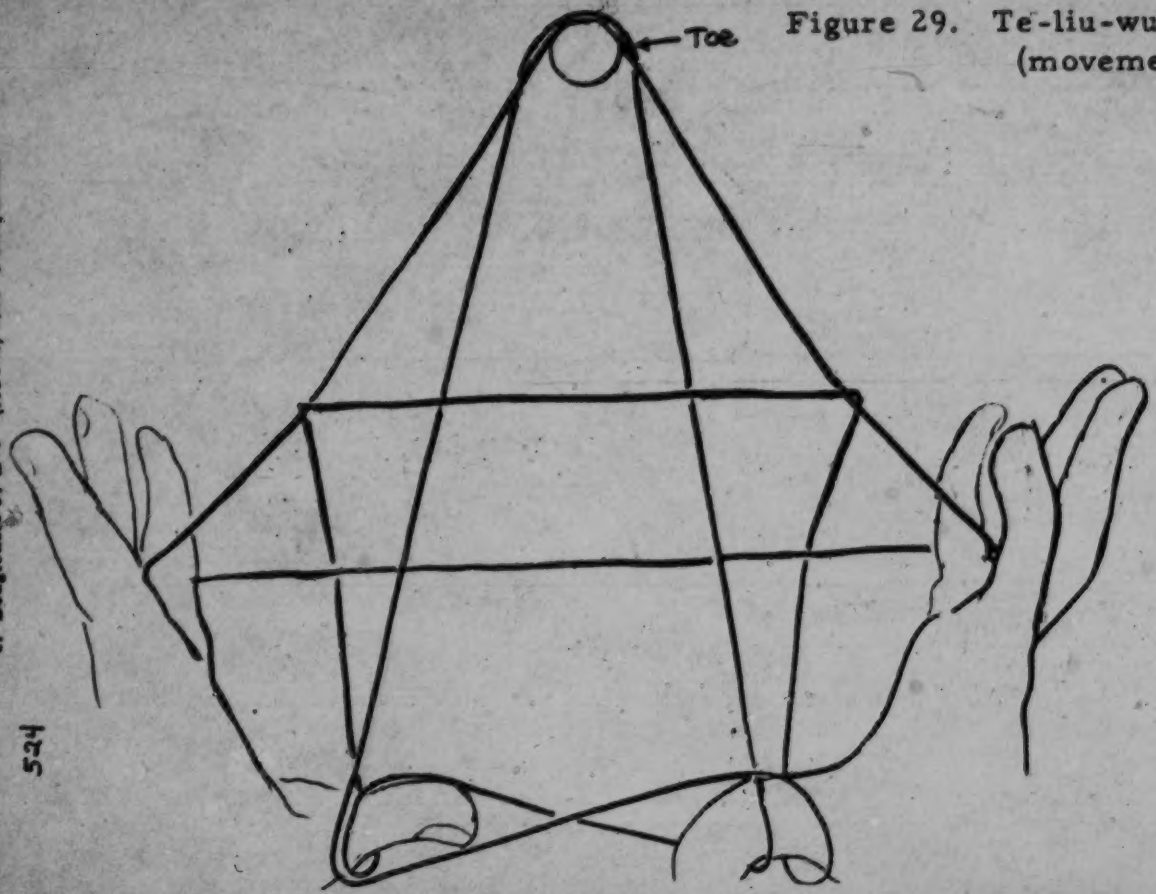


Figure 29. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
(movement 6)

4: Bergsickole-67 E-3 (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans

Figure 30. Te-liu-wuwúli-ki-lalo (Movement 7, showing the pickup)

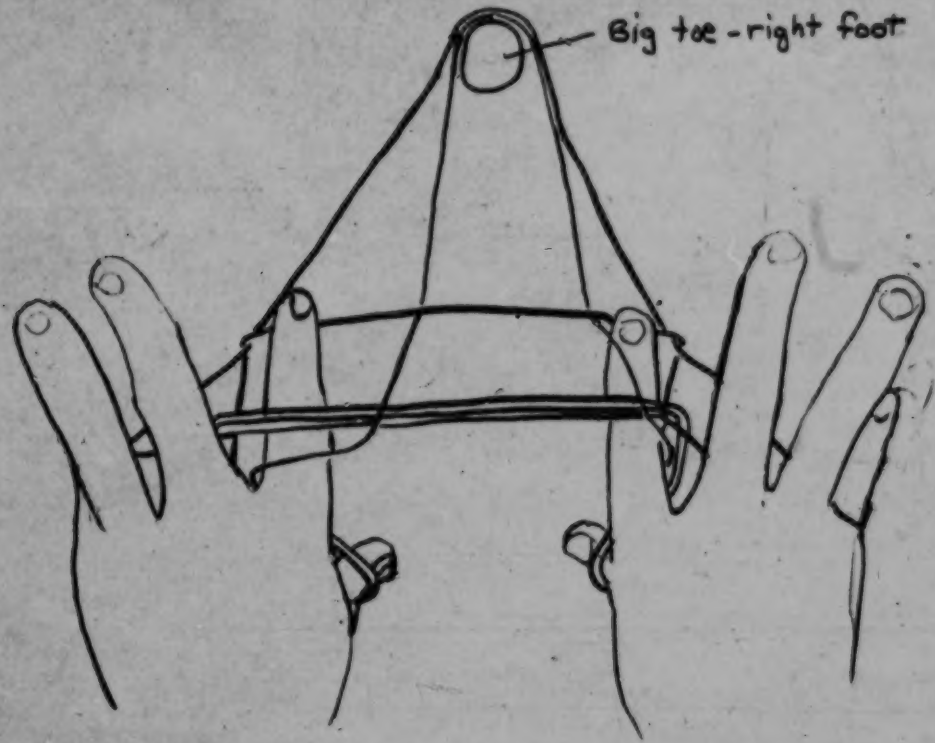
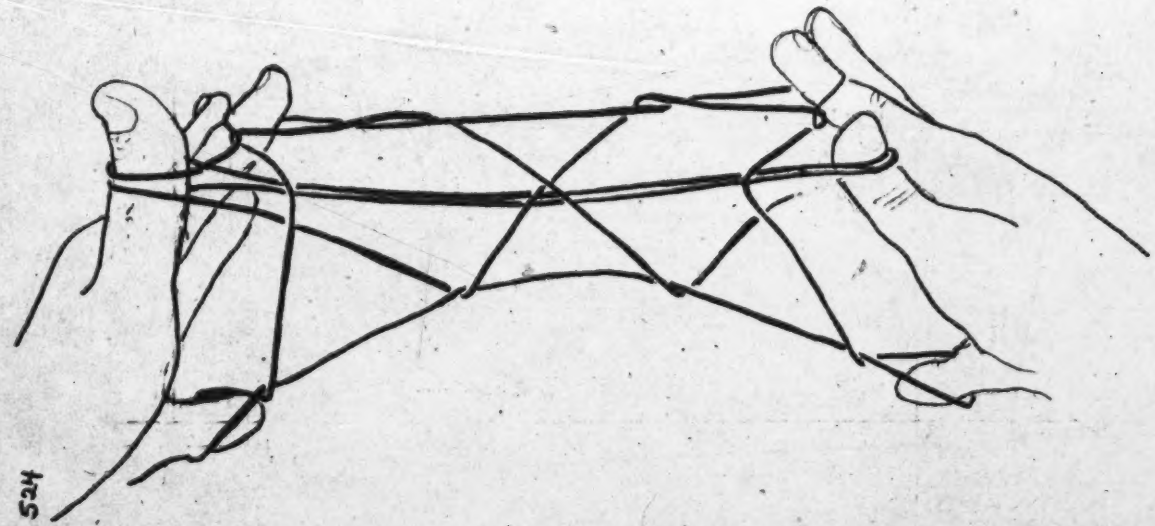


Figure 31. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo (the completed three-dimensional figure)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.61

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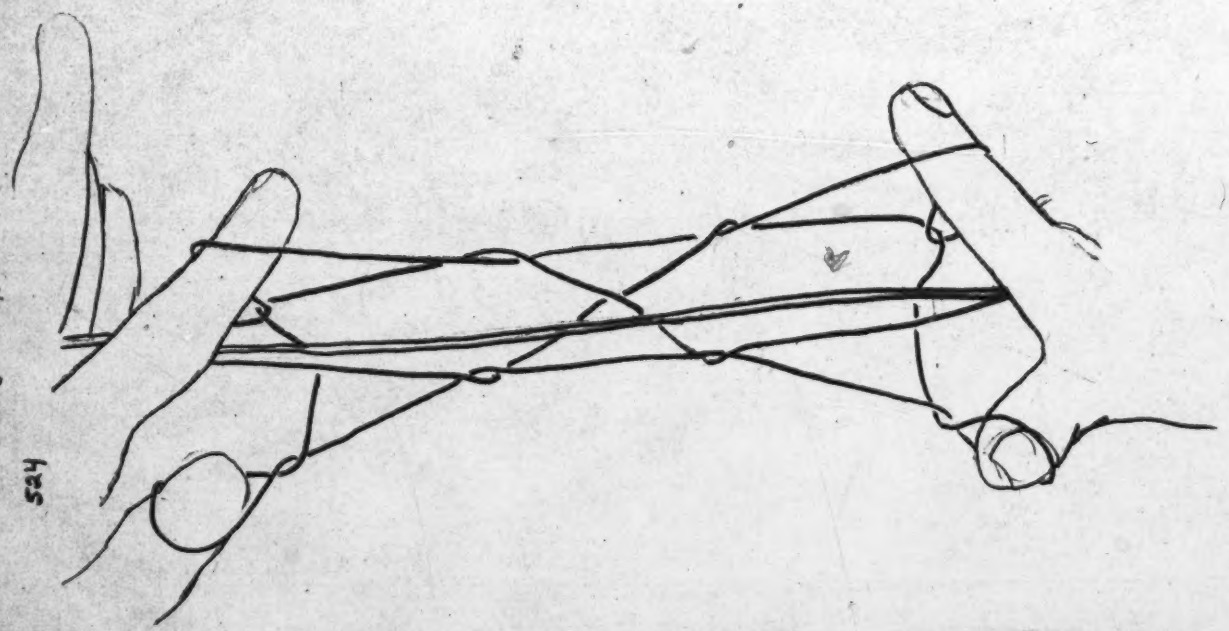
Figure 32. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga



4: Beagiehole-64 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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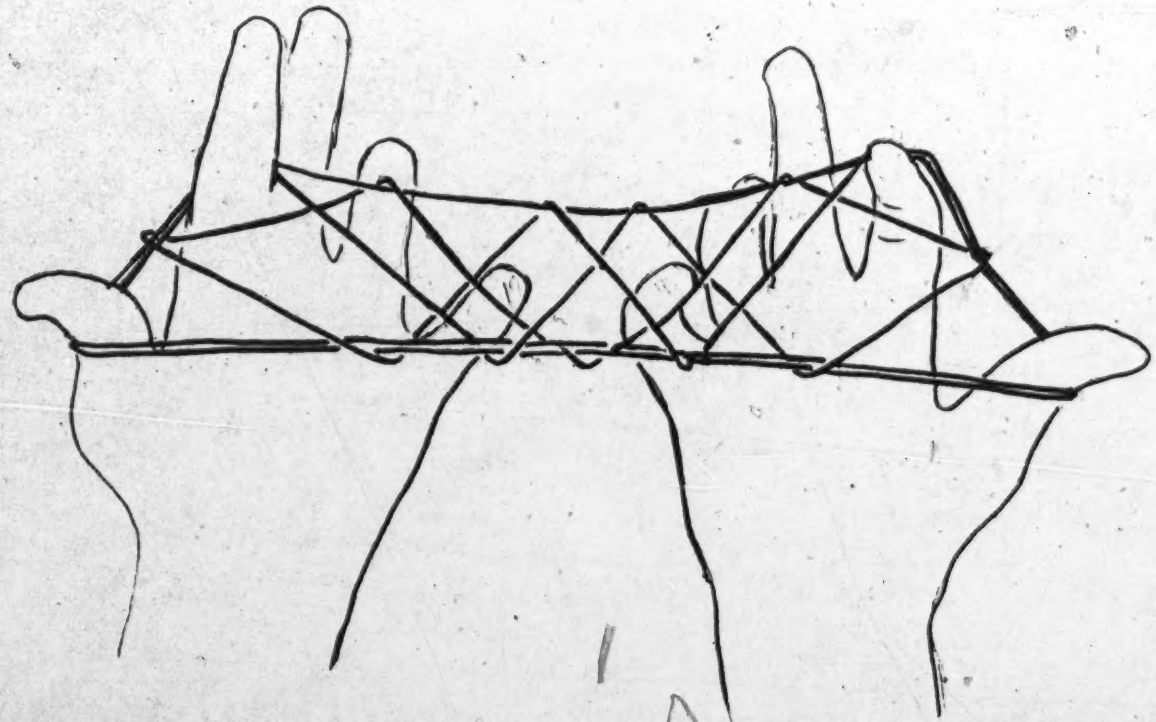
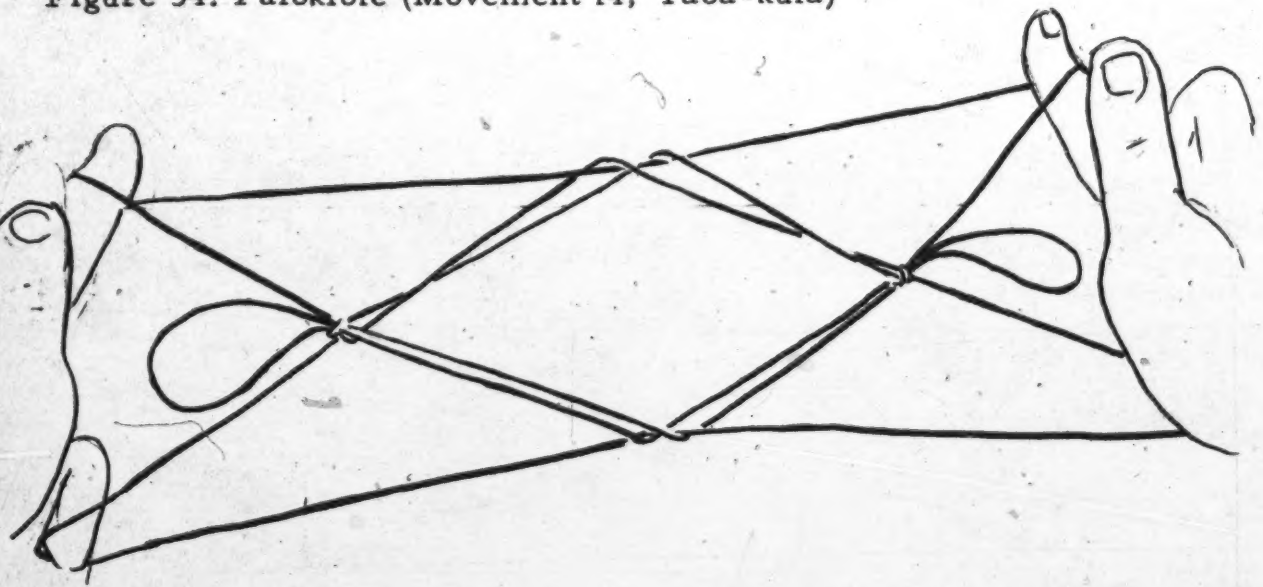


Figure 33. Paiokiole (Movement 11, Kiti-kiti-polo-iti). Figure also shows insertion of little fingers, movement 12.

4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.63

Figure 34. Paiokiole (Movement 14, Taoa-kula)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p-64

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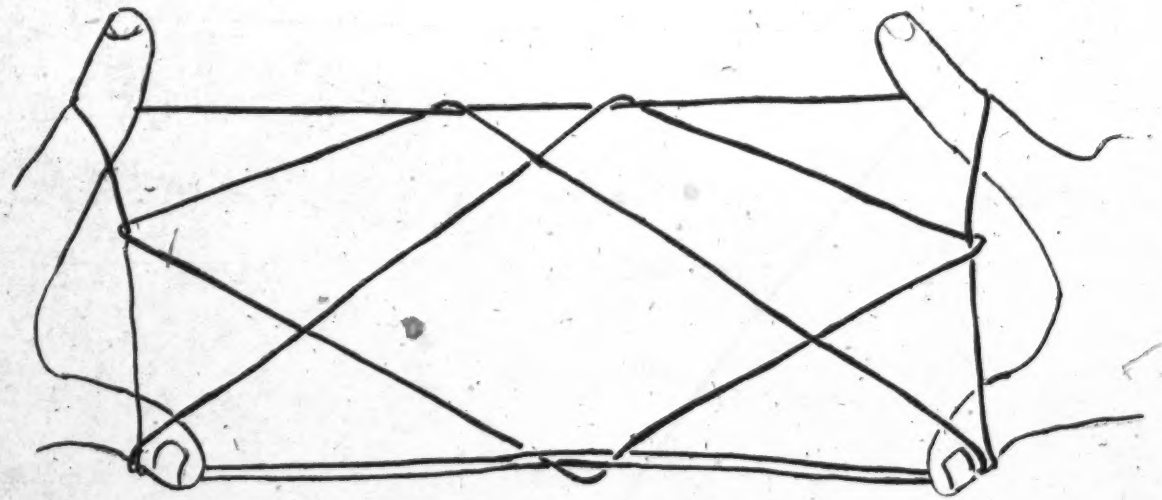
Figure 35. Paiokiole (Movement 15, Langai-tawola)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 65

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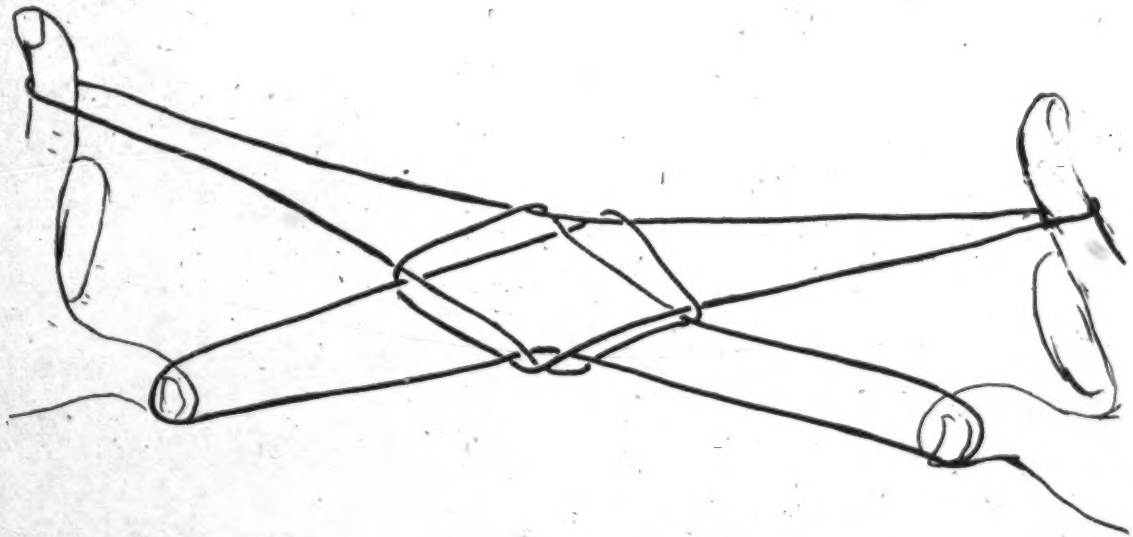
Figure 36. Paickiole (Completed figure)



4: Bengtchole-66 E-S (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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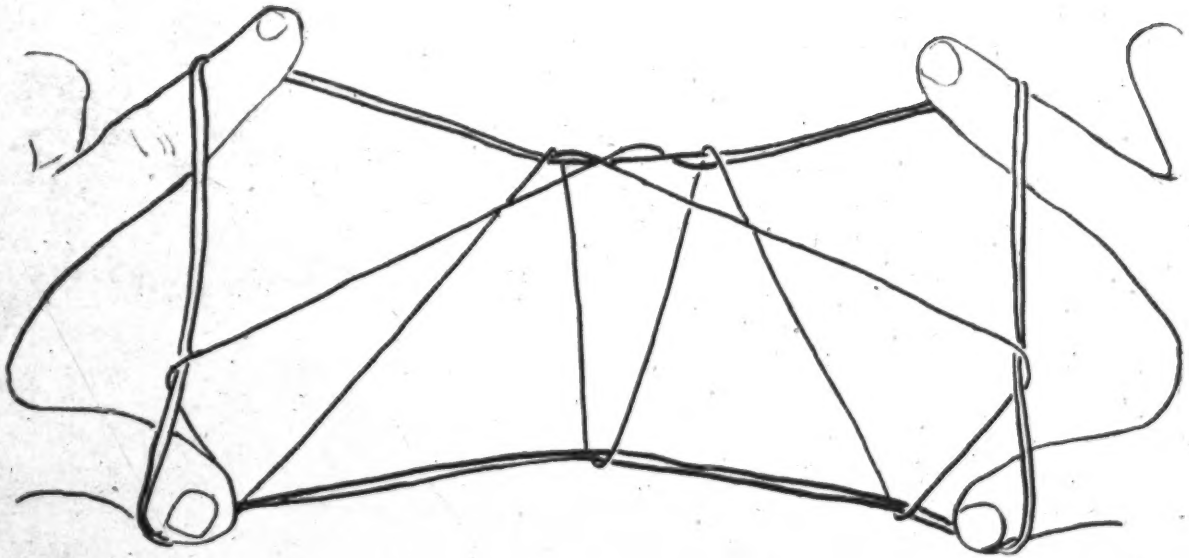
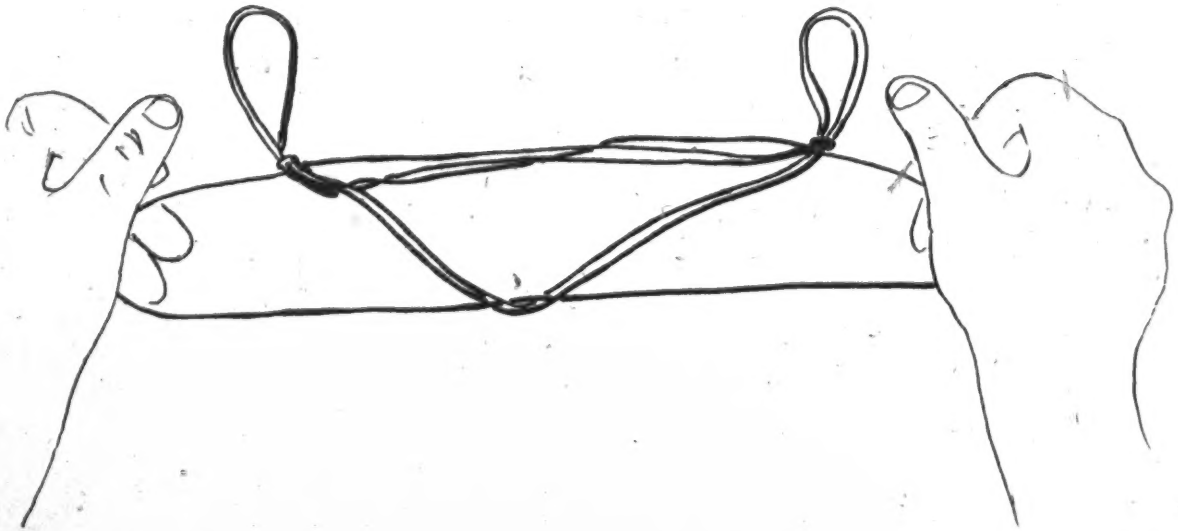
Figure 37. Tikonikoni (Movement 10)



4: Bengtsholo-67 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
524

Figure 38. Tikonikoni (Completed figure)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p 68
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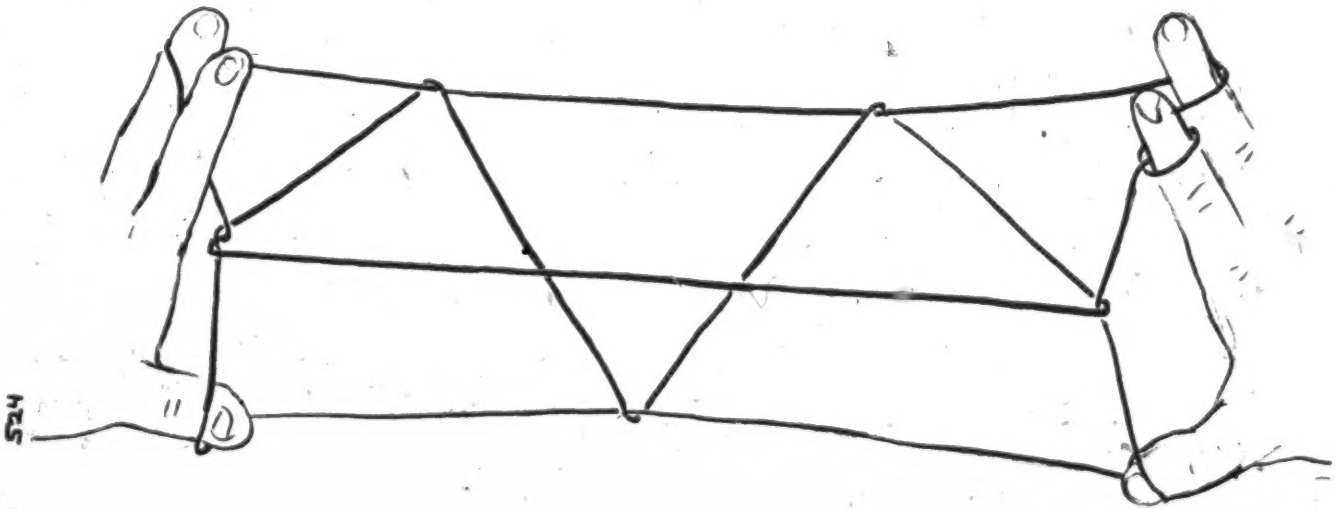
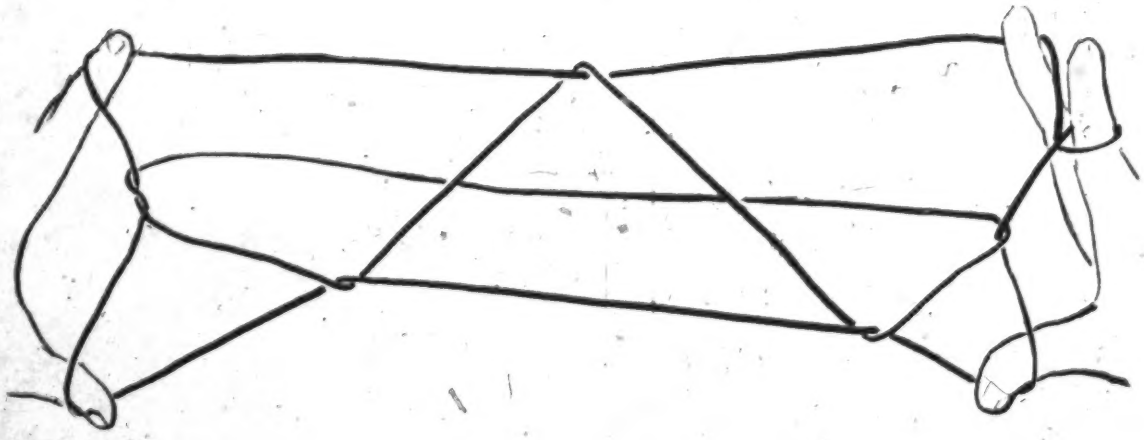
Figure 39. Te-tau-lunga



4: Beagleholes E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Figure 40. Te-tau-lalo



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 70

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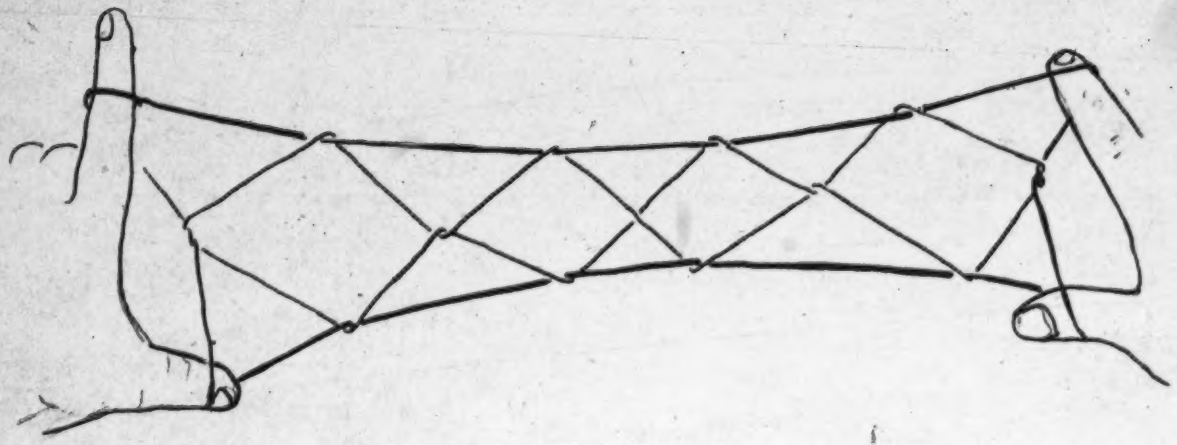

Figure 41. Te-kivi-a-te-kakai

4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.71

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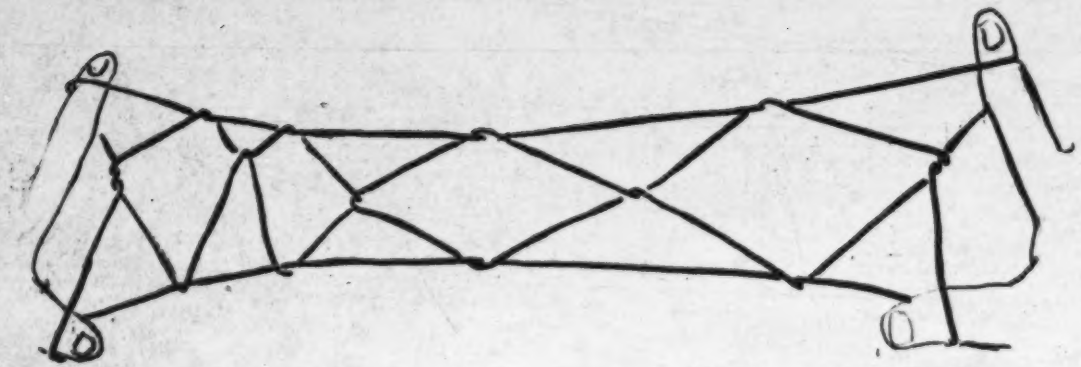
Figure 42. Te-kivi-a-Yilewu



4: Bengtsholm-M E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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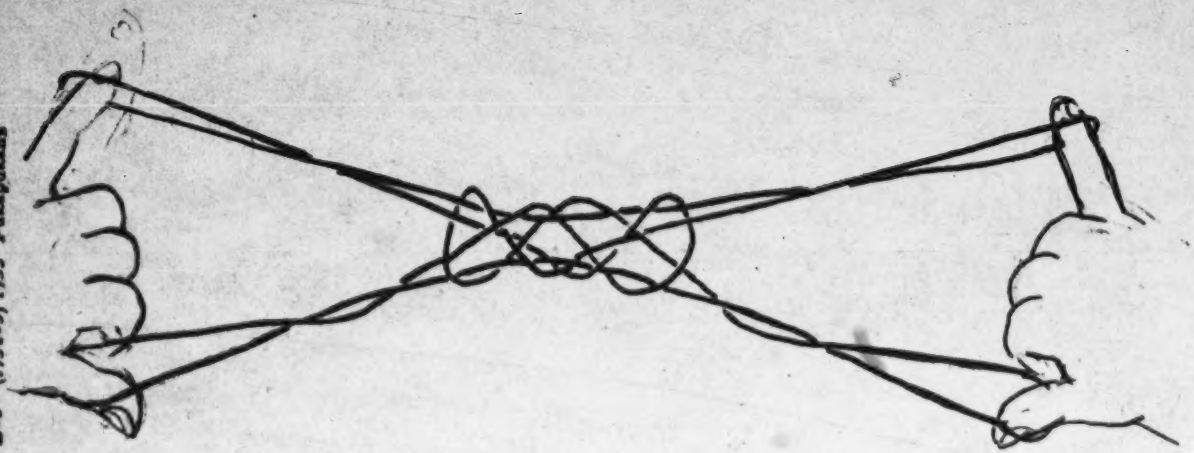

Figure 43. Te-imu-o-Te-Lautalo

4: Beaglehole-Ø E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
JT24

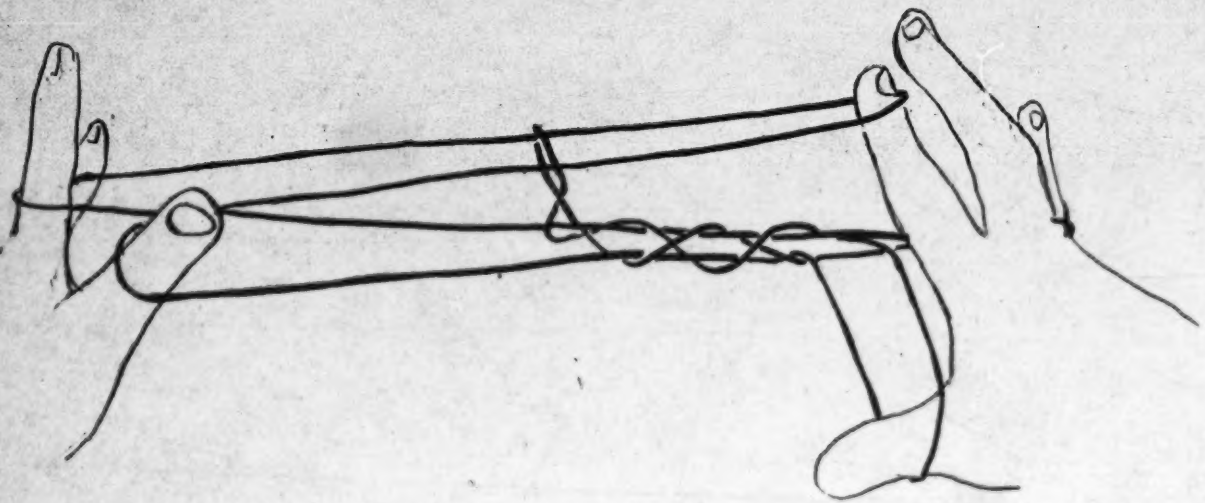

Figure 44. Te-tavatava-o-te-wui-kiole

4: Beaglehole-TW E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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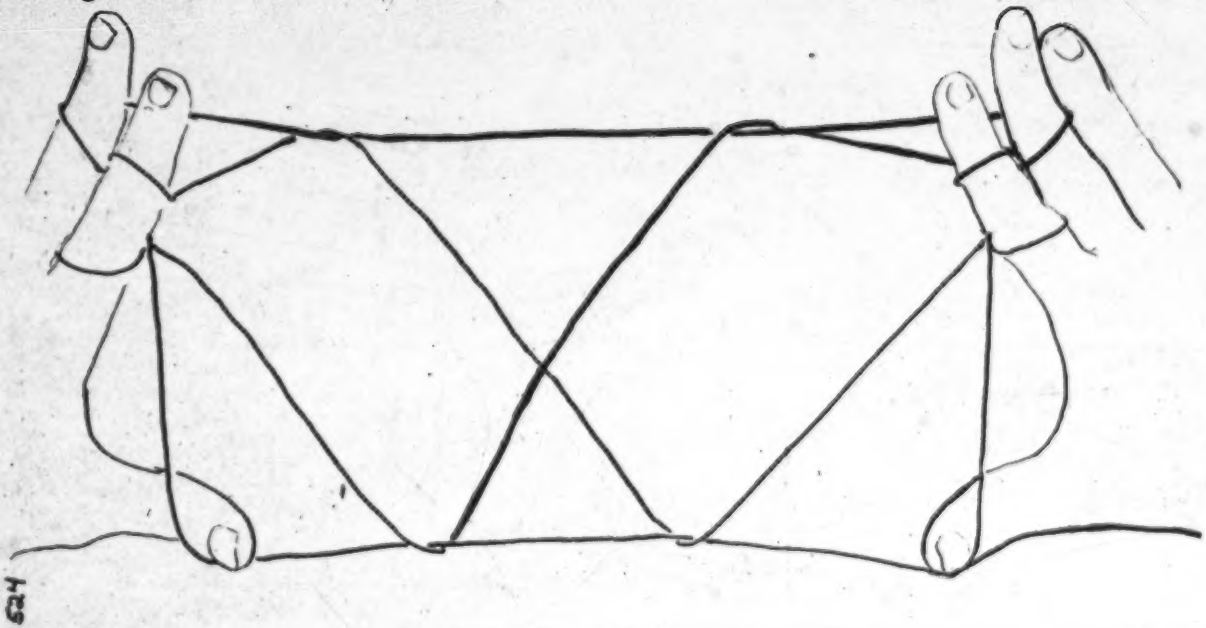
Figure 45. Te-la-palepale



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.75

S24

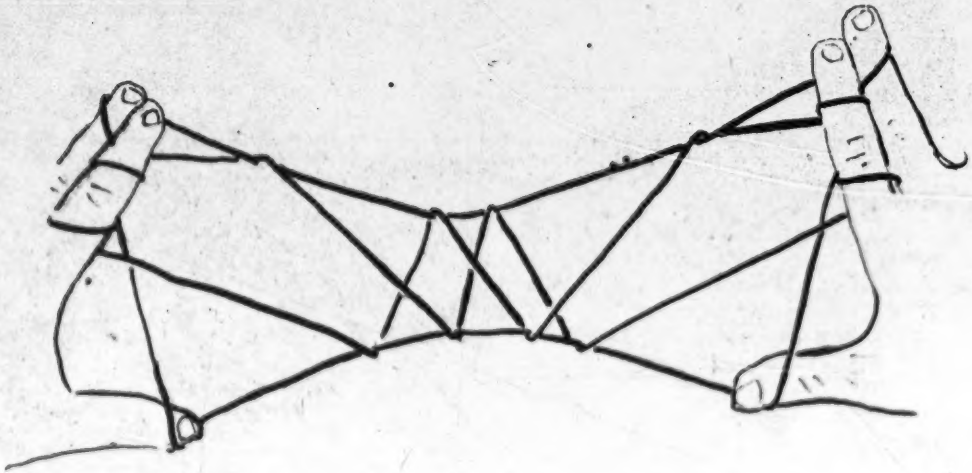


Figure 46. Moamoa

4: Beaglehole-96 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
F24

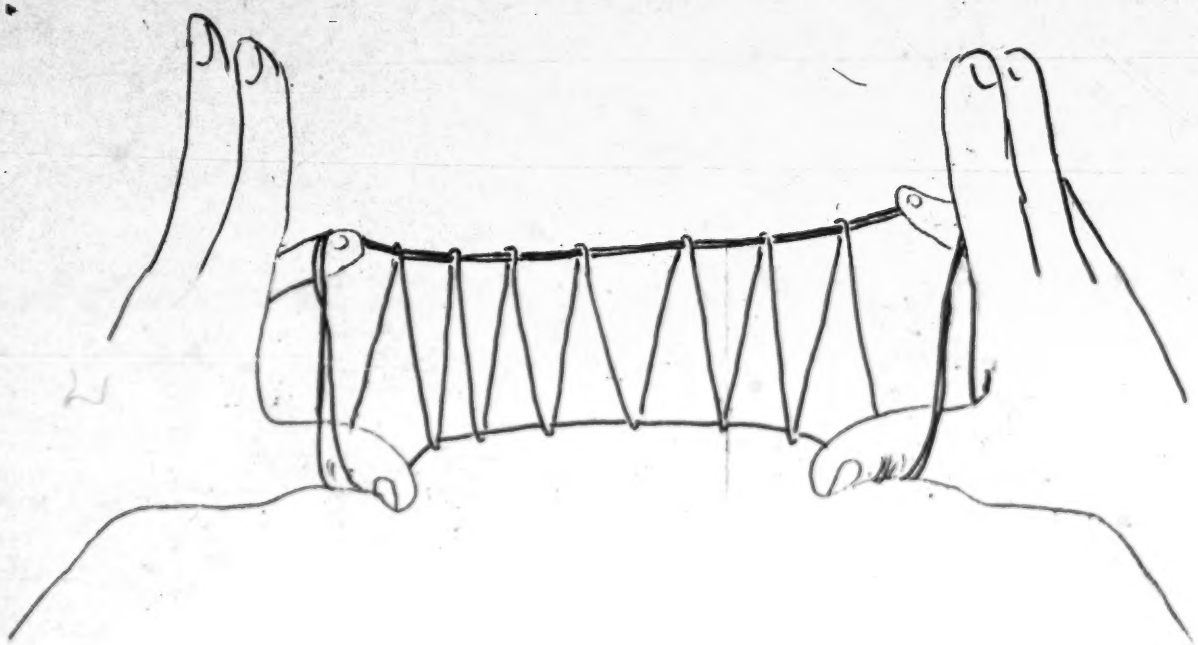


Figure 47. Te-wua-ya-valu

4: Beaglehole E.S (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans p.77
524

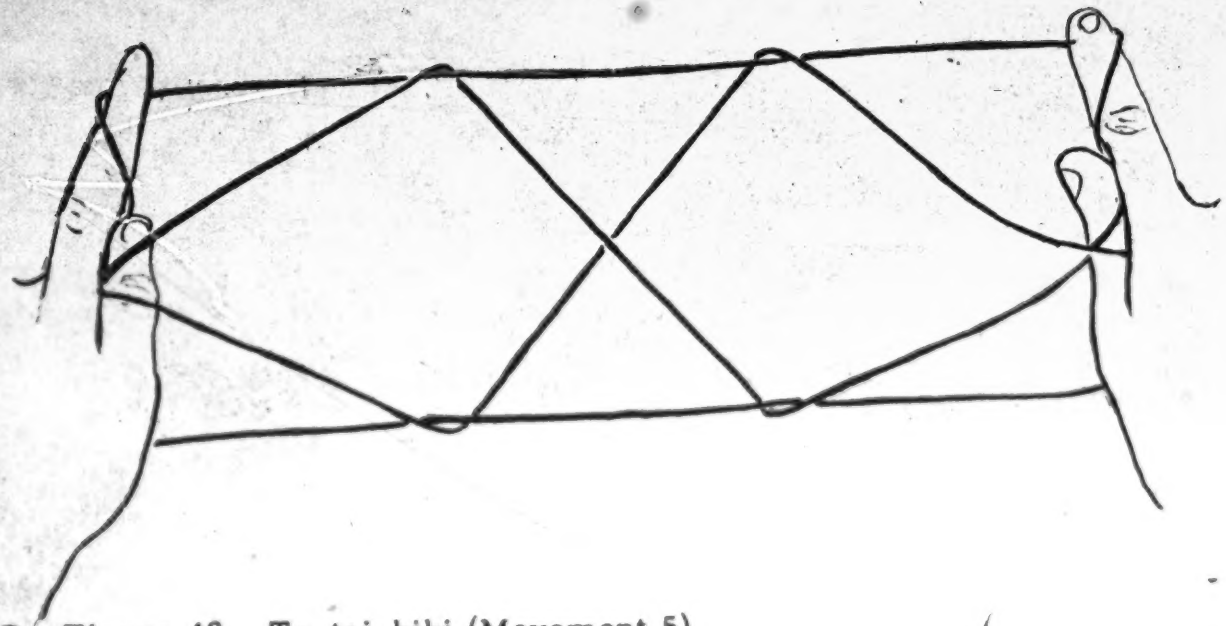
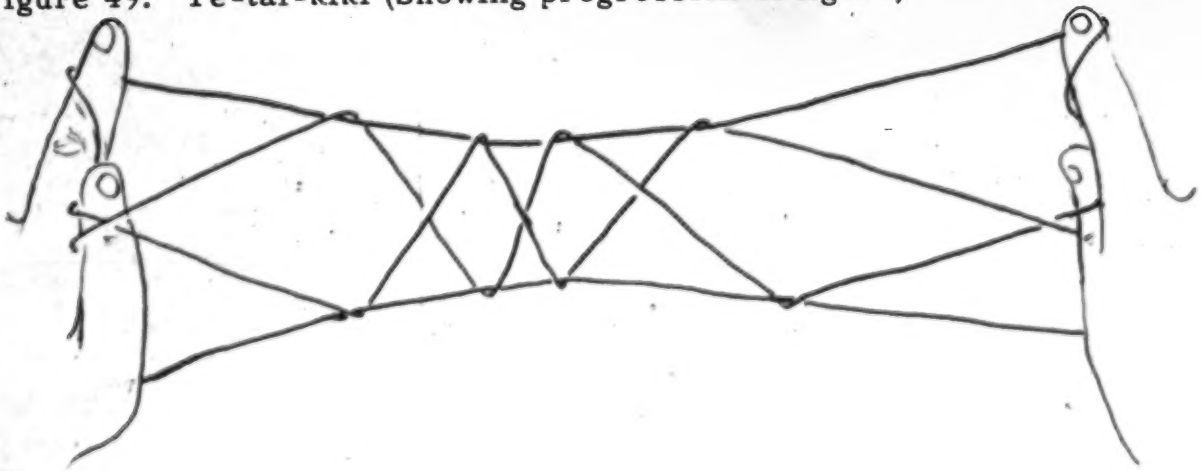


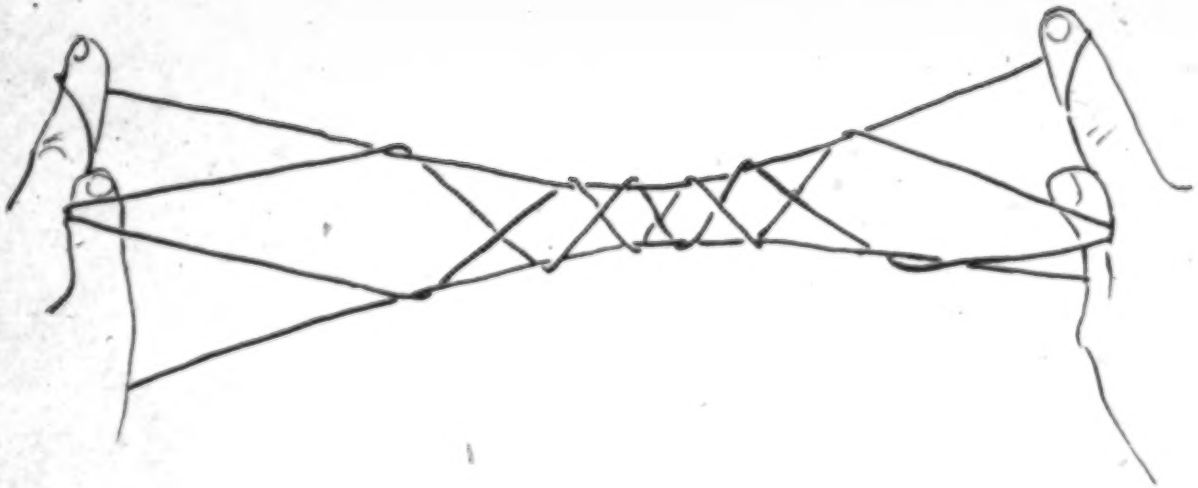
Figure 48. Te-tai-kiki (Movement 5)

Figure 49. Te-tai-kiki (Showing progression of figure)



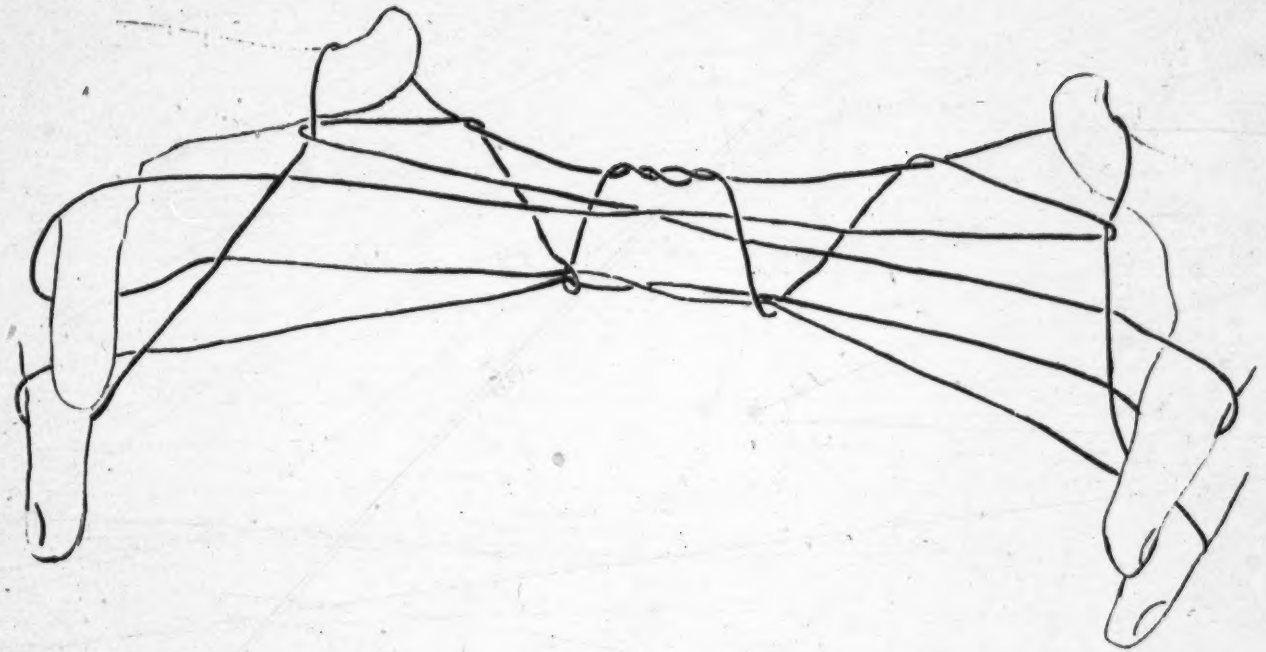
4: Beagleholo E-3 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.74

Figure 50. Te-tai-kiki (Showing the tide going farther out)



4: Bengtsohn-60 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
524

Figure 51. Matua kalou (Movement 3)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 31

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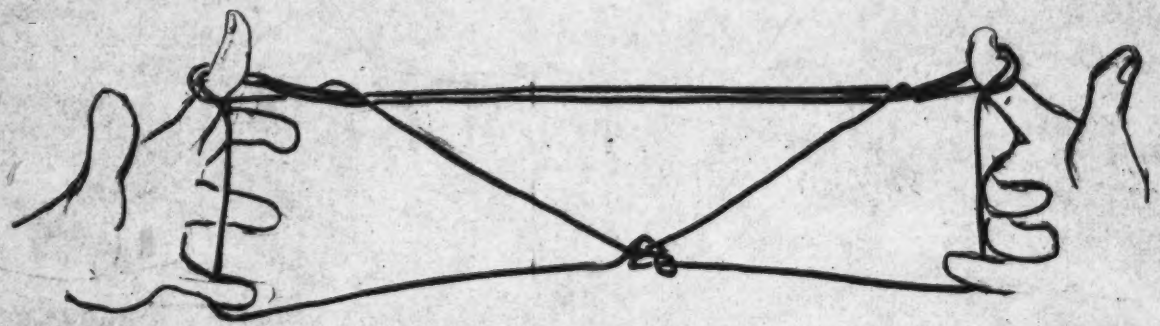
Figure 52. Matua kalou (Movement 5, ui kauana)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.82

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4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 83
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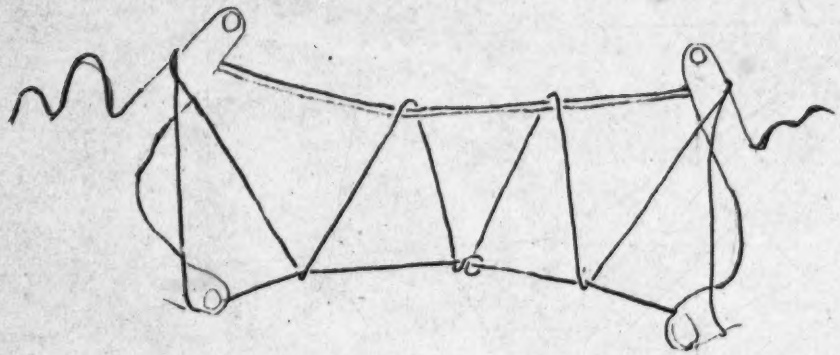
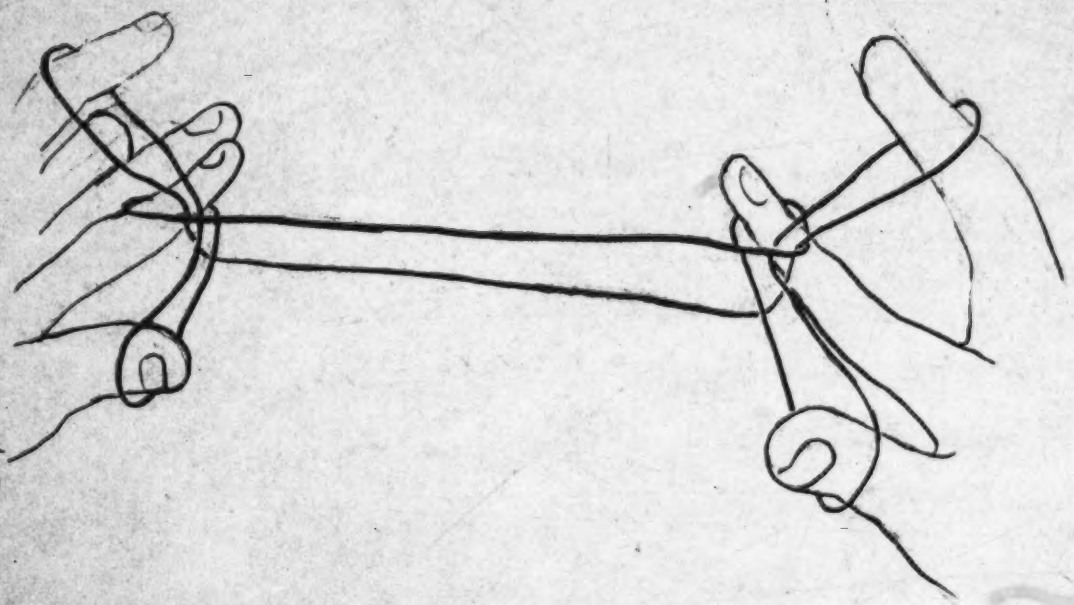


Figure 53. Matua kalou (Movement 7, ui lalapa)

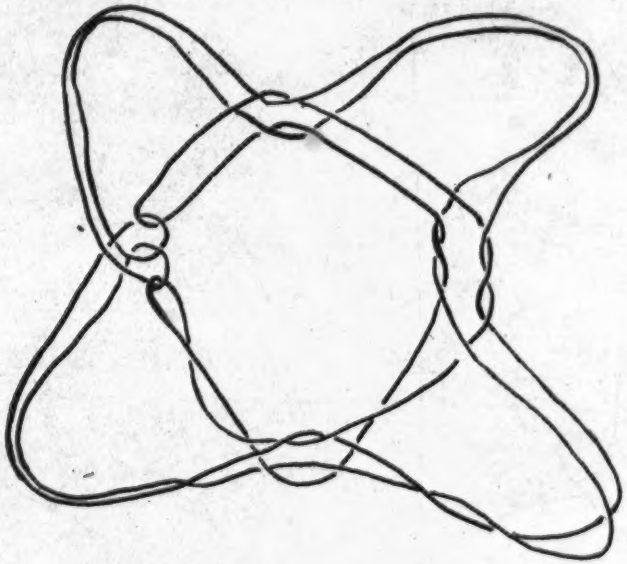
Figure 54. Te-kolemu-yengiyengi



4: Beagiebole-PF E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Putapokene

Figure 55. Tava (Movement 7)

Figure 56. Tava (Completed figure worked by two players)



4: Beaglehole-86 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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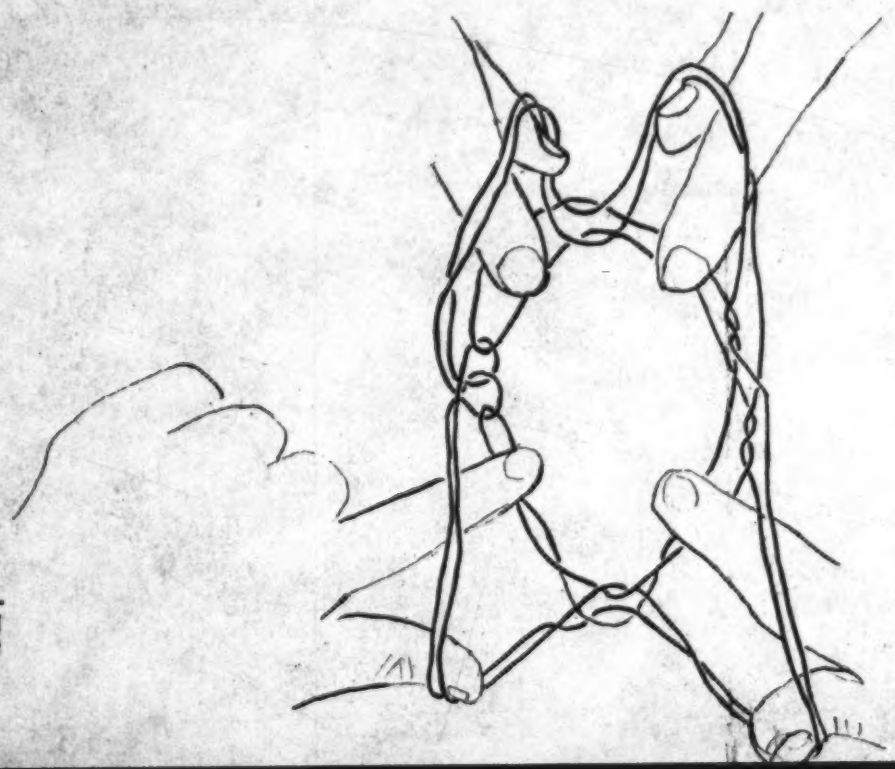
Figure 57. Tava (Showing hands of two players inserted for the "over and over")



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.67

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4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

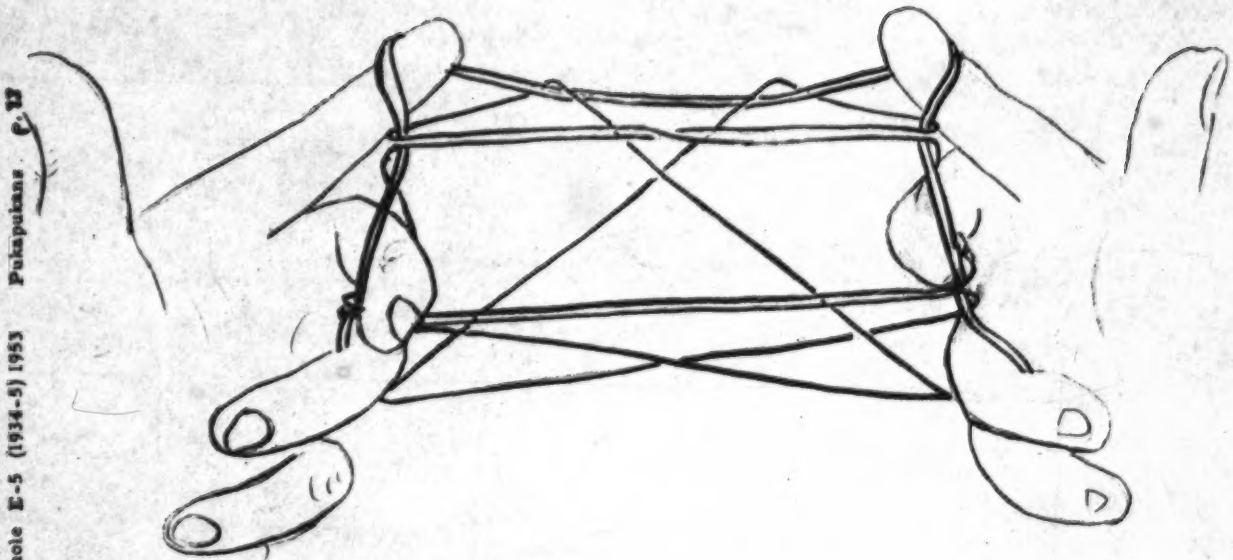
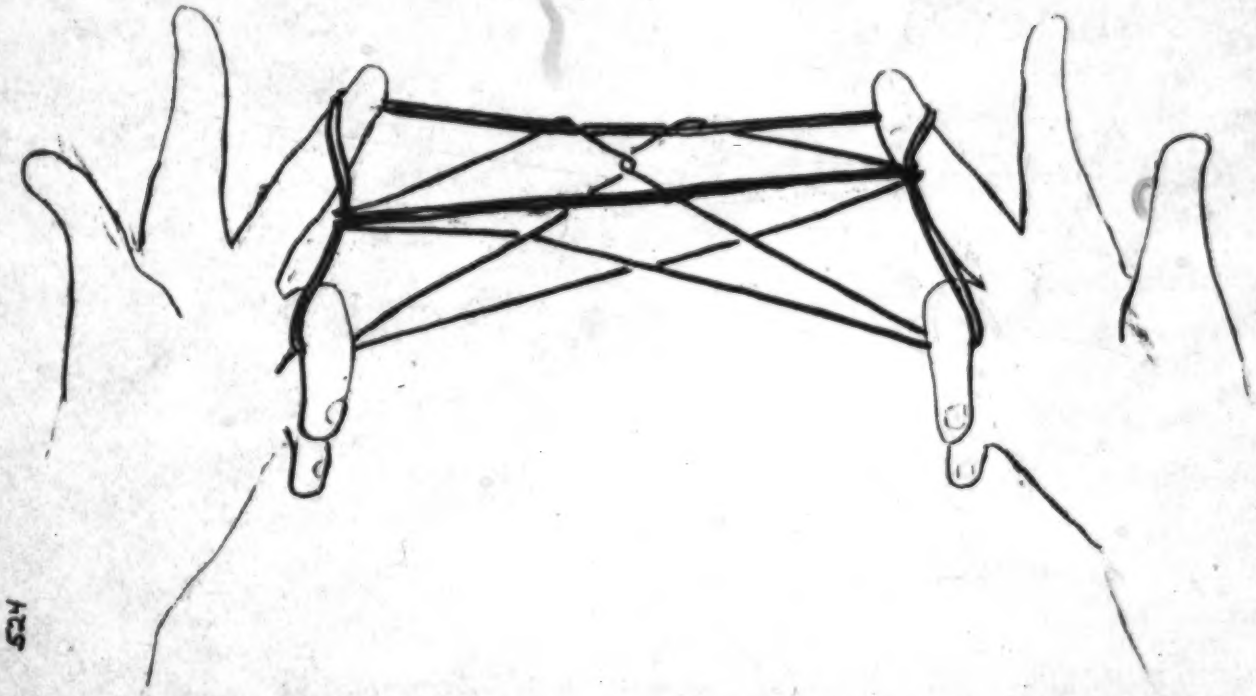


Figure 58. Taku-pu-lele-lua (Movement 14)

Figure 59. Taku-pu-lele-lua (Completed figure)



4: Beaglehole E-8 (1934-5) 1958 Pukapukans p. 59
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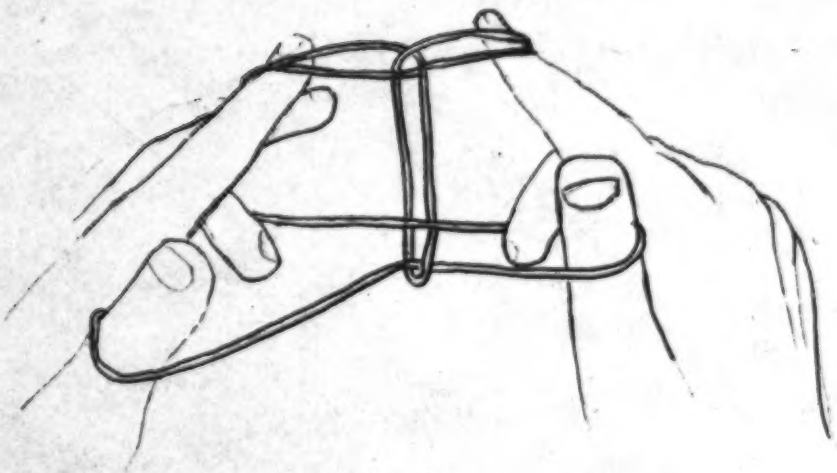
Figure 60. Te-Pu-a-Loto (a three-dimensional figure)



4: Bezgleboie-90 E-5 (1936-8) №531 Publication

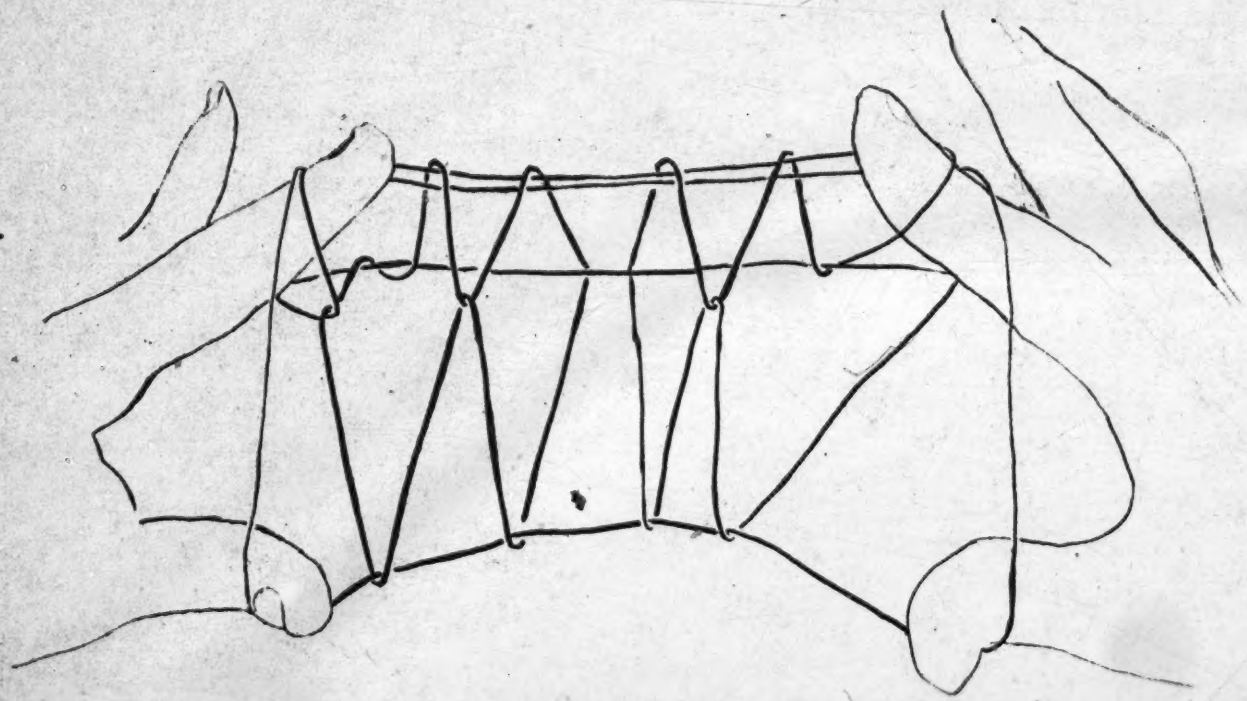


Figure 61. Te-itu-wala-kula (a three-dimensional figure)

4: Anthropologie E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Philippines p.24

Figure 62. Te-tala-o-te-yamayama (Movement 7, showing thumb pickup)

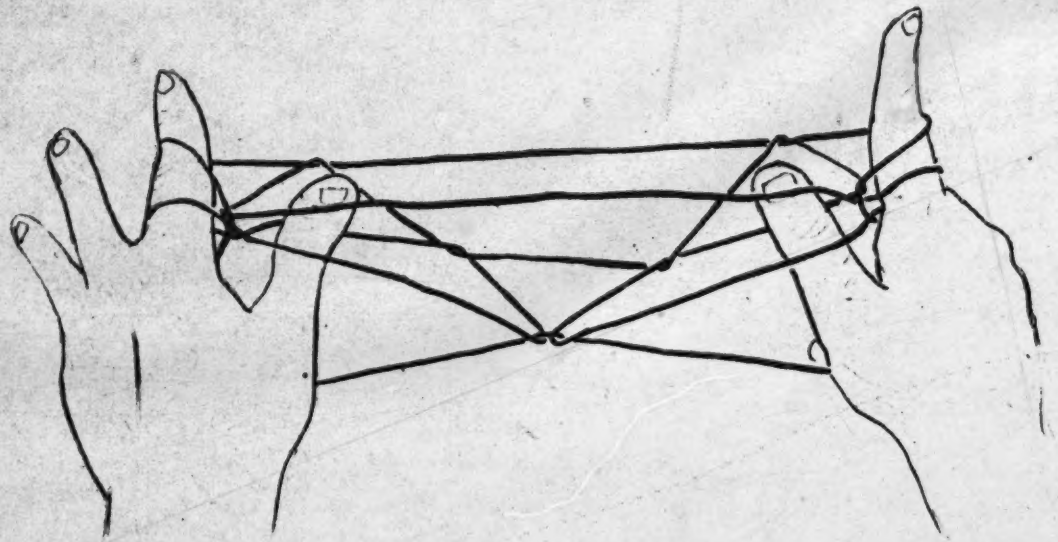
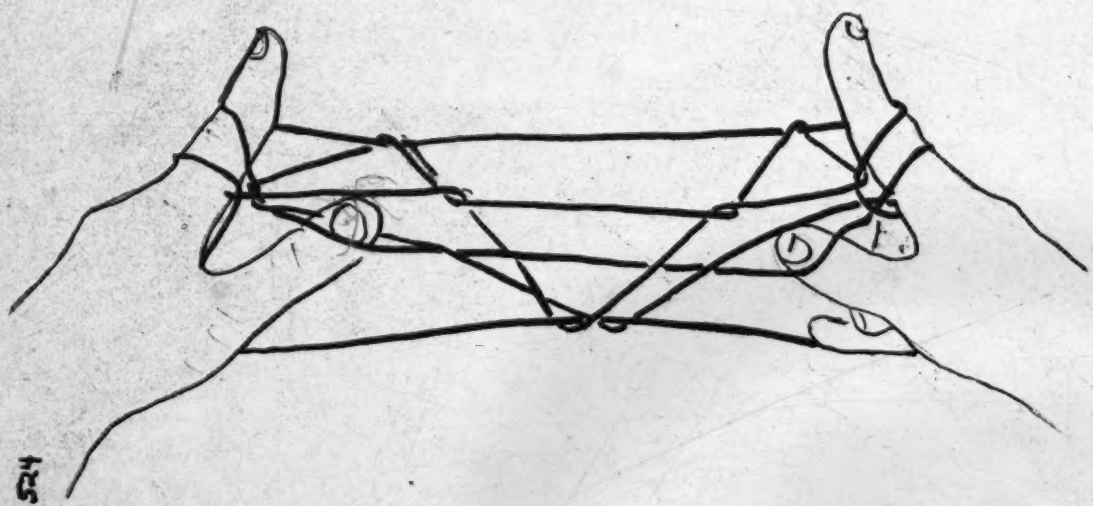


Figure 63. Te-tala-o-te-yamayama (the completed three-dimensional figure)



4: Beaglehole-Mg E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
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4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 94
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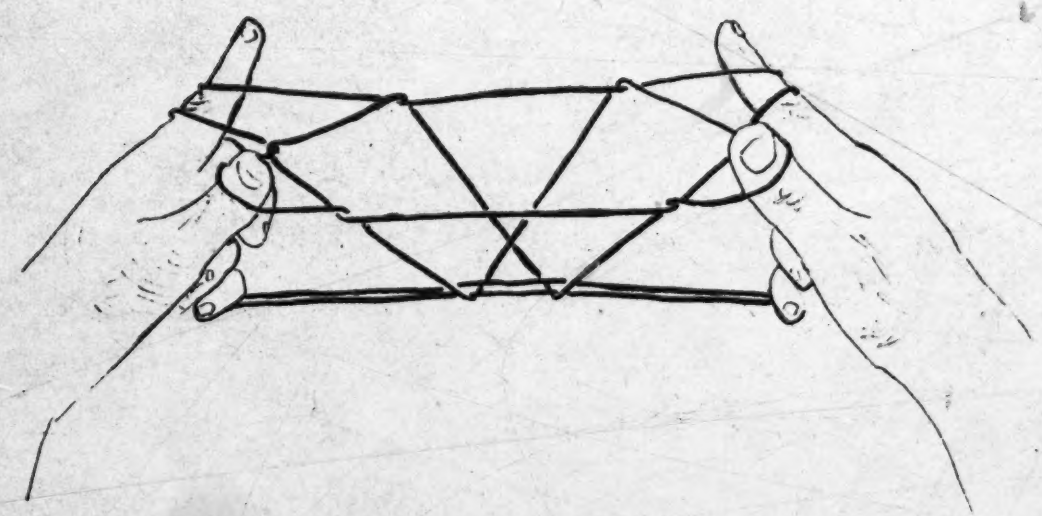

Figure 64. Kumete (a three-dimensional figure)

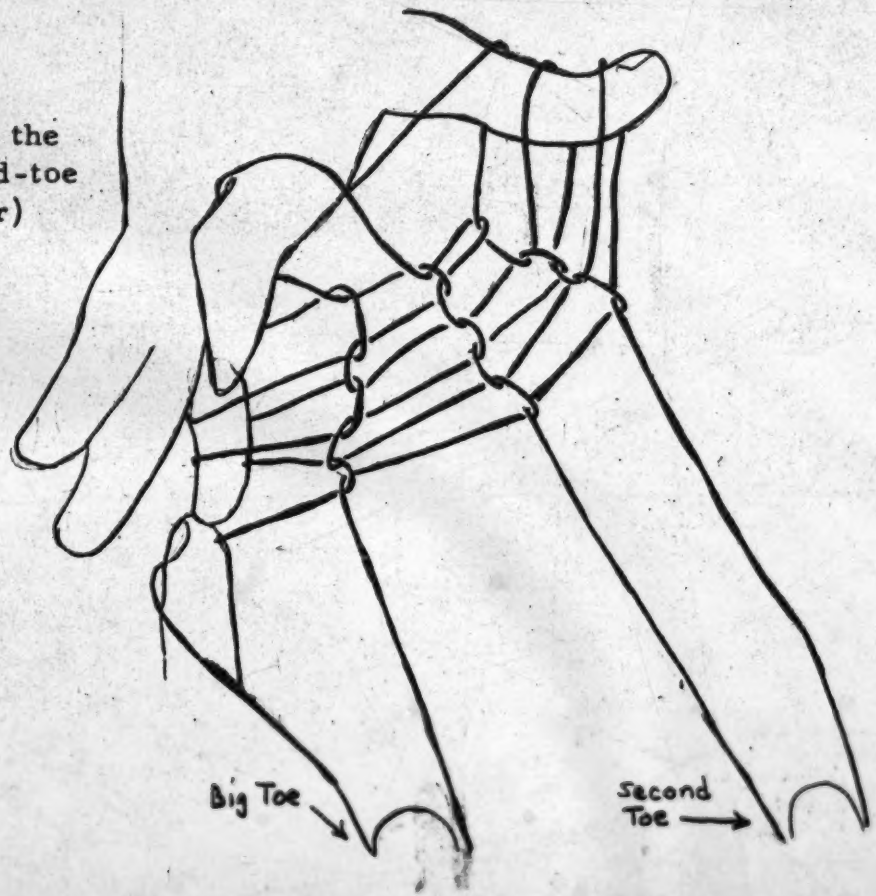

Figure 65. Kupenga (Movement 9, showing the looping of ulnar second-toe string over little finger)

4: Beaglehole-Ak E-5 (1931-5) 1955 Pukapukans

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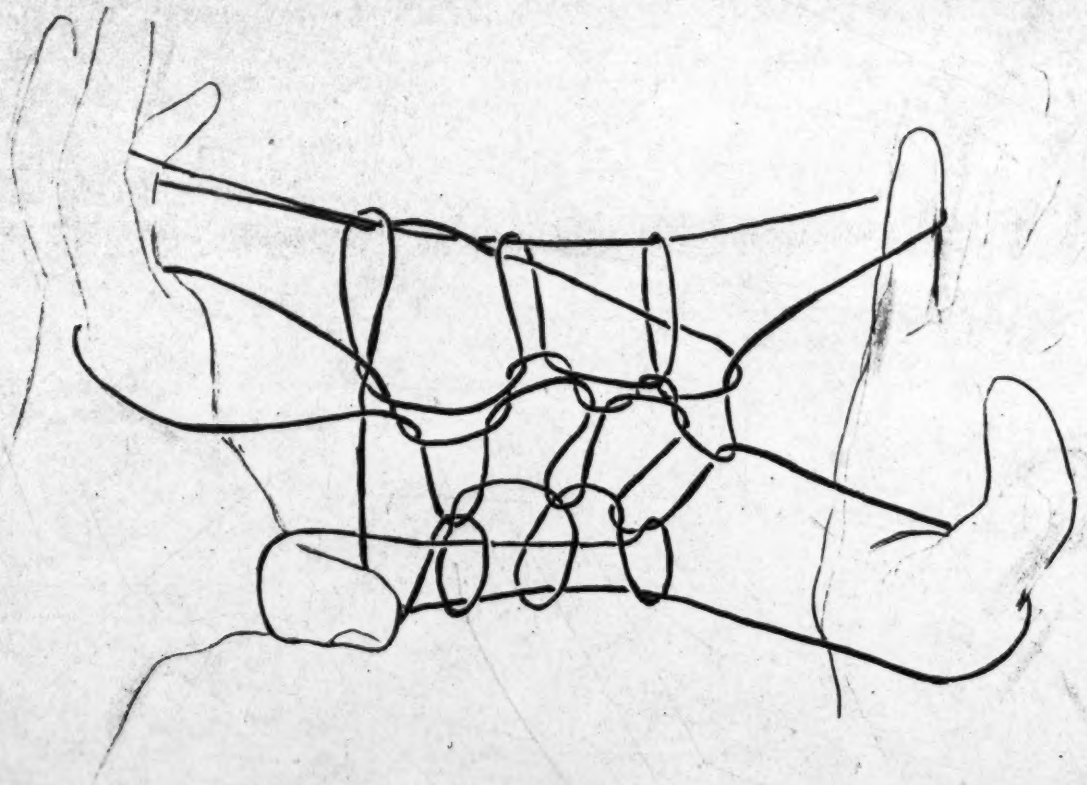

Figure 66. Kupenga (Completed figure)

Pukapukan Place names

103 Te A: main settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Te ala matua o Te Motu: main path on Motu Ko that divides the eastern and western sections of the motu.

Te ala o Te Ngake: a main path leading from Te Awanga to the eastern outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Te Pa: a path from the lagoon to the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Tamati: a path from the point of Matautu directly south through the bush on Motu Ko.

Te ala o Taueva: a path from the lagoon to the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Tilitonga: a path from the lagoon to the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Timoti: a main path from Te Awanga to the outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Toa: the path around the lagoon between Te A and Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te ala o wangota: a main path from Te Awanga to the outer beach on Motu Kotawa.

Te ala o Watumala: a path from the lagoon to the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko.

Te ala o Winawa: a path from the lagoon to the southern back beach on Motu Ko.

Te ala... the following are the names of the paths (ala) running from the outer beach (tua) to the lagoon, starting at Matauea and going around the lagoon to Matautu on Motu Ko:

Te ala o poki	Te ala o poiva	Te ala yionga o te pewu
Te ala o patia	Te ala o vavaka	Te ala o vakatai
Te ala o lua	Te ala o temu	Te ala o lualau
Te ala o ala ala	Te ala o matiku	Te ala o patia
Te ala o taeva	Te ala o tapae	Te ala o talainga
Te ala o tilimanu	Te ala o Kaiyue	Te ala o te ingoa
Te ala o palakula	Te ala o tawaia	Te ala o wonio
Te ala o ayi	Te ala o te pa	Te ala o okotai
Te ala o Pokinga	Te ala o taueva	Te ala o te wau
Te ala a manu	Te ala o te ngana	Te ala o toa
Te ala o nopu	Te ala o meti	Te ala o viku
Te ala o tavitu	Te ala o winawa	Te ala o tamati
Te ala o ngalau	Te ala o moni	
Te ala o waitoke	Te ala o monikula	Te ala o yakilia,

this last is the main path that runs between Matautu and te A.

103 Te Alai: the submerged reef running west from the western point of Motu Kotawa.

Alai: the following are the names of the principal shoals (alai), coral upgrowths (toka), and passages (ava) through the shoals, which are met by canoes going from Matautu on Motu Ko to Wale;

Te alai o Palaoa
Te toka o Tanini
Te toka Mangalua
Te matatau o Maota
Te toka i te lakau anotai
Te matatau loa
Te alai o Te Vete
Te matatau lua
Te matatau tai
Te va i Taketake
Ko lalo o Nuku e tau
Te matatau o Te Malo
Te punga o Te Malo
Te tau o Kieilu
Te muli ola o Tamaliki
Te alai o Uila
Te alai loa
Te toka a Te Upe
Te Popounga
Te alai Pale
Te mea o Malkaleva
Te alai o Te Langa
Te kautoka a Lowia
Te alai o Ulu
Te alai o Yaki
Te alai mutumutu
Te alai o Maina
Te va i Tokatoka
Te alai o Te Pukapuka
Te loto pukupuku o Ngake
Te toka loi
Te toka wakanapu
Te punga loa
Te muli alai

103 Te Amonga: place in the motu of Uta.

Apapo: place and housesite on the western section of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Aua: place on the southwestern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Aualoa: sandy section of outer beach on Motu Ko.

Te Aua loa: sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale, on which there is a spring of freshwater named Te vai no Te Malo.

Te Aua oneone: sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Aumaloa: southeastern point on outer beach of Motu Ko; also spelled Yaumaloa.

Te Ava no Panau: break in reef rim on northeastern section opposite the new village of Ngake; also a marker for the boundary line between Loto and Ngake villages.

Te Ava o Te Palo: reef channel on northeastern side of Wale opposite new Ngake; named after the Yayaka warrior, Te Palo.

Te Ava o Te Wakatakelenga: section of beach in Loto village where the aliki of the island bathed.

103 Te Avatu tukutai: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Ava tukutai: a deep canoe channel on the lagoon side of the reef at Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te Awanga: settlement on Motu Kotawa.

Te Imu wonu: place close to the lagoon beach of Loto where food divisions for Loto village were formerly made.

Itu: section of reef joining Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko.

Te Koko o Lei: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Te Kokoloa: place on the eastern side of the lagoon close to the settlement of Te A.

Te Koko mai Tua: outer beach of Motu Ko just south of Matawea.

Te Konga i te ulu puka: the big grove of puka trees at the southern point of Motu Kotawa; a favorite place for bird catching.

Te Langaikula: old name for Ngake village.

Lavakole: place on the lagoon beach of Loto where fish caught by the tupele fishing groups were landed.

Te Liakingala: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Longolau: section of land on the eastern point of Wale close to the site of old Ngake village.

Te Loto tionga: brackish freshwater pool near the land section Matautu on Motu Ko.

Te Loto Wakatauvave: reef channel extending east and west across the reef, just south of Utupoa.

Te Lua wonu: elevated beach on the southern side of Motu Kotawa.

Matala: site of principal watch house in Uta.

Matano: old name for the old site of Yato village before the causeway was built.

Te Mata i Auma: western point of Motu Kotawa from which the submerged reef runs westward.

Matapoko: land section on the lagoon at Motu Ko, west of Te A.

Matatoki: place on the lagoon beach of Loto near the boundary of Loto and Ngake; formerly a favorite place for building canoes.

Matanamu: place in Loto village near eastern side of cemetery of Tua.

Matautu: point of land which is northern tip of the horseshoe lagoon on Motu Ko; the reef from Wale ends here.

103 Te Mata Utupoa: sandy point southward from Wale and joining the reef between Wale and Motu Ko.

Matawea: southwestern point of Motu Ko, forming a tip of the horseshoe lagoon.

Te Motu tauyili: sandbank above tide level on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Motu o Te Malo: sandbank above tide level on reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Motu o Te Tali: sandbank above tide level on reef between Motu Ko and Wale and close to Utupoa.

Te Nau o Te Tupua: place close to northwestern outer beach of Ngake; also called Te Yau o Waletiale, because the man Waletiale located his copulation group at this place.

Te Niu a Taumotu: place on the western side of the lagoon, next to Matawea.

Niukula: place close to the southern side of the talo gardens on the path between Loto and the Residency.

Te Ngayu o Te Kalele: stretch of bush and beach on the eastern side of the lagoon at Wale, the beach frontage of Utupoa, where houses of old Ngake once stood.

Te Nuku e tau: raised sandbank on the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te Olo o Valu: bush immediately behind the main settlement on Motu Kotawa.

Otulei: land section and housesite on the lagoon beach of Loto village.

Te papa loa: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Ngongo: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Taua: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te papa o Woua: raised flat rock on the southern end of the reef between Motu Ko and Wale.

Te po o Walakula: the grave of the man Walakula on the point of Matautu.

Te Popounga: landing beach facing the lagoon on Motu Kotawa.

Te Puapua o Te Manenga: section of outer beach on Motu Ko close to the point Matawea.

Te Puka i Te Wu: place on the western side of the lagoon close to Matawea.

Tamatama: place and housesite on the southwestern section of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Tawatai o Laka: place on the lagoon at Motu Ko.

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103 Te Taekele Ngalipayua: place on the boundary between the cemeteries of Matanga and Muliwutu in Ngake, marked by a huge pile of Tridacna shells.

Tayiku: section of land on the eastern point of Wale, north from Utupoa; the food divisions of old Ngake village were all made at this place before the village was washed away.

Te Tonoanga o Te Tautala: a lonely stretch of outer beach on Motu Ko, south from Matawea.

Te tua Loto: northwestern outer beach of Motu Kotawa.

Te tua Matapoko: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko midway between the point Matawea and Te Aumaloa.

Te tua Matautu: the back beach of Motu Ko opposite the point of Matautu.

Te tua o Te Aumaloa: section of the outer beach at Motu Ko opposite the southern point of Te Aumaloa.

Te tua o te niu mangalo: section of the outer southeastern beach of Motu Ko.

Te tua o Te Va Uta: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko, midway along the southern section of the islet.

Te tua o te wala loa: the back beach of Motu Ko south of the point where the path called Te ala matua strikes the back beach.

Te tua o Te Wui: section of the outer southern beach on Motu Ko.

Tua papa: northwestern outer beach of Motu Kotawa.

Te tua poutama: section of the back beach of Motu Ko between the point Matautu and the point Te Aumaloa.

Tua a Puka: section of the northern outer beach of Wale.

Tua tiale: section of land in Loto village between the beach and the motu of Uta.

Te tuinga ia o Te Palo: place in new Ngake village where the Tayake warrior, Te Palo, sewed his sail.

Tulituli: section of land on the eastern point of Wale, north of Utupoa.

Te ui kape: name of the pulaka garden on Motu Kotawa.

Te ui palapala kakula: swampy ground on the outer beach opposite the point of Te Aumaloa, where the people of Tayake settled and dug wells.

Te ulu ala vao: section of the outer beach on Motu Ko, just north of Te Aumaloa.

Ulu puapua Mani: grove of trees, hence the place, behind Te A on Motu Ko.

Te Ulu Takapau: resting place of the aliki wolo of the island, close to the lagoon beach in Loto village.

103 Utupoa: old name for the site of Ngake village, on the south-eastern point of Wale.

Te vai i Awanga: main well behind the settlement of Te Awanga on Motu Kotawa.

Te vai o Te Alo: well at the point Matautu, where freshwater is always drunk on the walk back along the reef from Motu Ko to Wale.

Te vai o Te Wui Yayake: freshwater wells above high tide on the section of beach opposite Te Aumaloa on Motu Ko, reputed to have been dug by the people of Yayake.

Te vai o Tukino: well half-way along Te ala o Timoti, between Te Awanga and the outer beach.

Vaipapa: section of land extending east and west across the eastern point of Wale, north of Utupoa.

Te vai tokatoka: coral-headed lagoon approach to the landing beach at Motu Kotawa.

Waitawe: swampy section of ground behind the lagoon section of Ngake village.

Te wala malu wolo: clump of shady pandanus trees on the back beach of the point of Matautu.

Wale Wu: land section on the lagoon, west of Te A on Motu Ko.

Te Walenamu: place where dry land begins and reef ends between Wale and Motu Ko.

Wangawanga: land section and housesite on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Yaumaloa: southeastern point on the outer beach of Motu Ko; also spelled Aumaloa.

Yellawi: place on the eastern side of the lagoon at Motu Ko.

Yeu Mamao: name for the place where one of the god houses of Matanga stood, in Ngake village.

103 613 The following are the names of the homestead lots (yikuanga), running from the residency down to the lagoon beach and then westward to the causeway:

Te yiku pa, where the Residency stands, a yikuanga cut out of the motu of Uta.

Te yikuanga i te alau kawa, a big yikuanga which is the site of the tua extensions of Loto and Ngake, and includes smaller yikuanga belonging to Matanga po of Ngake and the po i Tua of Loto.

Te yikuanga i Waletoa, occupying the westermost extension of Ngake village on land of Muliwutu po.

Te yikuanga i Wumalolo, next along the beach towards Loto, another yikuanga of Muliwutu po.

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103	Te yikuanga i Yamanaia	
613	Te yikuanga i Wanganui	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule
	Te yikuanga i Te Awanga o Kui	
	Te yikuanga i Matanamu	two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.
	Te yikuanga i tai o te papa	
	Te yikuanga i Te Au	three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.
	Te yikuanga i Te Limatini	
	Te yikuanga i Walepia	
	Te yikuanga la ngauta	the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.
	Te yikuanga la tai	

103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
621 by the people of Ngake:
244

te ui aeleake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te maungatu
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tawa
te ui i te ala o kaiyue
te ui o te vai matua
te ui tua yulu
te ui o komuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokelua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Loto:

Muli welo
Malo pala
Lalotai inu
Laki ue

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 621 244 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are communally owned by Loto:

Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 613 244 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:

Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Muliwutu

Akava ui, Wailepu ui, belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leiloa ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nangutu, belongs to wua Kati.

Wenua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

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103 Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
613 1. belongs to po Yamaunga
244 2. belongs to po Yayi
3. belongs to po Yalongo.
Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango
Ui Matanga, belongs to wakavae Matanga of Yato
Ui Motu Kotawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)
Te ui a Lelei, belongs to Yalongo po
Te ui a Wale, belongs to Yalongo po
Te ui Puatu, belongs to members of keinanga Kava livinging in Yato
Te ui a yaukava, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Pukapuka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu
Te ui muli olo belong to wakavae Walepia
te ui taulangi
103 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds
244 on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te kulaanga tupele,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui muli avaiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui loimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Yoko	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Puleola,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui longotuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui nonu tavake	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui tupanau	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui aniwa	belongs to Pania, Yato
Te ui talikai	belongs to Taiayeu, Ngake
Te ui mokelekele	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te Yoa	belongs to Matautu, Loto
Te ui ayi	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Kalelea	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui tokelau	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kuluea	belongs to Kuluea, Loto
Te ui o Te Layo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngake
Te ui vaitawe	belongs to Puia, Ngake
Te ui longolongo	belongs to Nalupa, Ngake

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PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN PUKAPUKAN CHILDREN

By ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE

I

121 ONE OF THE MOST memorable aspects of Edward Sapir's genius was his ability to think in terms of problems rather than within the academic limits of orthodoxly defined subjects. Ethnology, linguistics, and psychology thereby became cross-fertilized. Schools and methods became of secondary importance, or rather, were evaluated not in terms of narrow fields of investigation, but in the light of the help they promised for the solution of broadly conceived significant scientific problems. It was typical of Sapir, therefore, that he should have sensed in the problem of personality formation one of those major scientific orientations that direct the research and thinking of a generation or more of scientists. It was also typical of him that he should realize that no continuing research problem is worth the candle unless it breaks down into a series of hypotheses that stimulate and direct research not so much on several minor fronts but on one major front that draws to itself the support of sometimes independently conceived disciplines. The major problem for Sapir was the impact of cultures on personality. One of the linking hypotheses was his conception of culture, not as "something given but something gradually and gropingly discovered." The key to the way in which the individual personality discovers culture obviously lies in the field of child development. Lesser minds, having arrived at this point, might have washed hands and tossed the problem across to a field of study called "child psychology." Not so Sapir. He studied children himself (who of his students does not recall those memorable seminar discussions when the heart and mind of a child were examined with consummate skill). And as a second best, he suggested to some at least of his students that primitive children were quite as worthy of study as material culture or kinship systems. Again, however, the emphasis was always on problems rather than mere description of what children say or do or think.

It was directly under the stimulus, therefor, of Sapir's teaching that one of us undertook before a Polynesian field trip to draw up a series of notes and queries designed to serve as a guide to the study of the factors involved in the socialization of the primitive child.[1] By socialization was meant generally all those factors, influences, and processes, formalized or implicit, which the culture of the group acting through parents, elders, or other children brings to bear upon the neonata and continues through maturation to adolescence in order gradually to mould the raw stuff of human nature into conformity with group patterns of thought, feeling, and behavior. It was felt that material collected to answer such queries would throw some light on the influence of cultural factors in personality development and that further, viewing such material against the background of documented life histories, evidence might

[1] Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Notes and Queries for the Study of Personality Development in Primitive Societies* (Mss., 1934).

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121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[3] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[3] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

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854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

592 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[597] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly
543 defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[8]

[8] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the impulsive confines and experiences of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 252–53.

862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking [866] fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

857 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any 861 discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent [154] childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave new world of physical events and human relationships.

868 By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become single-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their 857 earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food 867 containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of discipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, 858 girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob- 884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

861 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while
152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific general taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

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159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

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152 fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
866 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
159 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

597 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Leleau, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Leleau, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
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597 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
152 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
[839] runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
857 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
159 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

597 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

857 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by
159 fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
831 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the
513 Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to
834 conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
521 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her
831 up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

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864 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
831 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who
159 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:9) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated
857 with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to
864 cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practises of the de-

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839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-to-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., [illegible]

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121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[8] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpertation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[8] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Polynesian Anthropology Today* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213–21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: *Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals* (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

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114 nevertheless as long as this type is not polar, much importance must be attached to cultural
128 factors in defining the success with which the basic psychological personality adjusts itself to the status personality.[9] If on the other hand, as psychoanalytic theory appears to hold, the psychological nature of man is everywhere the same—that is if the infant in Siberia or in Africa or Polynesia is heir to emotional and sexual drives (libido) that must find outlet on object or self according to predetermined developmental stages—then it would seem that cultural factors can do little but accentuate here or play down there. The psychoanalytic contention that the nuclear complex is of universal occurrence is perhaps a case in point.[10] Psychoanalytic theory in this matter is still in a formative stage and doubtless it may be possible to adduce evidence in conflict with the preceding statement. Roheim, for instance, in his analysis of Australian materials, concludes that the Australian aborigine is predominantly of the oral character type,[11] a personality development that can be due to conditioning and to this only.

On the other hand Dr Susan Isaacs[12] inclines rather strongly to the opinion that cultural factors are of slighter importance than libidinal drives. She would expect to find in Pukapuka, personality types similar to those found in our own society. It would seem in support of this view, as careful study of all our records indicate, that Pukapukan children engage in behavior activities in frames of reference that are analogous to, or even identical with common behavior activities of American children. There are alternations of love and hate, object sucking, nipple biting, plays with sand and water, "cosy places" plays, genital manipulation, "family plays"—to name but a few. In this sense, and generalizing broadly, the major difference in the socialization process between Pukapukan and American children lies in the

[9] See for instance Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), especially Chapters 8 and 26, and Plant, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–20.

[10] Compare Ernest Jones, *Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages* (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 6, pp. 109–30, 1925) with Malinowski's analysis in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London and New York, 1927), *op.* pp. 135 ff. Benedict, also, believes that an Œdipus complex *is* quite impossible among the Zuñi. See her *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 101.

It may be noted that since our article was completed (November, 1939) M. F. Ashley Montagu has summarized the relevant cultural material bearing on the Œdipus complex in his paper *Nyasiquq, Science and Psychoanalysis* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 45–60, 1941, see pp. 48–49). Reference may also be made to Margaret Mead's recent survey of comparative work on character structure: *Cultural Change and Social Sanctions* (Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 92–109, 1940). The relative importance of biological drives as compared with cultural factors in determining character structure and personality development has also become a matter of active recent discussion. See in this connection Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Psychiatry, Vol. 3, pp. 1–117, 1940), Ernest Beaglehole, *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 62–77, 1941), A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), and finally, the more orthodox point of view and the references given in Ernest Lewy's article, *The Return of the Repression* (Bulletin, Menninger Clinic, Vol. 5, pp. 47–55, 1941).

[11] G. Roheim, *The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture* (in Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman, London, 1934, pp. 282–92). Horney gives a good summary of the present position in her *Neurotic Personality of our Time* (New York, 1937), pp. 16–20.

[12] From personal communication.

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114 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse
128 of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Puka-
157 pukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic
128 matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
121 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 397-99, appendix 2, pp. 458-61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319-28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344-53, 1939.

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121 Pukapukan culture that join childhood patterns to the patterns of behavior that set the norm for adult activities. In very general terms one can annotate four stages of Pukapukan child development: an infancy marked by maternal solicitude and consequent security; a weaning that sends the child a-packing in the company of his fellows; years of childhood that mean a large measure of independence and freedom from parental or adult control; a pre-adolescence that sets a reassertion of adult control and a tendency to force the child along the path to adult status. These seem to be the main stages in the process of growing up. Should they tend to produce an aggressive adult character? The answer to this question might well lie in a deeper analysis of the pre-adolescent period, where one senses the Pukapukan urge to push the child willy-nilly into adulthood. But perhaps the question is not one rightly asked. If it is, it surely brings us back once more to the necessity of forward-looking life histories. Only through these can we see the pattern actually at work molding the life of the individual. Only in terms of data so gained could one surely present the inner story of how the socialization process actually works. Only in this way could one tell the story of how the individual measures himself up to the ideal standards of a culture and works out his personality pattern in terms of his felt achievement.

Again therefore one returns to the question, what is the psychologically given and what the nature and importance of cultural conditioning? It is tribute to Sapir's insight into the ways of culture and of man to note the way in which he sensed that the study of primitive children would ultimately provide clear solutions to many difficult problems. The answers are not yet at hand. The problems are only beginning sufficiently to clarify themselves in such a way as to present workable hypotheses as leads for investigation. Sapir's theory of culture led him inexorably to certain inferences regarding the processes of culture acquisition. It is now the privilege of the psychologist-anthropologist by using this lead to enrich his own field work and thus his understanding of what culture means to man.

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Field Notes: Pukapukan Dictionary

192 I. Physiological processes and parts of body named by in-
826 formant Pau:

abdomen	manava
adam's apple	kopu
amniotic bag	iko or kawu
amniotic fluid	lanupa
ankle	ponaponavae
anus	pu lemu or kanokano
armpit	keke
belch	wakamapui
bladder	lau matangi
brains	pe ulu as in the phrase "Ka ni o pe ulu la?" Have you no brains?
breast	wu
breast, upper part of	tua wu
breast, lower part of	alonga wu
breast, space between	va wu
breath	ao
bruise	weweu
buttocks	tua muli
calf of leg	kiko kau lilikinga or puku vae
cervix	wiwi
cheek	kaponga
chest	vakavaka or uma
chin	kauvae
chin, double	kolokolo
clitoris	yoko or talakelake
choke (on bone)	laoa
colon	taipili
congestion (windpipe)	kakikapi
crowsfeet	ala mata
detumescence	toka
ear	talinga
erection of penis	makau te ule, or talanga
erection of clitoris	makau te yoko
eruption (skin)	kili mawune
eruption (tongue)	a
eye	mata
eyeball	ua mata
eye, iris	mouli or kano mata
eye, white of	kena mata

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192 eye, pouch below	kalu
826 eye, pupil	uli mata
face	mata, tupu, or ongaonga
faint	ikotu
fallopian tubes	wakaki tinga (burts when full)?
fat (body)	ngako
fetus	wita
finger	mangamanga lima
finger, thumb	mangamanga lima matua
finger, index	mangmanga lima loa
finger, middle	mangamanga loto
finger, ring	mangamanga tolewu
finger, little	mangamanga lewu
flatulence	taeyu
flesh	kiko
foot	papa vae
foot, sole of	kili vae
foot, ball of	kili mulivae
foot, arch of	kili vokonga vae
foot, instep of	tua vae
foot, heel of	mulimuli vae
forehead	lae
foreskin	kili ule
freckles	yilayila
gall bladder	au
glans penis	wakatala ule
halitosis	ngengele
hand	lima
hand, palm of	alonga papa lima
hand, back of	tua papa lima
heart	watu manava
hiccough	tokamauli
hymen	kili pupuni te pu
internal organs	ngakau
intestine, small	mangalongalo
kidney	kiko tua
knee	tulivae
labia majora	lau uguruwu
labia minora	uguruwu lua
larynx	manga lua kopu
leg	vae
lip, upper	lau ugutu ki luaga
lip, lower	lau ugutu ki lalo
liver	ate

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192	lung	mama
826	lung, inspiration of	mimiti
	lung, respiration of	pupuyi
	membranes	kalava
	milk of breast	wu
	mole	mea tupuni
	mons veneris	pali
	mucus from the nose	pe iyu
	nail, finger or toe	matitiku or maititiku
	nape of neck	ua or ngati
	nape of neck, fat below	tupanaka
	navel	pito
	navel cord	pito
	nipple of breast	mata wu
	nose	iyu
	nostril	pongaponga iyu
	oesophagus	e ala no te ngakau matua
	os uterus	puwiwi
	ovary	mape
	palate	tua ngutu
	penis	ule, kavi or niwi
	penis, slack	ule mate, or ule malulu
	placenta	wenua
	pubic hair	kava
	pulse, fast	koa vivili te uaua
	pulse, slow	koa panapana te uaua
	secretions, female	vale or lenga
	semen	nene or kamonga
	skin	kili
	skin, wrinkles on	ala kili
	spittle or saliva	yuvale
	sputum	valinga kau
	stomach	ngakau matua
	stomach, rumblings of	ngalue
	tears	yua mata or loi mata
	temple	lawilawinga
	testicles	layo
	testicle gland	wua moko
	thigh	tenga
	throat	koiokoio
	toe	mangamanga vae
	toe, big	mangamanga vae matua
	toe, second	mangamanga vae loa
	toe, third	mangamanga vae loto

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192	toe, fourth	mangamanga vae tolewu
826	toe, little	mangamanga vae lewu
	toe, ball of	kili mangamanga vae
	toes, space between	va mangamanga vae
	tongue	alelo
	tonsils	wolo manga (big yawn?)
	urethra, male	yekonga mimi
	urethra, female	pu mimi
	uterus	moenga tamaliki
	uvula	pakiko
	vagina	wu or tole
	waist	taukupu
	wind pipe	kaki

II. Names for various bones of the body recognized by informant Pau:

bones in each toe	ivi mangamanga vae
metatarpal bones of foot	ivi likiliki wononga
os calcis	ivi mulimuli vae
fibula	ivi ulu manu
tibia	ivi ulu matua
patella	ivi pupuni tulivae
femur	ivi tenga
ilium	ivi pulapula
thigh bone	ivi tenga
pelvis	ivi pali
backbone, spine	ivi papatua
caudal bone	ivi mulimuli or pulapula
vertibrae	wononga ivi papatua
ribs, floating or lower	ivi manunu
ribs, upper	ivi vakavaka
ribs, upper top section	ivi vakavaka ki lunga
ribs, upper middle section	ivi vakavaka ki lolotonu
ribs, lower section	ivi vakavaka ki lalo
sternum	ivi matua no te vakavaka
clavicle	ivi pokoivi
scapula	pokoivi
humerus	ivi pokolima
ulna	ivi ulu manu o te lima
radius	ivi wolo o te lima
elbow joint	ivi tuke lima
wrist joint	ivi wononga taulu lima
metacarpal bones	ivi papa lima

192 826	spinous process in vertibrae	ivi kaykayo
	neck vertibrae	ivi ua
	atlas vertibra	ivi muli ulu
	crown of skull	papa ulu
	occipital region of skull	muli ulu
	parietal region of skull	tau muli ulu
	region about coronal suture	puyo ulu
	sutures in skull	ngutu papa ulu
	frontal bone	lae
	frontal bone, upper section	tua lae
	frontal bone, forehead	muamua lae
	frontal-temporal ridges	tipi lae
	frontal ridge (on which glabella located)	ivi va mata
	nasion	ivi manunu iyu
	temple bones	tua mata
	supra-orbital ridges	ivi kokotinga mata
	outermost section of eye socket	ivi yikunga mata
	zygomatic arch	ivi tua kaponga
	mastoid process	ivi tua talinga
	nasal bone	ivi iyu
	styloid process	ivi kaponga
	lower mandible	ivi kauvae lalo
	upper mandible	ivi kauvae lunga
	hyal process	ivi alonga kauvae
	muscle	yakali or uaua, described in terms of the various bones with which they articulate
	artery, gland, vein	Uaua toto or uaua matua, described according to the part of the body. Uaua toto is the precise name for an artery or vein. Uaua matua is the precise term for a lymphatic gland. It is believed that the lymphatic glands are filled with a type of water and not with blood.
	tendon	ivi tamo wononga

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192 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:
826

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:
833

839 sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 IV. Types of sleep:
513

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

192	very deep sleep	moe nanau
513	to doze	moe wakatalianga
	to sleep standing	moe tu
	restless sleep	moe tuitui
	to sleep with head on knee	moe tulivae
	to walk in sleep	moe yaele
	to sleep on side with legs outstretched	moe yayae
	to sleep with arms against the sides (like a corpse)	moe yayako
	to sleep badly because of physical pain	moe yoya
	to sleep with eyes open	moe yiyila
	the sleep of a pregnant woman after unsatisfying intercourse with her husband which may cause a miscarriage	moe yuayua
	to become possessed by a ghost during sleep	moe uluia
	to pretend to be asleep	moe wayiyila
	to move arms during sleep	moe wawa
	to sleep with one leg wound round another person	moe wakawiwi
	to be too excited to sleep	moe wawangu
	to sleep with legs spread apart	moe wewela
	to turn from side to side in sleep	moe witi
	fitful spasmodic sleep	moe wowowowo
	to turn over on side during sleep	moe wuli kaokao
	to sleep lying on the stomach	moe wuli pulou
	to sleep lying on the back	moe wuli vakevake
	to groan or talk in sleep	moe wunga

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

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527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yei. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
527 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the ia'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lite, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

159 a garden of beautiful flowers and a woman, dreamer's father's brother's daughter, blossomed forth as one of the flowers.

(This informant has had many dreams of the dead, who look just as when they lived.)

159 Talainga: A recent dream related to special activity, fishing.

787 He dreamt he saw a big ship sailing over the land. On board were many Pukapukan men as well as white men. The ship sailed on to the taro beds and ever onward. As it passed him, Talainga recognized Iti and others on board and spoke to them, asking where they are going. They answered, "To the taro beds, and beyond in that direction." The ship disappeared and he dreamt that he then walked down to the beach He found that he was holding a fishline for kakai in his hands. He walked out to the sea and cast the line. He caught a fish which he tossed onto the beach.

(The day after this dream, he went fishing and caught plenty of fish. A dream of good luck, this.)

159 Talainga: After several sessions' work with Mrs. Henry [resident agent's wife] and me. [Pearl Beaglehole.]

He dreamt he was at the cricket ground (where he'd umpired women's cricket in which both Mrs. Henry and I had participated), a clearing on the road, surrounded by thick groves of coconut trees. The place was full of water. He saw a cemetery close by in which the graves were all pointing south. Nearby was a little house, which resembled a W.C. Asking whose house it was, he learned that it belonged to E. and P. [Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole] someone told him to move the house from alongside the burial ground. He hesitated to do this because the ground was so wet. Disliking the job, he and two others moved the house. Put down, the house was moved yet again by other people. Then he saw E. stood in front of the house, opened the door, and went in. The end of the dream

(Before either the dream was dreamt or related, informant had been invited by E. and P. to pay them a visit to their house, which was undoubtedly an important thing for him.)

Eliu: Dreamt of a meeting of Ngake men, who when ended took their canoes to the back of the island. Saw them in their canoes, fishing. He dreamt that he was lying in the meeting house watching the canoes. Where he was, he sank his line down into the ground. He pulled his line in thinking he had caught a kakai. But it was not a kakai, only a pala. He got hold of the jaws of the fish and told Te Ingoa to hit the fish, which the latter did, killing it. Then the dreamer threw his line again. This time he caught a whale which jumped about on the land and broke loose. He tried to catch it, and after a bit, succeeded. The whale's head was broken, and blood was

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e,....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyana was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyana disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Nina, and saw there the dead body of Tuyana, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

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776 The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa..their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]

The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made make when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the nut.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

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522 Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua l latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kokoti te ala, and the stake marbles, taku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

[illegible]44 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

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793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

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285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lakipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.
The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te lusu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga lana. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Maanawuna ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayaka. Wakaka loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewua. Ta make loa lana. Wakalongolongo loa te wanua ia i te leleka o laua leo. Wo loa la te wanua ia ki a Tuyimate. Ikiki mai loa ki te

539 konga e wakalelekai lua tamawine ia. Tuku loa ki lalo i a Tuyimate. Ko la lunga lua tamawine ia. Koa wakalakalakai i lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. "Tuyimate, e, koi kakalo ake ki lunga." Kakalo atu la i a Tuyimate ki lunga. Makulu loa lua tamawine ia ki lalo. Pau te mate.

Po loa te po. Wo loa lua mauli ki Tonga ki te konga e iai lua o laua kainga tane, ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wiwiti loa ki lunga o te papanga o te wale. Wetangi ai laua, na mauli: "I a maua na pau te mamate." Kakole la lua o laua kainga. "Tukuatai? na pau; tukuatau, na pau a wuwu?" Otiake. Wetu loa lua o laua kainga, ia, pelu na malo, liko na lakau, yuaki te vaka, wiwiti loa la ki lunga. Woe loa laua ki Yayake. Ya wakawiwi wua la latou taumua ma Tokaipole ma Taupeloa.

Oko laua ki Yayake, mumula loa laua i Na Tua Wuewue. Otiake, wo ki na yau. Teia na yau, ko te yau o Poike, ko te yau o Niutao, ko te yau o Tane, ko te yau o Tapungaye. Taumua loa ki te yau o Poike; wakawiwiake ma Poike, patu i a Poike, mate. Patu ma te tangata pau. Wo ki te yau o Niutao, wakawiwi ake ma Niutao, patu ake i a Niutao, mate. Mumuluake ma tona yau, pau. Wo ki te yau o Tane, wakawiwi ake ma Tane, patu ake i a Tane, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Wo ki te yau o Tapungaye, wakawiwi ake ma Tapungaye, patu ake i a Tapungaye, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Mumulu atu la i te wenua katoatoa.

Longowia loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Lomamai loa te tokalua. Wakawiwi ake latou wakawou. Talatala loa i a Tokaipelo ma Taupeloa. "E ye maua, ya wakawiwi matou i Tonga. Ka tele tatou."

Tele loa. Wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua, wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua. Yau loa la te tini e iai i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Pukapuka nei. Oko mai la te va i Tonga, koiai te motu, ko Ko. Tau loa latou i Te Aumaloa. Talatala i a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole, "Wakapili taua ki te wenua nei. E wenua ngutu kino i a Yayake. E talatalai e te vaia ia te ngutu o Yayake. Ka wakatawa taua ke tawanga." Wo loa laua ki te mnliwenua ki lalo, koia oki, ko Matawea tona ingoa.

Nono ai la te tini ia i Te Aumaloa. Wakatupu angaanga loa latou. Teia a latou angaanga na wakatupu: ko te keli ui, ko te kape vai, ma te poki niu.

Wanau ai loa Te Vave ma to i Te Aumaloa, e tamatane. Teia tona tupunga, na lele la lunga pe te manu. Ka ni ona pakayau. Teia tona tu: ke lele la lunga, ka wano ki te moana puke tauanga wonu, puke inao atu, puke inao kakai, aumai la ki te tini o te wui Yayake, kai ai latou. Teia a latou toe

539 angaanga, e wai likoliko ma te yami.

Tupu ai loa te kaitangi o te tai wawine, ko Kumawawine tona ingoa. Wano loa ki Matautu, uwi ai tona ulu ki te ketekete. Kakau loa la tai ki Matawea. Tala loa ki a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Teia tona wakamayeinga, "I a kolua, onoono wua ma te tamavale. E kowea, e tai vave na tupu, e vave ko lele la lunga. Teia ona toe tu, ko wano ki te moana tango wonu, aumai atu, aumai kakai." Iliili atu i a Tokaipole, "Kola?"

Tu loa i a Tokaipole, tango loa te yuvelovelo, velo loa ki te langi ke kitea mai e Taupeloa ya i te moana, ya wangota. Kakalo mai la i a Taupeloa, koa kanapa te yuvelovelo a Tokaipole. Mea loa ki tona waoa, "Ewea la te mea a toku tangata ia, e velo ai tana yuvelovelo ia? Ka wo tatou ki ngauta. Kolai pa te mea na tupu." Lomamai loa latou ki ngauta, ko no i a Kumawawine.

Iliili atu te tokalua, "E pewea te tu o te vave ia? E penei pe te ngongo nei te tiketike?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole, e tiketike atu." Kakalo atu la, "E penei pe te kaka ia?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole." Onoono atu la ki te kaka ia ko lele loa la lunga. Mea loa la te wawine, "Eke, e pe na." Tango loa i a Tokaipole i te yuvelovelo, velo loa, ke oko ki te kaka ia. Otiake, patu loa laua i te wawine, ia, mate. Teia te mea na patu ai laua i te wawine ia, kae wano wakawou tala i a laua muna.

Nono ai la laua. Oko ki te toe ayo, wo loa laua ulu ta laua tionga e mate ai Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ta laua tionga. Teia te tionga: E ama. Kali loa laua ke tai ayo kinokino, tukituki watitili, lapalapa uila, uaua. Otiake. Wo loa laua tatao i te tini o wui Yayake, koa wakatu wakalelei. Lolemi loa laua mai Te Ala o Matiku. Oko atu ki te Ivi i Mawuke. Watia loa te ama iai e te tai tangata vave. Ya tangi ai ma te tamaiti, "Tioa mai taku yami." Kakole pe, e wakaiko tukipo. Tu ai loa ki lunga te vave ia na watia i te ama, "Wo! Yayake, te tukipo." Alai loa te tangata.

Wo atu la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ena. Lele loa la lunga. Tulituli ai loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Wuliwuli la Te Vave ia, ka lele ki na wenua. Wakaniuliia mai loa e na mana a Taua. Lele loa la Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, la te ayanga. Tulituli la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa la lalo. Yokatu a laua yuvelovelo, e ye oko ki lunga, ko la lalo wua. Oko atu ki te konga i te alai o Palaoa. Iliili loa i a Palaoa ki a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole, "Yau i te kokoa, ko lele teia tangata la lunga." Talatalatu i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa, "Tenei to ola." Lele loa i a Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, oko ki tai o te ava, ka

539 lele ki tokelau. Velo atu la te yuvelovelo a Taupeloa, tautonu loa ko te ponaponavae. To loa Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa ki lalo.

Lulu mai la te tangata. Talatala loa, "Ewea te mea ya lele ai te tangata nei? Koi vayia io." Vavayi atu la, e mangavalu te watu manava. Tapai loa ma tona ingoa, i a Watu-manava-nui. Tapai oki ma te ingoa o te konga na to ai, ko "Te Wulumanu a te Tokalua." Kave loa i a Watu-manava-nui tanu i te kava. Oti ai.

The Fight in Waletoa. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 389-90, category 116 or 539-analyst.]

Ko te tala o te Taua i Waletoa. E wakaponongа na te aliki ma te kau wowolo, ma te wui tane o te wenua nei, takatoa. Eia ta latou talatalanga;ka wakatai te wenua, ka lulu tai. No te vaia o Tuliayanga na wakapono ai te talatalanga nei.

Wo loa te wui tane takatoa talatala i Matano. Pono loa te talatala. E tokavalu te tane o Ngake e kiai na wo ki te wakaponongа ia: e tokalua te aliki, ko Wekao no Matanga, ko Tawaia no Muliwutu, ko Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. E kiai latou na popole ke wakatai te wenua. Ya mea latou ke nono i na lulu e nei e nono ai nei.

Kali loa te wui tane ke womamai te kau ia. Na oti te tataki te kupenga o Te Laupapa e te wui tane i tai o Waletoa. E kupenga wakamoemoe i na ngakau o te wui tane, ke awe tutupu ni manako tauyulayula i te wakaponongа. Kali ai te wui tane ke womamai te kau tokavalu e ngangalo ia. Koa mea wua te wui tane i te mea koa ye womamai te kau ia. Onoono mai la te wui tane mai Matano. Koa matalake mai lunga o Waletoa. Mea loa te wui tane, te la pe koa leio ki tai o Waletoa. Kakalo atu la te kau tokavalu ia, na takina te kupenga o Te Laupapa, te atua o Muliwutu. Lele atu loa i a Titoko, e tane Muliwutu. Yayae loa i te kupenga. Kakalo mai la te wui tane mai Matano ki te kupenga wakamoemoe o Te Laupapa na yae ia e te kau ia.

Mea loa te toe kau tane, "Awe meina, tukuna wua peia, ke tuki wuai na vave, kai wengatu loa e tangata." Onoono atu la ki te tane povi ia ko leio atu mai Waula, ka wano ki te wakaponongа ia. Ko Moene te ingoa o te tane ia: e aliki no Matanga. Ke onoono mai la ki Waletoa ki te kupenga o Te Laupapa na yaea e te kau tokavalu ia, lili loa i a Moene ma te putu atu i te kau ia. Teia tana putunga: "Na kai pulu tautape, wakakino wenua nei; na yaeyae loa i te kupenga moemoe o Te Laupapa nei." Ma te yoloyolo atu ki tawa, tango

539 loa ma te watu maene, kamu loa i te kau ia. Ke ouoono mai la te wui tane na lulu i Matano, kakole la te toe kau wui tane, "Wai! Koai te la ngakau mate? Te la te atua yuki." Kakalo atu ki a Titoko, koa aka mai. Take loa i te papaulu. To i a Moene ki lalo. Mate loa.

Ke kakalo mai la te wui tane na to i a Moene ki lalo, mimia mai loa ma te wetangi o na ngutu, "Te atua yuki." Panenu angaoti Te Watu.

Apo lakau mai loa te wui tane, welele mai loa. Ko lio te kau tokavalu nei i te malae i Waletoa. Wakatau kamu atu loa ki te lakau. Kamuloa te wui tane, ka yiva wua. Ko te tokavalu ia la, kae o latou tangata loa ke mate. Matataku loa te toe kau o te wui tane, potopoto na ao o te toe kau. Wekake te toe kau ki lunga o na wale nanai. Ko te tokavalu nei la, kae o latou tangata ke mataku. Te la la ya pau te pakia, ya wakalelelilia e to latou atua o latou konga ya pakia ya newutia e te wui tane.

Lele mai la i a Tawaia, te toe o te tokavalu, la lalo o te wale ia. Wakalongo atu la i a Lunananga mai lunga o te wale, no Tawaia te leo ia. Wao loa mai lunga o te wale i a Lunanga [sic] vavayi loa i te ulu o Tawaia ki te kaio; matule te ulu. Ko Tawaia e taina no Lunanga. Eia te mea na vavayi i a Lunanga i a Tawaia; e kiai i a Tawaia ma ya tala i to latou manako ia ki a latou ma te toe kau o Ngake.

Wuli ake oki Te Laupapa, te atua o Tawaia ma, kokopi i te ulu ya matule o Tawaia, - lelei. Lele oki i a Tawaia wakalele i te wui tane, ke oti le te vayianga o te ulu o Tawaia ia. Wakatau newu atu loa te wui tane latou latou wua. Ye wuwuli atu loa ki te kau tokavalu ia, vayi wua loa ko te tautonu. Kamuloa te toto ula ki lunga! Kamuloa te kau ya mamate tali ngangalo i te toto o te tangata. Kamuloa oki te wui tane malamalaiti tali pau toe tokolewu wua. Yau la te kau tokavalu ia, kae o latou tangata na panakia.

Ke oti la te taua, nono ai la latou i na toe ayo i muli mai. Wakapalangia loa te keke o Titoko no tana yayaenga i te kupenga o te latou atua, ko Te Laupapa.

Tuiva [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 395-399, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko Tuiva e tama na Taonge, te toe o te tokavalu o Ngake. E Matanga tona Po. I te vaia la muli mai o te pule pae. E vaia onge aliki. Na mate i a Tuliayanga.

Ko Takitini, e tane Loto no te po i Tua, ya wakaunga e Tuiva ke leowia te mata i Utupoa, no te kau e wo ki ayanga, e

539 ulakanga mai ki Ko. E vaia yongeyonge. E kiai na tu lelei te wenua. Ko tokalewu oki te tane o te wenua; na pau i te pule pae.

Wo loa na tama a Tuiva tulituli i ayanga. Onoono mai la i a Takitini koa lomamai mai ayanga. Lele atu loa i a Takitini, topetope i na papaulu, tutuli ake ke wo ki wale. Kakole la i a Takitini, "Na mata o na toyeyeu." Womamai loa te kauliki ia, tale ki a Tuiva. E kiai ya mea i a Tuiva, E taina oki nona i a Takitini. Kona oki na tukuna ke leowia te mata i Utupoa ia. E ngutu tamaliki oki.

Oko loa ki te toe ayo, tutuli oki e Tuiva ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou e nono wua? Kowea tatou, koa wiakakaia nei. Tiai, e ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Wo oki te kauliki ia ki ayanga. Kitea mai oki e Takitini. Wengatu oki i a Takitini. Vayi yokayoka i na lauate ki tana lakau. E kiai la na yoka tika; ya wakamataku wua ke awe wo wakawou. Wetangi mai oki te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, "I a matou ya vayi loa e Takitini, yokake i o matou ate ki tana lakau." E kiai oki i a Tuiva ya wakalongo ki na talanga a na tama ia. Ya manatu oki pe (?) ana manatunga mua.

Oko ake oki ki te toe ayo. Tutuli oki i ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou na nono wuai wakawiakakai? Na ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Kakole la te kauliki ia, "E ye papa lava matou. I a matou koa kili kino i a Takitini." Kakole la i a Tuiva, "Tiai i a Takitini ka mea wuai i a kotou? Awa ni wakamatakunga wua i a kotou." Kakole ana tama ia, "E kole lava, ko vayi tika loa i a matou, ngalepelepe."

Oko ake ki te toe ayo. Wo loa te kauliki ia; onoono mai oki i a Takitini, koa matala tu, ka wo ki ayanga, wo atu ki Ko. Lele mai loa i a Takitini ki te kauliki ia. Iliili loa kiai, "Kawo kotou ki wea? E na topakakava ia; na mata o na kakaia." Kakole te kauliki ia ki a Takitini. "E kole la, matou ko Tuiva na unga mai ke yi a matou mea." Kakole la i a Takitini, "Kowea i a Tuiva? E motu koia no kotou, e kai wuai kotou. Niniko kotou. Awe totoko kotou. Ka vayia kotou ngalepelepe." Topetope ake e Takitini i na papaulu, tutuli mai ake ke womamai ki wale.

Wai loa ta latou tinonga wakawotu. Womamai loa latou, wai mai ma te talatala. Oko mai ki Te Walatapepe. Kakole la te toe tamaiti o latou ia, "Wakawaialala la koe, e Wakitula. Ko koe e minai i a Tuiva. Wakawati to lima ma o vae, ke oko tatou ki te konga e iai i a Tuiva, tangi loa koe wakataetio." Oti ake latou te talatala, lulu loa latou i na lima ma vae ma te tino o Wakitula ki te kili vavai; ke tapa la ni konga na kamutia e Takitini ki tana lakau, ke wano i a Tuiva patu i a Takitini. Otiake te lulu i a Wakitula, amo mai loa latou. Ke

539 pili mai la latou ki te konga e no ai i a Tuiva, tangi loa i a Wakitula, kaka ma te leo ki lunga, "Awei, toku lima na wati ia ma toku kaokao na pu ia, ma toku vae na wati ia. I te tinga! Amo kotou wakalelei; awe luluwia."

Ke wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva no Wakitula te leo. Kakalo a tu oki lua ona mata, ko tautau te lima, ko lulu na lima ma na vae. Kamuloa i a Tuiva tete to ma te palo. Tu loa ki lunga, tango loa ma te lakau ma te tao. E kiai na liiili ki te kauliki ia. Manatu loa i a Tuiva ko Takitini na patua, no na talanga a te kauliki ia i na toe ayo. Mea wua mai te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, koa lele ma te lakau, "Tau mea ya wakaungai koe i a matou kai teia." Lele atu loa i a Tuiva. Ko no i a Takitini i te va o Utupoa ma Te Motu o Te Tali. Kakalo mai la i a Takitini ki a Tuiva, koa lele atu ma te tao. E kiai ya iloa e Takitini te mea na lele atu ai i a Tuiva ia. Yaula pe no te tionga wakatomua wua a te kauliki na mea ki a Tuiva. Onoono atu i a Takitini ki te tao a Tuiva koa yoka mai mai lunga ona. Wakaeke lao e Takitini ki tana lakau. Takayala te yokanga a Tuiva ia, e kovi wua i a Takitini. Lele loa i a Takitini.

Tulituli mai loa e Tuiva la te ngayu o Te Kalele. Wao loa i a Takitini la lunga o te ngayu. To la te toe konga. Yoka mai loa e Tuiva mai muli ki tana tao, makeke i te kaokao o te tua. Tango ake oki i a Takitini i te tao. Unu ake, maka ki a Tuiva. Lele loa i a Takitini ko Watumoana, ya no i Te Newu. Ulu loa ko te aloalo. Lele mai loa i a Tuiva, wakaanga loa ma te tao ka yoka mai lunga. Kakole la i a Watumoana, "Ewea tau mea? Na mea wuai koe? Koa oti wua. Na oko mai oki ki aku nei. I a koe koa ye wakaete mai i aku." Kakole la i a Tuiva ki a Watumoana, "Kaleake koe, koi kaleake, kalei la e kiai na wakaete mai i aku maku kokovi." Yoka loa i a Tuiva i a Takitini, makeke. Mate loa i a Takitini.

Tapi ia Takitini na wuwuli ki a Tuiva. Kei, e ye mailonga pe koai te tangata o laua ka tukino, e kovi i a Takitini maloyi ma te wua. No tana patunga wua i a Te Ki ma Kaleva i Uta, wakavaleliai loa te manako. Yau oki i a Tuiva na ye wuwuli ai oki ki na meanga a Watumoana. Ya ana iloa e vave i a Takitini, no iai na wunaki ai loa i a Tuiva; na ye wai ete ai.

Oti ai, wengatu atu la i a Tuiva ki tona wale ki ana kokovi ia, ko lelei pe; ni ngutu wua pe no latou. E meinai, "Te ngutu takia mate o te tamaliki."

Oti ake te mate i a Takitini, wano loa i a Watumoana ki te kau o Yato, ka wo latou to i a Tuiva. Ko Watumoana, e tane Matanga no te wakavae i Angialulu. Eia na ingoa o te kau o Yato; ko Uikele, ko Vakaua, ko Vakauli, ko Puyaka, ko Te Kele, ma Watumoana, tane Ngake. Talatala loa latou i te

539 awiawi; teia ta latou talatala, ka wo latou patu i te wui tane o te wenua nei ke pau; ma latou te tiniu o Pukapuka. Teia te toe talatala a latou, ka taumua latou ki a Tuiva, kona te tane vave i te vaia ia. Ka wakamuli atu ai ki te wui tane. Otiake latou te talatala i te awiawi ia. Wo loa latou tapena, pepelu ma o latou malo, wuwulu ma latou lakau te kauvae pala, ma na toe meatu a latou.

Wengatu atu la i a Uikele ki to laua wale ma Matautu. E wawine i a Matautu na Uikele. Kake loa ki lunga, tapenai i ana mea. Ko moe i a Matautu i lalo. To loa te kauvae pala ko na aloalo o Matautu. Kakole la i a Matautu, "Ni wea au mea e mea na? Ni po-no te kakai?" E kiai i a Uikele na vava mai. Mayala wua loa i a Matautu i loto o tona manako, "Ewea la te mea a te kau nei?" Oti ake na mea a Uikele i a te mea, leio loa ki lalo, wano loa ki te konga e wakalulu ai latou. Ko Uikele ke teka wuatu ki tulanga, ko Matautu oki ki tatea o to laua wale. Teia te mea na wakamayalai i a Matautu, "Ka wo mo te kau nei to i te kau wui tane." E kainga wakama oki nona i a Tuiva. Yau oki i a Katinga, te wawine a Tuiva, e taina tika nona.

Wano loa i a Matautu ki Matala, ya no i ai i a Tuiva i te vaia ia. E kiai na wakapili ki te wale, ya tu wua mai tatea. Ya tilitili watu wua mai ki tawa o te wale. Ko momoe ia Tuiva ma Katinga ko te lowi tuluapo o te tangata. Ko Tuiva e kovi moe alaala, ko te moe o te vave. Wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva ki na watu e ngatata ia. Wakaala loa i a Katinga, "Koi tu atu ake koe pe ni wea na mea e ngatata ia." Tu atu loa i a Katinga onoono, "Kakole." Yau oki i a Katinga ki loto o to laua wale. Kakole i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "Kakole pe." Wakalongo atu oki. koa tilitili mai na watu. Mea oki i a Tuiva, "Kowea oki e ngatata ia. Tu atu ake." Tu oki i a Katinga onoono. Kakole oki i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "Kowea! Kakole." Mea oki i a Tuiva, "Koi yaele atu ki mua na!"

Ko te angaanga a Matautu, e wakayokoyoko ki muli ko na mea e tu mai i a Tuiva, no te mea e kainga wakama. Onoono atu i a Matautu. ko Katinga. Wakakite loa kiai. Mea loa i a Matautu ki a Katinga, "Koi meatu ake ki te kau wui tane na, i ana ka toa e te kau o Yato."

Yau loa i a Katinga, tala ki a Tuiva, "Kowea! i a koe ka toa e te kau o Yato." Wakalongo atu i a Tuiva. E kiai na wakakolokolo. Tu loa yayae i te ana. Pepelu loa ma te malo. Lele loa ki tona taina, ko Kilika. Wengatu la ki a Kilika, ko wakaleleka te leo; ko kapakapa ulunga ma tona wale lopa. Kakole la i a Tuiva, "Yao ke wakaleleka te leo, to mate e wunaia mai nei. Kowea taua ka toa e te kau o Yato."

Wakalongo atu oki i a Kilika ki te muna a Tuiva ia. Tu oki

539 i a Kilika ki lunga, mea loa ki tona wale lopa ia ke womamai tawia a laua lakau taua. Tutu loa tona wale lopa ia, pepelu i o latou malo. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki te toe tokalua o latou ia ke wo ma ana yaeke i te po, ke tai o latou oyo, ke kinaki ai ta latou tata na waia e Katinga i te po ia. Wo loa ki na yi, e tai puto ki te tae i te taiva ma na vete ma na toe ika. Womamai loa, aumai ki a Katinga, tao ake i te po ia.

Ko tapena latou i o latou lakau. Momoyo ake a latou mea ia, kai loa to latou oyo ia. Koa vaelua te po. Koa vave ki ao. Wo loa te kau, ulu i te kau o Yato ia.

Ko te tokaono o Yato: na oti ake te tapena a latou lakau taua. Wo loa yeleyele i te wui unu o te wui atua ki te launiu, ke matala ta latou wonga ia. Wo loa ki a Te Mangamanga, ma Talitonganuku, ma Taua, ma Mataliki ma na toe atua. Wo oki apoapo lakau i te wui wale lakau i te wui po ma na lakau atu i na toe konga.

Otiake te tapenapena a latou mea ia, wo loa latou ka taumua ki a Tuiva. Womamai loa la lunga o Te Motu o Valua. Womamai atu la ki Te Motu o Kaikole. Ko moe ai te tane ia, ko Tuanunui. Patu loa e latou, mate. Womamai loa latou ki te motu i Matala, ki a Tuiva. Ola loa wakawou te tane na latou patua; wakaolangia e te wui atua. E ye tikalia e mate; e tangata ma latou.

Oko mai loa ki te wale o Tuiva. Ati loa latou i te wale. Na oti latou te talatala. Ke oko latou ki te wale o Tuiva, wawao loa latou mai lunga, yoka loa, patu ma na lakau mai lunga. Tapa la i a Tuiva ko i loto, "Ti! " e kole pe, na oko. Ko ulu oki i a latou. Kakole la latou, "Kai teia ola, angaoti. Na wano ki wea? Mamai ke uluna! " Womamai loa, ulu ki Ngake, ki a Kilika ma tona wale lopa. Ulu mai la, na ngangalo. Mea loa latou, "Na ngangalo oki. Koai na tala?"

Wo loa ulu i a Tuiva ma Kilika. Ulu loa ki te mata ki Ngake, ulu atu, ko ngangalo. Yau oki i a Tuiva ma Kilika, ko ulu oki i a latou ki Yato. Koa wo latou onoono i te wui wale atua. Koa wo atu latou. Koa oti i te yele i ta latou launiu. Koa momotu latou i te launiu a te tokavalu. E kiai oki na kitea. Tuapo mai oki e te ulu la te vao. Koa vaveao loa.

Yau oki te kau o Yato na tuapo oki la Wale. E kiai na wiwi te kau i te po ia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki te mata i Ngake. Oko oki te kau o Yato ia ki Walepia. E kiai oki na kitea. Koa vave loa ki ao. Koa kitea te kili o te tangata. Niniko mai oki latou e te tuapo. Oko mai loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki tai o Paepae. Oko mai oki te kau o Yato ki tai o Kailia. Wakatau kakalo loa te kau. Kitea atu e Tuiva ma Kilika mai Paepae. Kite mai oki e te kau o Yato mai Kailia.

539 Wakatau welele loa te kau. Welele loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Wumalolo. Aka loa i a Tuiva, makeke lua vae ki te papa, oko te kelekele ki na kaulilikinga. Aka oki i a Kilika makeke. Telala, e kiai na tu lelei, e to ye tau. Koa pili mai loa te kau o Yato. Koa wakaanga e te velo mai na koko. Mea loa i a Kilika ki a Tuiva, "Tuiva e, taku tu ko ye tau. I aku kai pakia. E kino la taua ke welele ki te Wunui? E ngali taua e vaeolo." Wakaaloa loa i a Tuiva i tona taina ia, kae pakia mate. Welele loa lua tokalua la lunga o Waula. Yinga loa to laua toe tawi lakau, ko Yakilia te ingoa. Yoka loa mai lunga e te tokaono o Yato. Wakaeke loa e te toe o latou ki tana lakau, ko Uikele. Teia te mea na wakaolai e Uikele, e tuanga tau nona, i a Yakilia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Te Wunui. Aka loa i a Kilika makeke. Aka oki i a Tuiva, e kiai na tau. E malulu te palapala.

Na wakailo wua taumua i a Kilika, ke onoono i a Puyaka, awe patua: e kovi kona ko wakamaua na tala taumumua, ma te wui wakamailonga ika, ma te wui tupuanga wenua, ma na toe meatu. Ko te mea ia na ye pau ai te kau o Yato ia. Teia te toe: tapi na wakawu laua ki te konga na akai i a Tuiva, awa e lipoamata loa te kau i te pakapakaelonga. Ko te mea la kave ake loa ki Te Wunui, olai loa te toe kau.

Oko atu loa te kau o Yato kiai. Wakatau velo loa ki te koko ma te koyo. Taumua loa i a Tuiva ko Watumoana, nana te maloyi ia; mate. Ko Puyaka, ko Vakaua, ko Te Kele, no Kilika. Ko Watumoana, ko Uikele, ko Vakauli, no Tuiva. Wakatau kamu loa te kau ki te lakau. Ke onoono atu la i a Tuiva ki te lakau a Kilika, ko tuku tawa. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki a Kilika, "Ti awa tau lakau, koa tuku tawai; tuku tonu." Tuku tonu loa te lakau a Kilika. Wakalele oki i a Tuiva ia ki a Vakauli; mate. Tokaluai te matenga.

E kiai na kitea te lelemainga o te koyo o Uikele, e Tuiva. Alai atu, na yoka i te kauanga pu. Patu atu te kaio, tautonu loa ko te mulimuli o te koyo. Wati te mata i loto o te kauanga o Tuiva. Ongotia loa i a Tuiva. Wakayinga loa, wuli pulou mai lunga o Vakauli, o tana tangata na mate. Kati ai mai lunga. Nana iloa wua, ka mate i ana. Eia i a Vakaua, koa tuwuli mai lunga o Tuiva. Ka vavayi ki tana kaio. E mea la na alaia e te tiniu ya mangungu loa mai lunga o Tuiva. No iai na kamunga kino ai e Vakaua. Yaula i a Kilika na palupalu i tona lae na pakia, i te vai i Taumalanga, lulu ake ki te kili welo. Kaka mai loa te leo o Tuiva ki a Kilika, "Kilika e, mate loa au." Aka mai loa i a Kilika, ko liolio i a Vakaua mai lunga o Tuiva. Take loa e Kilika i te ponapona vae, to io oki ki lalo ko te papatake. Mate loa i a Vakaua. Tokatolu ai te mamatenga.

Yaula i a Uikele ya la tatea wua. Welele to toe tokatolu: ko

539 Uikele, ko Te Kele, ma Puyaka. Wo loa tanu i a latou. Tanu loa la lalo o latou matutua na mamate taumua. Yaula i a Tuiva ma Kilika, kave loa e te tiniu ma o lau tawi lakau vavau i o laua konga ya pakia ke lelei. Lelei ake la. Wo loa ulu i te kau ma ola. Ke wo atu la na pau te tanu.

Wakakite loa i a Tuiva ki te wenua takatoa, "Wakalongo mai la kotou e te wenua. Ko Kilika kona e wakayaelea te muli wenua, ke no au ki te loto wenua ma te mata wenua nei leowia, ke awe tutupu ni manako kikino." Ka wakatu te tangata o te wenua, na oko te tokawolo o te wui tane i te vaia o Tuiva ki te tinomano ma tino welau. Wakatu oki tana tupele, totolo te tangata; koa tupele. E nei na oko mai ai ki te malama nei, kae e toe tamaki na wakatupu.

Fire [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p.97, category 116--analyst.]

Ko te atua, ko Ngaliyeyeu, na aumai ki tona wata, ki a Te Ule. Kae awi i te wenua nei. Ko Ngaliyeyeu na aumai ki a Te Ule. Kitea loa i te awi. I te vaia ia, ka ni awi loa a te wui wata o te wui atua. I te vaia mua ya tutu mai a latou awi i te awi a Te Ule. Lili loa te atua o Te Ule, ko Ngaliyeyeu. Mea loa kiai, "Tamate tau awi, kae lomamai na wata o te wui atua ava awi i kinei tunu ai a latou ika. Tuku wua ke kai mata a latou mea. Ke onge awi tunu ai, kae ola latou. Talapaya loa, tapa na latou te awi." Tamate loa i a Te Ule i tana awi. Neneva wua te wui wata. Wo atu ki a Te Ule ulu awi, "Te Ule e, ko wea te awi?" Mea mai loa i a Te Ule, "Kae awi." Kai mata wua loa te wui wata o te wui atua. Ko Te Ule, maua mai tana ika, tutu ake tana awi, mumula; tunu ake tana ika, momoyo; tamate te awi. Pela wua lai.

Teia te tionga na maua i te awi a te atua a Te Ule; e lakau, e puapua. Vayayi loa te puapua. Ta loa wakakauliliki te toe. Eia te ingoa o te mea kauliliki, e kaunati. Ko te toe vayanga o te lakau, ko tuku ki lalo. Vavalu loa te konga la lunga o te kili o te lakau. Tuku loa te kaunati mai lunga o te konga ia, ko te ikanga tona ingoa. Ika loa la. E lua tu o te ika, patumata te toe, wakanati te toe. Oko mai ki te toe vaia, tala i a Te Ule i te tionga e maua i te awi.

Seers [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 341-342, category 116--analyst.]

1. Ki Tamau e tane Muliwutu. Ko te wotunga, e tangata yivayiva. Teia te wui mea ka kitea; Te ika tauila, ke patupatu

539 tona lima ki te lima i te ika tauila. Patupatu ai ia. kitea mai te wui penupenu aitu. Teia te penupenu, te talo, te nimo, te malo, te lakau, te tiale.

Ko Tamau e wata no Te Laupapa. Me yau mai Wale ki ko nei, onoono atu ko tike te lenga, na momoyo. Tango, kai. Te taiva, te vete, te manini, --te wui ika katoatoa na momoyo, na tunu e tona atua ia. Ko tona mana ia o tona yilanga.

Teia na toe. ko te lomilomi make: E lima wati, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E vae wati, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E mata kamutia, mea wuatu, lelei. E manava tinga, patupatu wuatu, lelei. Kae vai lakau e wai inu. E lima wua. Oti ai.

2. Ko Walieu. E Tane Loto ia Walieu. Ko Ngaliyeyeu tona atua. Ko tona mana e awi. E ye tamate a te awi. E mumula wua peia. Ke mate te awi, ngalo te mana. Ka lulu mai te tangata maki ki tona wale. Ka takutaku ai i te atua. Kamuloa te wui maki lelei. Teia te wui maki: te tangata uluwia e te aitu, ka lelei. Te tangata maki kinokino ina, ka lelei. Te tangata maki ao potopoto, ka lelei. Te wui maki, katoatoa, ka lelei. Pe la katoa ki te wui ika liki, te malauila, te eye, te wuti kava, te wo, te kaloma, te atule pai: Me patu ai, makulu te manini tauila. Eia: ko tona yivayiva. O ti ai.

The story of Wua and Velo [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 350, category 116--analyst.]

Ko Wua ma Velo, ni lua wai wakamailunga i lunga o te langi. Teia a latou wakamailunga. Kao wenake mai te kau mata nunui e kakao i te vave ao, koa talatala te kakai, "Te nei, koa wenake te kau mata o Wua ma Velo." E wakamailunga no te malolo ma te wui uluaki ika o mataliki. E wualai te tavatava, te ulua, te wono, ma te kau ika o mataliki. E wekake ai te wui uluaki ika e wakawiwi ai te wui tauanga wonu i te moana.

Wua and Velo are two gods who make signs on the sky. These are their signs. When the group of very large stars rise in the morning, the people say, "Here, the group of stars of Wua and Velo are rising." It is a sign of the malolo and the several first-born fish of mataliki. There come in to the reef the tavatava the ulua, the wono, and the group of fish of mataliki. There climb up the various first-born (first to come) fish that have met the many turtle pairs in the sea. This is something of which the group of large stars of Wua and Velo is a sign.

8: Beaglehole and Beaglehole--26 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 E mea ko wakamailunga ki te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E wuai ma te talao, te wui ika, e wua to latou mai te katakata, te wapuku, te waloa, te eve, te unaliki, te loi. Ko na mea ia, e longo nui ai te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E onoono ai oki te kau e wangota ki te moana.

(The fish) are with roe--the talao, all the fish are with roe, the katakata, ...and so forth. Those are the things which make very famous the group of large stars of Wua and Velo.

E kakao ai ma te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua: mai te kaveu, te tupa, te kaipea, te kalama, te manu a Taua, ma te unga kukula, te unga uli, ma te unga vae yila, e te unga wuluwulu atua. Ko na mea ia, e wakamailungai na mata o Wua ma Velo. E nei e takoto mai ai ki te vaia o te taitangata wou nei, ke a latou iloloa te wakamailunga o na mata o Wua ma Velo ia. Pau ai loa te tala o Wua ma Velo.

There appear also the various creatures on top of the land, such as the kaveu, the tupa, the kaipea, the manu a Taua, and the unga kukula, the unga uli, the unga vae Yila, and the unga wuluwulu atua. Of these things the stars of Wua and Velo are signs. They have come down to the time of the present generation, that they may know the signs of the stars of Wua and Velo. The story of Wua and Velo is finished.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
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114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[21] [1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 115
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

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159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *woi tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live 159
with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that 159
I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 145
16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many 159
girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married 572
before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with 836
special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many 159
meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like 836
this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

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159 yet and that I was afraid that intercourse would prevent my
836 menses from starting. We argued together for a while, he urging me to come with him and I asked to be allowed to go home. Then he asked me where I slept. I told him on top of the house platform on such-and-such a side. "But," I said, "don't come yet; wait till everyone is asleep. My sister will see you now because we sleep together." We separated then. I went to bed in my house, lying with my sister on the platform, the elders sleeping below. I didn't sleep but lay listening. He entered, stumbled and made a noise. I was very frightened. He climbed up on to the platform, but my parents heard the creaking and began to stir, asking who was making the noise. The young man hurriedly slipped out of the house. He was frightened too. I often saw him after this but I never had intercourse with him.

On another occasion I and a girl friend named Wa went to the beach near the causeway in the early evening. Coming back along the lagoon we saw two people some distance away and we took them to be the village policeman and his wife. As we came near we found they were two young men who grabbed us as we tried to pass them. We could not run away. I told the boys that my father would whip them for interfering with us. The boys said, "You won't go home; we'll stay and all go to the bush. You girls will enjoy it." We said we would go home first and see if our parents were asleep, then the two boys could come for us. The boys agreed. Then the curfew gong sounded and we began to go off home, but the boys would not let us go. They held onto our arms. The policeman came along the beach and saw all four of us together. I was frightened, ran home, closed the house door behind me and fastened it. Then the policeman came to the house and scolded me. My father woke up and asked me what the policeman wanted. I said I did not know. My father went to sleep again and I was so frightened by the boys that I never went to the bush with them at any time.

On another occasion still, I and my two sisters[2] Wa and Lima called in at a house where only one young man happened

[2] These girls were her classificatory sisters, just as when Lua refers to her parents or father in these last paragraphs she means her classificatory parents.

to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the 159
bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." 836
He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, "I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. "Are you just infants?" they said. "Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested 159
that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. 584
I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

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159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
[837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [334] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

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EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE
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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full 156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed, 578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 571 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tendencies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 578 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the traditional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

when sung by the people of one village on one of these occasions of socialised release, I give the following translation of one of the briefest wrestling chants (but not one of the most brutally violent!): 154 578

> The kilts of Pana's women are easily opened—
> Pressed to the ground,
> Thrown by me
> Rolled over and over are the rival villages.
> Broken their hands and feet,
> Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes.
> Look from above, O two villages,
> On the strength you boasted of—
> Smashed it is and pressed to the ground—
> Come, come now, that I may take you
> On the journey of my human body,
> Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
> Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping, embracing.

On the surface this may not seem to the reader to be particularly insulting. The import, however, is clear. The chant is sung by the people of Ngake village, whose other name is Pana. The implication of the first line is that although the women of this village are very hospitable (the kilt of coconut leaf was the only dress formerly worn by the women), nevertheless so defeated are the men of the other two villages that they have not the strength to take advantage of their opportunities—and no Pukapukan likes to realize this fact. Successive lines comment on the magnitude of the defeat inflicted on the two villages. The statements are extremely hyberbolic because Pukapukan wrestling is, on the whole, a very mild sport. Victory in a contest comes when a rival has both feet lifted from the ground, or touches the ground with any part of the anatomy other than the feet. The chanters, nevertheless, gain much satisfaction from exaggerated boasting. They are living for the moment in a world of make-believe, and the greater the fantasy the greater the success of the catharsis. The last four lines recur to the motif of sex: in fantasy, the Ngake men have taken the women of the other two villages away from their lovers, away to the two legendary lands of Niue and Yiva. There they may cohabit with the women free from possible interference from their beaten, weak and disorganized rivals. Thus in such a simple chant as the one adduced, the Pukapukan can work off banked emotion and receive therefrom the satisfactions of the most delightful fantasy.

154 578 The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can do justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It [156] is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts:

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
627 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach; gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
579 the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained
837 to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved. 154

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living. 578 154 182

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group. 171

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is 121

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

121 likely to find clear and unmistakable the patterns of behavior which are sometimes more difficult to disentangle among advanced peoples. There is here a fruitful field for coöperation between the psychologist and the anthropologist. A realistic social or abnormal psychology must take account of the behavior of non-western peoples if its principles are to be adequately tested. The anthropologist, in turn, can gain a new insight into the meaning of customs, myths, and folk stories if he realizes that he is observing patterns of culture which may not be peculiar to one particular people, but illustrative of widely distributed types of behavior.

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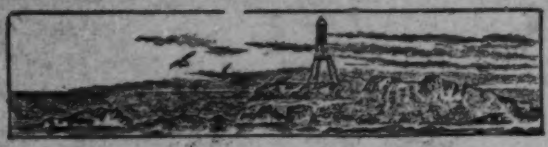

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate. 639 173 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [187 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukurea) to Samoa, to Niuē,

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

173 and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-niui
539 pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor
773 visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yauora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-ruru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

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E TUATUA TEIA NA URA, E TANGATA BUKABUKA AIA.

E Tuatua Taito.

539

Ko Bukabuka e kaoa ia ki raro i te moana. Kua noo tetai atua ko Tamaye, kua tiaki aia i te toka. Kua manako ana aia e, e mea puapinga kore. Kua ngaa mai te toka e kua aere mai te tangata ki runga ko Uyo tona ingoa. Kua akara aia e kare e turanga, e kua anga aia i te enua e pini ua ake. Nona i katiri mai ei te tangata. Ko tana vaine no Tonga mai, e ko Te Vao-pupu te ingoa o taua vaine ra. Tera ta raua tamaiti tamaroa ko Tumuri-vaka; e ta raua tamaine ko Te-Matakiate.

No Tonga mai nga tangata toa i te tuatau taito, ko Tokaipore tetai, ko Tauperoa tetai. Kua noo raua, e kua mate raua ki teianei enua; e na raua i kokoti i nga oire. Ko Avarua te ingoa o tetai oire koia oki ko Ko tiporo. Ko Teawea tetai oire koia oki ko Panauri. Ko Takanumi tetai, koia oki ko Urekava.

Kua tupu ana te kumara, te tou, e te pia ki Bukabuka i te tuatau taito. I teia tuatau kare te kumara e kiko; ka tupu te tou ki roto i te au repo taro; e kare e pia i teia tuatau nei.

Kua aere ana ratou ki te au enua e manganui i te tuatau taito. Kua aere ana ratou ki te itinga o te ra, e te opunga o te ra, kare ki apatokerau, e ki apatonga. Kua kite ratou ia Manihiki e Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) Samoa e Niue, e tetai au enua atu. Kua tae ana tetai toa ma tona vaka tangata ki tetai pa enua ko Maungauiui te ingoa. E aratai tei rotopu i tetai enua e tetai enua, e te tu tangata e papaa, mai te Tinito te tu. Ko Te Kumatanau te enua openga ki te pae opunga, e ko Yilivari te enua openga ki te pae itinga. E au manu enua tei reira, e manu mamaata, e ngolo te ingoa o taua manu ra. Ko tetai toa Bukabuka kua tae aia ki tetai enua ko Vetuna te ingoa. Kua timata ana te tangata i te ta i aia; i reira kua kave ana aia i ngā metua nona ki uta i te maunga; e kia kite te tangata i tona ririnui, kua opu aia i te ngolo, e kua aaae atura aia i taua manu ra; mataku akara taua enua tangata i aia. Tera te ingoa taito o Bukabuka ko Nukuroa.

Tera to ratou ingoa taito no Tahiti ma tona pa enua e Rarotonga ma tona pa enua ko Yaiake. Ko Rarotonga, e maunga ia no Yaiake. Kua pakapeka nga ariki tokorua, ko Turiyanora te ingoa o tetai ariki, e ko Tuyimate te ingoa o tetai ariki. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga, kua topa ke; e no reira i tuatusia ko Rarotonga, no te mea no runga mai.

I te tuatau taito ra, e enua maata a Nukuroa (Bukabuka) e kua maata roa te tangata. Kua pou te enua e te tangata atu i tetai deluvi

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

539 maata. E meangiti na te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraia e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere aia e kua tuatua aia kia rave i te peu akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa aia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua riri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te daluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Ruru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Tersio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te ā ia o te kopu tangata.

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192 Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki te reo Rarotonga, e te rea Beritane.

Bukabukan.	*Rarotongan.*	*English.*
Teratara	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Taua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katoa	Ngauru	Ten
Akaemaema	Akaperepere	Beloved
Tataku	Pure	Pray
Manatuā	Varuae	Jealousy
Riri pokerekere	Riri otooto	Fierce anger
Watitiri	Mangungu	Thunder
Ranie	Rangi marie	Fine (as a fine day)
Tainamua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tainamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kāinga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kāinga Tane	Tuagane	Real Brother
Whareatua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Whareatua = the abode of the god.
Inakava	Ko te tamaine ia a te teaine	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Takai	To tread
Lei vanau	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kava	Kerekere rava	Very black
Kena	Teatea	White
Mukavakvake	Teatea rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura mole	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoyinga	Ngati, as Ngati tangiia	A tribe
Puripori	Katiri	*A line of descent.

*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF NO. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

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October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

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* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea. 773

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one. 539 173

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning). and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads: and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

773 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to
539 his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture
173 of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings, each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 121 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 128 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and talo gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 415.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

128 Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

123 We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral 114 lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka- 115 pukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal in- 124 formants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawaui, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary 124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, 121 under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124/127 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121/128 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as [184] a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalizations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

121/128 affinities with other Polynesian systems. This provides the objective background for studying the meaning of these patterns for the personalities of those who live within the frame of reference called Pukapukan society. This task is touched upon in the data on children (2). If certain problems of symbolism, pattern status, emotional conditioning, and all that makes up the dynamics of culture have been largely overlooked in these pages, it is not through unawareness of the existence and importance of these problems but solely because the type of field work represented by this and other manuscripts is that which it was most practicable to carry to a conclusion.

NOTE ON PHONETIC STRUCTURE

194 [128] Throughout this monograph Pukapukan words are written in the ordinary English alphabet, in accordance with standard usage for Polynesian ethnolology. Obviously such recording represents only an approximate rendering of the true sounds and words of the language.

The symbols *k*, *p*, and *t* represent the intermediates between sonant *g* and surd *k*, between *b* and *p*, and between *d* and *t* respectively; *k* is pre-palatal before the vowels *e* and *i*, post-palatal before *a*, *o*, and *u*—it is never aspirated; *p* is aspirated only before the vowel *u*; *t* is always dental and unaspirated.

The lateral, *l*, is dental. The nasals are *m*, a dental *n*, and the front palatal *eng* (*ng*). The semivowel *w* functions as a major consonant; when it occurs within a word before *u* or *i* (as in the words *mawu*, *awi*) it has a guttural quality.

Finally, there are the bilabial spirant *v*, voiceless and unaspirated, and the voiceless interdental spirant, not previously recorded for a Polynesian dialect. This spirant (corresponding to the *th* in English "thin") is invariably palatalized, followed by a *y* slur ("thin" with a *y* inserted before the *i*, "thyin"). This compound sound (*θʲ* in certain phonetic systems) is rendered by the symbol *y* in this monograph, but is not to be confused with the ordinary *y* semivowel which does not occur as a Pukapukan consonant. The Pukapukan voiceless interdental spirant palatalized is the sound mistakenly described by Macgregor (20, p. 3) as a glottal closure accompanied by "an added breath . . . giving a sound of *i* consonant," and written by him *'i*.

The glottal closure as an independent consonant is absent. The consonants are never long.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* all have the continental values. In rapid speech, however, a short *a* is pronounced as *u* in English "but"; short *i*, especially before *ng*, as *i* in English "pin". Final *i* after *t* tends to be voiceless.

Quantity and quality of vowels, presence or absence of diphthongs, and the location of stress are not indicated in native words. These phonetic characteristics are reserved for treatment in a Pukapukan dictionary which will include also the general rules of pronunciation governing accent.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--1 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

Introduction

●121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN PUKAPUKAN CHILDREN

By ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE

I

121 ONE OF THE MOST memorable aspects of Edward Sapir's genius was his ability to think in terms of problems rather than within the academic limits of orthodoxly defined subjects. Ethnology, linguistics, and psychology thereby became cross-fertilized. Schools and methods became of secondary importance, or rather, were evaluated not in terms of narrow fields of investigation, but in the light of the help they promised for the solution of broadly conceived significant scientific problems. It was typical of Sapir, therefore, that he should have sensed in the problem of personality formation one of those major scientific orientations that direct the research and thinking of a generation or more of scientists. It was also typical of him that he should realize that no continuing research problem is worth the candle unless it breaks down into a series of hypotheses that stimulate and direct research not so much on several minor fronts but on one major front that draws to itself the support of sometimes independently conceived disciplines. The major problem for Sapir was the impact of cultures on personality. One of the linking hypotheses was his conception of culture, not as "something given but something gradually and gropingly discovered." The key to the way in which the individual personality discovers culture obviously lies in the field of child development. Lesser minds, having arrived at this point, might have washed hands and tossed the problem across to a field of study called "child psychology." Not so Sapir. He studied children himself (who of his students does not recall those memorable seminar discussions when the heart and mind of a child were examined with consummate skill). And as a second best, he suggested to some at least of his students that primitive children were quite as worthy of study as material culture or kinship systems. Again, however, the emphasis was always on problems rather than mere description of what children say or do or think.

It was directly under the stimulus, therefor, of Sapir's teaching that one of us undertook before a Polynesian field trip to draw up a series of notes and queries designed to serve as a guide to the study of the factors involved in the socialization of the primitive child.[1] By socialization was meant generally all those factors, influences, and processes, formalized or implicit, which the culture of the group acting through parents, elders, or other children brings to bear upon the neonata and continues through maturation to adolescence in order gradually to mould the raw stuff of human nature into conformity with group patterns of thought, feeling, and behavior. It was felt that material collected to answer such queries would throw some light on the influence of cultural factors in personality development and that further, viewing such material against the background of documented life histories, evidence might

[1] Paul Beaglehole, *Some Notes and Queries for the Study of Personality Development in Primitive Societies* (Ms., 1934).

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[3] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
853 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut
846 cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[3] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1941).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[8] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality-reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpertation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[8] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Polynesian Anthropology Today* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213–21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: *Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals* (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

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114/128 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152/157/128 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Pukapukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
121 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 397–99, appendix 2, pp. 458–61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterised: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319–28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 Pukapukan culture that join childhood patterns to the patterns of behavior that set the norm for adult activities. In very general terms one can annotate four stages of Pukapukan child development: an infancy marked by maternal solicitude and consequent security; a weaning that sends the child a-packing in the company of his fellows; years of childhood that mean a large measure of independence and freedom from parental or adult control; a pre-adolescence that sees a reassertion of adult control and a tendency to force the child along the path to adult status. These seem to be the main stages in the process of growing up. Should they tend to produce an aggressive adult character? The answer to this question might well lie in a deeper analysis of the pre-adolescent period, where one senses the Pukapukan urge to push the child willy-nilly into adulthood. But perhaps the question is not one rightly asked. If it is, it surely brings us back once more to the necessity of forward-looking life histories. Only through these can we see the pattern actually at work molding the life of the individual. Only in terms of data so gained could one surely present the inner story of how the socialization process actually works. Only in this way could one tell the story of how the individual measures himself up to the ideal standards of a culture and works out his personality pattern in terms of his felt achievement.

Again therefore one returns to the question, what is the psychologically given and what the nature and importance of cultural conditioning? It is tribute to Sapir's insight into the ways of culture and of man to note the way in which he sensed that the study of primitive children would ultimately provide clear solutions to many difficult problems. The answers are not yet at hand. The problems are only beginning sufficiently to clarify themselves in such a way as to present workable hypotheses as leads for investigation. Sapir's theory of culture led him inexorably to certain inferences regarding the processes of culture acquisition. It is now the privilege of the psychologist-anthropologist by using this lead to enrich his own field work and thus his understanding of what culture means to man.

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BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
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114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[12]

[1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had 154
returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved.

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some 578
necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and 154
generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of
all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent 182
behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living.

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior 171
patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group.

In conclusion I would add that the material here given sug- 121
gests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is

● 121 likely to find clear and unmistakable the patterns of behavior which are sometimes more difficult to disentangle among advanced peoples. There is here a fruitful field for coöperation between the psychologist and the anthropologist. A realistic social or abnormal psychology must take account of the behavior of non-western peoples if its principles are to be adequately tested. The anthropologist, in turn, can gain a new insight into the meaning of customs, myths, and folk stories if he realizes that he is observing patterns of culture which may not be peculiar to one particular people, but illustrative of widely distributed types of behavior.

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Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122/124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a 127 short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

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128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and talo gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

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128 Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

123 We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral 114 lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-115 pukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal in-124 formants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawaui, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary 124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, 121 under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

i:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
321 reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
123 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
685 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of
421 the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
361 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
221 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale,
245 on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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539 Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
626 Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
461 Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu emuenu pe te poi[6]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

123 226 Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

226 621 The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

226 815 133 The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

192 [6] The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pirui* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

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124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
604 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people
191 of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary
797 Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
963] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
642 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence
794 most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Pukapuka—analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island
twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is
205 now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka.
A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
797 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
771 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the
stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
672 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much
affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
797 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in
191 the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral
797 theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124/127 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121/128 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as [184] a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalisations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Puka-
101 pukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping
of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of
children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *puna*, not
including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning
of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the estab-
lishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof.
When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te
yikuanga e nono i te nguturwale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the pri-
vate home of So-and-so). The word *nguturwale* refers to one of the several separate
household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis
of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in
each *nguturwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic
consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic func-
tions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *maslenga*, or
polipoli. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's
maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organi-
zation a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato
villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest
member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the house-
hold grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house
canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were re-
ferred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*lulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions.
Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the
food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where
does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau
i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because
the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate
through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further ques-
tion is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its
blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*wakatane, wakamonine*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and 613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he 884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving [578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept 132 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village 626 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life. 358

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to 613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means 616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a 124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255). 773

The origin of the *wua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] 613 723 616 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *uso*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lelei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau ika na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kavea, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te uila mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awungia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wenu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kilotawaki, te utaoluca, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauumui, te tau kohoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaven, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolotenga,—te wui manu e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuenga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pela oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wui ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rutettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kilotawaki*, the *utaoluca*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauumui*, the *tau kohoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *uso* was given, the *uso* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[835]

* The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 127 The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling [124] exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

194 The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and nine consonants, *k, l, m, n, ng, p, t, v,* and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6).* The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 49.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8).[5] for the day while
152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific mental taking of those thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parenthesis after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
Wellington, New Zealand.

114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[121] [1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

114 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical
124 conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between
597 loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted.
[673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation
776 upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that
[861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come re-
[532] latively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was
[848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village
[836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent
[565] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

538 Direct quotations in a story are always pitched higher than the ordinary speaking tone. This is a matter of convention and it makes no difference whether it is a giant or a small child who is supposed to be speaking. There is no attempt to imitate the voice of the subject speaking; the high pitched tone indicating that the narrative is broken by a quotation is sufficient. The end of a descriptive sequence or of the development of a minor or major theme within the story as a whole is always indicated by the word oti (finished). The use of this word roughly corresponds with our own tendency to pause in speaking or to end a paragraph in writing. Continued action or passage of time is indicated by a long drawn out e-e-e sound. Where a final adverb is used to qualify a statement as in the phrase: "He speared him makeke (hard)", the adverb is pronounced with force, very slowly and with great facial gesture. A final convention that may be noticed is the almost complete absence of the third person nominative and accusative pronouns in story telling. No confusion seems to be caused the Pukapukan auditor by this omission, though it sometimes renders it difficult for a European auditor to follow the sense of the particular passage. The place of the pronoun however is often taken by a repetition of the proper name of the person affected. The beginning of a story is usually devoted to an enumeration of the names of the people about whom the story is told, their sex and lineage affiliation.

126 Most of the stories were dictated by Veti and Pau. Talainga wrote out several of the longer stories in Pukapukan. Stories without text were secured from a group of informants. They were generally told by one narrator who stopped at frequent intervals to consult with his companions in order to be sure of the continuation of the narrative.

538 An attempt was made by some informants to distinguish two types of stories (tala): tala wenua and tala wanongo. The distinction, made notably by Talainga, though not absolutely clear, seems to be this: Tala wenua are stories about Pukapuka, its origin and history; tala wanongo are Pukapukan stories which relate events that occurred elsewhere. Of the stories he recorded, Talainga named as tala wanongo the story of Maui's fishing up of Tonga, the story of Laumeakula and Laumeamelo, the story of the raising of the sky, and the story of the tavake bird. The other stories he recorded, of the voyage of Wue, of the defecating of Yawau, of the fight in Waletoa, are tala wenua. Other informants disagreed with Talainga's classification but could not clarify the matter. Because it is obscure in the first place and, secondly, cuts across the accepted classification of myths and folktales, the

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

Introduction

121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
●126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 127 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 128 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and talo gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 415.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a
127 few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total
128 culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as
[184] a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalizations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations
● 127 which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling
[124] exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

194 The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and nine consonants, *k, l, m, n, ng, p, t, v,* and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6).* The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

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128 Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

123 We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral 114 lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

124 Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Puka-115 pukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal in-124 formants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

[101] Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary 124 times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, 121 under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as
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121 128 affinities with other Polynesian systems. This provides the objective background for studying the meaning of these patterns for the personalities of those who live within the frame of reference called Pukapukan society. This task is touched upon in the data on children (2). If certain problems of symbolism, pattern status, emotional conditioning, and all that makes up the dynamics of culture have been largely overlooked in these pages, it is not through unawareness of the existence and importance of these problems but solely because the type of field work represented by this and other manuscripts is that which it was most practicable to carry to a conclusion.

NOTE ON PHONETIC STRUCTURE

194 [128] Throughout this monograph Pukapukan words are written in the ordinary English alphabet, in accordance with standard usage for Polynesian ethnolology. Obviously such recording represents only an approximate rendering of the true sounds and words of the language.

The symbols *k*, *p*, and *t* represent the intermediates between sonant *g* and surd *k*, between *b* and *p*, and between *d* and *t* respectively; *k* is pre-palatal before the vowels *e* and *i*, post-palatal before *a*, *o*, and *u*—it is never aspirated; *p* is aspirated only before the vowel *u*; *t* is always dental and unaspirated.

The lateral, *l*, is dental. The nasals are *m*, a dental *n*, and the front palatal *eng* (*ng*). The semivowel *w* functions as a major consonant; when it occurs within a word before *u* or *i* (as in the words *mawu*, *awi*) it has a guttural quality.

Finally, there are the bilabial spirant *v*, voiceless and unaspirated, and the voiceless interdental spirant, not previously recorded for a Polynesian dialect. This spirant (corresponding to the *th* in English "thin") is invariably palatalized, followed by a *y* slur ("thin" with a *y* inserted before the *i*, "thyin"). This compound sound (*θʸ* in certain phonetic systems) is rendered by the symbol *y* in this monograph, but is not to be confused with the ordinary *y* semivowel which does not occur as a Pukapukan consonant. The Pukapukan voiceless interdental spirant palatalized is the sound mistakenly described by Macgregor (20, p. 3) as a glottal closure accompanied by "an added breath . . . giving a sound of *i* consonant," and written by him *'i*.

The glottal closure as an independent consonant is absent. The consonants are never long.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* all have the continental values. In rapid speech, however, a short *a* is pronounced as *u* in English "but"; short *i*, especially before *ng*, as *i* in English "pin". Final *i* after *t* tends to be voiceless.

Quantity and quality of vowels, presence or absence of diphthongs, and the location of stress are not indicated in native words. These phonetic characteristics are reserved for treatment in a Pukapukan dictionary which will include also the general rules of pronunciation governing accent.

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831
[128]

The following information on stars was obtained from a number of informants. Robert Dean Frisbie assisted in the identification of the star names and also prepared a chart of the Pukapukan heavens from which the accompanying chart (fig. 55) has been adapted.

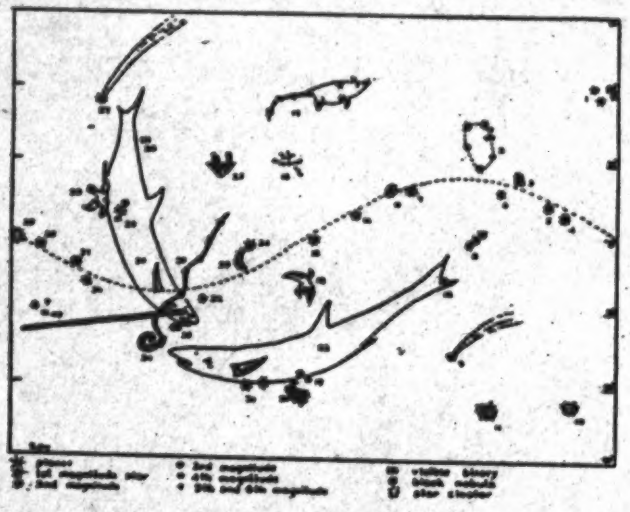

FIGURE 55.—Chart of Pukapukan heavens: 1, Na Taki-tu-tolu-o-Mataliki α, β, γ Cassiopeiae); 2, Te Wale-o-Tutakniolo (α, β, θ, ι Aurigae, β Tauri); 3, Mataliki (the Pleiades); 4, Takupa-tea (Venus); 5, Tulalupe (Jupiter); 6, Mata-kula (Aldebaran); 7, Mata-kula (Mars); 8, Te Tolunga-Mani (ζ, α,β Orionis); 9, Mata-lele (shooting star); 10, Mau-ickelau (Lesser Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 11, Mautonga (Greater Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 12, Tapao (Sirius); 13, Pa-ngalangale-o-Kiliwelo (Praesepe cluster); 14, Mata-tea (Saturn); 15, Tokiva (Jupiter); 16, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Coma Berenices); 17, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Ursa Major, second identification); 18, Te Manu (Corvus); 19, Na Mata-o-te-paniwi (Crux); 20, Te Paniwi-o-Tauwa ("The Coal Sack"); 21, Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Wua-ma-Velo (α and β Centauri, includes also other stars of same declination); 22, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 23, Te Maina (the Moon); 24, Te Mata-you-ki-te-maina (companion star to the moon); 25, Te Wale-o-Awitu (Corona Borealis); 26, Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kiole ζ and ε Lyrae); 27, Mata-wai-kave (comet); 28, Te Toloa (Delphinus); 29, Tolu (α, β, γ Aquilae); 30, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 31, Te Tao-o-Mani (black nebula near Scorpio); 32, Melanele (Antares); 33, Lua-tama-lelei (λ, υ Scorpionis); 34, Te Kau-o-Mani (star cluster in Sagittarius); 35, Te Wao-a-Mani (θ, η, ζ, ε, δ Orphiuchi and α Serpentis); 36, Takupa-tea (Venus); 37, Tapao (Jupiter); 38, Te Mata-you-ki-te-la (Mercury); 39, La (Sun); 40, Taki-piki-tuku (Piscis Australis). Dotted line represents sun's ecliptic.

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195]story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[8] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpertation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[8] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Polynesian Anthropology Today* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213-21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: *Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals* (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

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nevertheless as long as this type is not polar, much importance must be attached to cultural factors in defining the success with which the basic psychological personality adjusts itself to the status personality.[9] If on the other hand, as psychoanalytic theory appears to hold, the psychological nature of man is everywhere the same—that is if the infant in Siberia or in Africa or Polynesia is heir to emotional and sexual drives (libido) that must find outlet on object or self according to predetermined developmental stages—then it would seem that cultural factors can do little but accentuate here or play down there. The psychoanalytic contention that the nuclear complex is of universal occurrence is perhaps a case in point.[10] Psychoanalytic theory in this matter is still in a formative stage and doubtless it may be possible to adduce evidence in conflict with the preceding statement. Roheim, for instance, in his analysis of Australian materials, concludes that the Australian aborigine is predominantly of the oral character type,[11] a personality development that can be due to conditioning and to this only.

On the other hand Dr Susan Isaacs[12] inclines rather strongly to the opinion that cultural factors are of slighter importance than libidinal drives. She would expect to find in Pukapuka, personality types similar to those found in our own society. It would seem in support of this view, as careful study of all our records indicate, that Pukapukan children engage in behavior activities in frames of reference that are analogous to, or even identical with common behavior activities of American children. There are alternations of love and hate, object sucking, nipple biting, plays with sand and water, "cosy places" plays, genital manipulation, "family plays"—to name but a few. In this sense, and generalizing broadly, the major difference in the socialization process between Pukapukan and American children lies in the

[9] See for instance Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), especially Chapters 8 and 26, and Plant, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-20.

[10] Compare Ernest Jones, *Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages* (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 6, pp. 109-30, 1925) with Malinowski's analysis in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London and New York, 1927), *op.* pp. 135 ff. Benedict, also, believes that an Œdipus complex is quite impossible among the Zuñi. See her *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 101.

It may be noted that since our article was completed (November, 1939) M. F. Ashley Montagu has summarized the relevant cultural material bearing on the Œdipus complex in his paper *Nescience, Science and Psychoanalysis* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 49-60, 1941, see pp. 48-49). Reference may also be made to Margaret Mead's recent survey of comparative work on character structure: *Cultural Change and Social Surrogates* (Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 90-109, 1940). The relative importance of biological drives as compared with cultural factors in determining character structure and personality development has also become a matter of active recent discussion. See in this connection Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Psychiatry, Vol. 3, pp. 1-117, 1940), Ernest Beaglehole, *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 61-77, 1941), A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), and finally, the more orthodox point of view and the references given in Ernest Levy's article, *The Return of the Repression* (Bulletin, Menninger Clinic, Vol. 5, pp. 47-55, 1941).

[11] G. Roheim, *The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture* (in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London, 1934, pp. 281-92). Horney gives a good summary of the present position in her *Neurotic Personality of our Time* (New York, 1937), pp. 16-20.

[12] From personal communication.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

114 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse
128 of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Puka-
157 pukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressive-
128 ness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
124 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 397–99, appendix 2, pp. 478–82.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319–28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

511 156 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 167 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire 311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The 101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin 361 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this 103 islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 505 491 166 164 423 361 731 621 The landing passage (ave) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The westernmost section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nisa. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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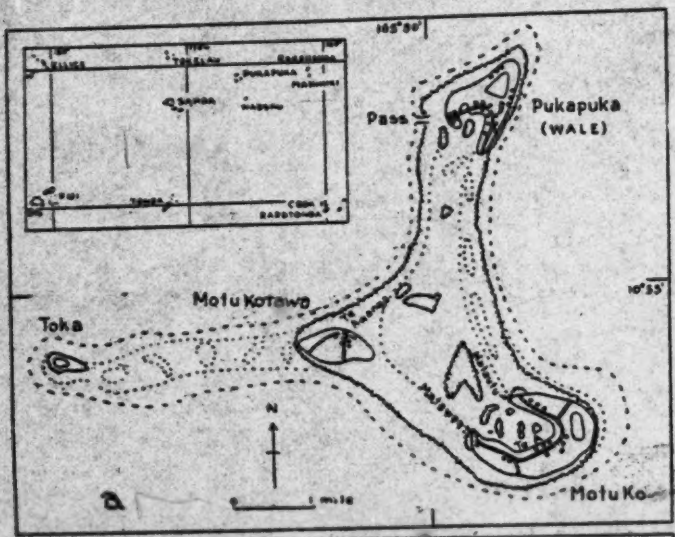

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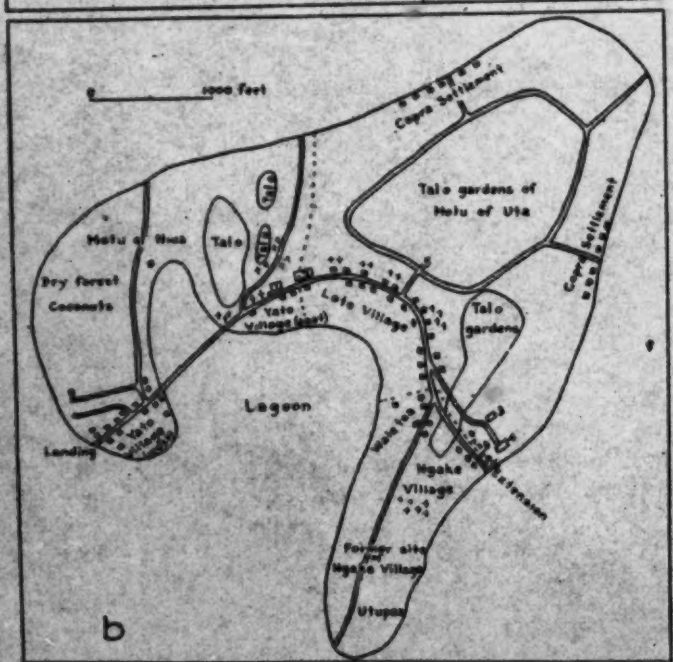

FIGURE 1.—Maps of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131●
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

131 ● 124 173 551

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

773 539

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig.1,*a*,*b*).[1]

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out- 731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kaitua, Mauake, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Wakalua.
Yato: Tokelau iti, Tokelau matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

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The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1.) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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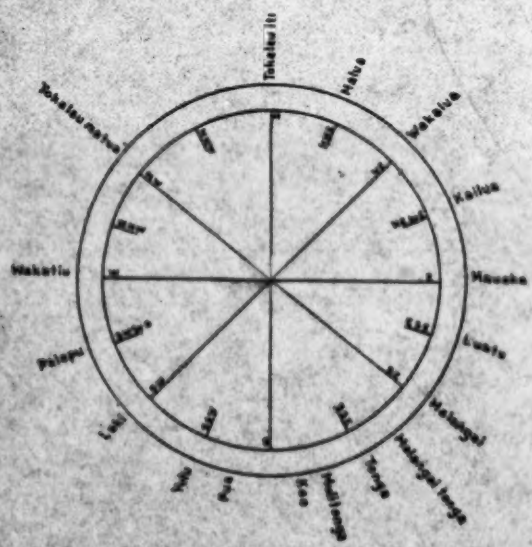

FIGURE 2.—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

821 192 The word for side or direction is *kaokao*. Hence a person says *kaokao tokelau* (northern direction), *kaokao tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *mao* is used. *E mao tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *mao* wind; thus a wind blowing

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign
805 for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
132 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
221 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina ya*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lelei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco-
312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
685 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A
526 weapon (*kaio*) of *nutau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
776 the high chief (*alihi uuto*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

7. [See p.15, category 11b — analyst]

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5'39 Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
626 Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
461 Puke atu enuenu pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

123 226 Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

226 621 The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

226 615 133 The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

192 * The clients are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pirai* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ika*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala. . ." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*. . .); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *mowa*; 2, lagoon, *ala*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tauatana*; 4, reef shelf, *ahula akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayonga*; 5, surface water, *bilitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *wuiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *puongaputu*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yalo-ongaputu* (also called *mowa*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*,
887 *ahula*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were
561 caught by the young men's (*tangaga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangaga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*yaeke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*kupenpa*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*kalowa*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk inward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yali kupenpa*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tata tinitini*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (27, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malole* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A sennit cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net. 221 To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of sennit. The surface of the net is baited with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*uulowale*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malole* net is increased as it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

4. The scoop net (*tae malole*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*tiwa ongo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fishermen in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*uwa waka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are 226 named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yaka ono*) the crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the cap- 502 tain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae mali*); the *wakiwali* ("mate"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae mali* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ala ne te tae mali*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae mali*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o lama* or *te taio yua*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ala ne te ala* or *te taiwai*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*wakiwali*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae wua* or *tae wia*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*lolo te cabe*) so it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

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The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wate-ouawa-ouai, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

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Walls

413 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate
417 set on edge. The old gate (*fu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwutu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

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Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*awanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

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Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

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The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary wakayomoa house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

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In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it wit.. ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki. [133] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the [103] island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

2. [775] The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

221 [312] and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 515 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 241 137 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel, and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Pukapuka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

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Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Animal Life

12 177 The fauna of Pukapuka is similar to that of other Polynesian atolls. The pig, chicken, and European rat were introduced after white contact. The native rat was trapped, but not eaten. The native dog was unknown.

FISH

136 182 The Pukapukans empirically group the fish in their environment first into major classes of beach fish, lagoon fish, reef fish, reef fish outside the lagoon, and deep-sea fish, and second, into "families". In some cases, the larger fish of one family are given a different name from the smaller fish of the same family. In other cases, however, stages in the growth of the same fish from infancy to maturity are indicated by adding the following adjectives to the name of the fish: *liki, lewu, tino lewu, tawila,* for young fish; *towolo, towolowolo, wolo, punua, tino wolo, tapulanga, tongi* and *palu,* for the large fish. With some fish again, the two systems for indicating development are combined, the name of the fish changing when maturity has been reached. The adjective *palu* associated with fish names, applies to a fish that inhabits very deep water up to 300 fathoms, though it is similar to another fish inhabiting shallower water. Thus, *palu malau* is a deep-water fish that looks like the smaller reef *malau.* The adjective *tawila* refers to small, newly-spawned fish that are driven into the lagoon shallows by bad weather.

136 The following list contains all the native names of fish that could be remembered by informants as being found in Pukapukan waters. Where possible I have also included scientific names, most of them obtained since I left Pukapuka by Robert Dean Frisbie. Mr. Frisbie asked a number of informants to identify the fish figured by Fowler (9). Other names I have procured from an examination of casts in Bernice B. Bishop Museum.

Akaaku: species of Belone, Strongylura, and Ablennes.
Akula panoko: Tetrapturus mitsukurii.
Akula toa: Istiophorus orientalis.
Aku pa: similar to aku tangata, but has a squarer body and upper and lower jaws of equal length.
Aku tangata: Strongylura indica.
Ali towolo: Platophrys thompsoni.
Aliki: silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Ali nukatea: similar to pateletele.
Atu: Euthynnus pelamis (bonito).
Atule: Selar crumenophthalmus.
Aua: species of silver mullet, larger than the aliki.
Ava: Chanos chanos.
Ave: a long slim albacore.
Ayetoa: black deep-sea shark, sharp nose, single dorsal fin, single caudal fin, long pectoral fin, long upper fluke to caudal fin, a fast swimmer and a man-eater.
Ayiu: Caranx lugubris.
Ayole: a mulletlike fish, scaleless, white in color with a speckled dorsal fin (Polydactylus ?).
Ayou: deep-sea shark, white belly, black head, very flabby skin, four dorsal fins, two anal fins, earlike protuberance on head.
Eve: species of rock or reef grouper, with smoother skin than the patuki (? Grammistes sexlineatus).
Ie: species of Hemiramphus and Hyporhamphus.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Ika aututenu: a rare fish, very large mouth and large teeth; white tail turns red when the fish dies.
Kaka: a species of rock grouper.
Kaka tua: Physiculus kaupi.
Kakatua: Malacanthus hoedtii.
Kakai: Germo macropterus (cast identification) or Euthynnus alletteratus (identification by informants from plate), the common albacore.
Kalevaleva: Alutera scripta.
Kaloma: yellow mullet.
Kalou moana: Lycodontis flavomarginata.
Kalou uli: a black deep-sea eel.
Kalou ulu akau puka: Lycodontis meleagris.
Kalou uuulu akau: Enchelynassa canina.
Kalou wolo kena: a black and white spotted deep-sea eel, conger eel (?).
Kamai: Elagatis bipinnulatus.
Kanae: a species of silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Kanakana langi: dolphin.
Kanakana koyikoyi: dolphin.
Kanakana mulamula: Coryphaena hippurus.
Kapoa: Promethichthys prometheus.
Kata: a small reef and beach shallows fish.
Katakata: a fish similar to the kata, a Serranus.
Katua papa: Salarias zebra.
Katuatua: Chonophorus genivittatus.
Katuli: Apsilus zonatus or Upeneus porphyreus.
Kaupatuwao: a long, red, eel-like, deep-sea fish.
Kawa: a species of silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Kawulu: Upeneus multifasciatus.
Kawulu wuluyauma: Upeneus pleurostigma.
Kawuten: Upeneoides arge.
Kayuye: a lagoon or sea fish, similar to Hepatus triostegus (manini), reddish in color.
Kikitua langi: similar to the malau, but with a longer head and a poisonous dorsal fin.
Kiki yamoa: similar to malau, but rounder and fatter.
Kili: Melichthys buniva.
Kiokio tai: Albula vulpes.
Kokili: Balistapus aculeatus.
Kokili moana: Balistes bursa.
Kokili tiapolo (modern name): Balistapus rectangulus.
Kokili yiku kena: a white deep-sea trigger fish.
Komuli: Caranx elacate.
Kopelu: Decapterus sanctae-helenae.
Kotimu: Holacanthus potteri.
Kotimu moana: Chromis verater.
Kupakupa: a small ocean fish, similar in appearance to Ruvettus, but inhabiting the surface waters, and caught occasionally when netting malolo.
Lai: Similar to Caranx kuhlii, but lai has no white on tail.
Lalaila: a small shark, light yellow with a white-tipped dorsal fin.
Lalawi: Cheilinus unifasciatus.
Lalawutu: Gnathanodon speciosus.
Lali: a grouper, with red skin on which are small darker red spots.
Lauiniu: Sphyrna zygaena.
Laumunui: Chaetodon trifasciatus.
Lawi: probably a parrot fish, but has dog-like teeth and yellow scales.
Leileionge: Caranx helvolus.
Loi: Cephalopholis argus.
Lokie: Eulamia melanopterus.
Lui: Caranx ascensionis.
Lulu au: Zanclus canescens.
Lulu: a scaleless, lagoon and coral fish, with a black and yellow stripe and a long, flowing dorsal fin.
Lupo: family Carangidae.
Ma: Hepatus fuliginosus.
Ma pate: Hepatus bariene.
Maito: similar to ma, but with red stripes on the back.
Malali: Anampses godeffroyi.
Malatea: similar to the parrot fish, but has tremendous blue scales, pronounced teeth, and feeds principally on Tridacna shellfish.
Malau: Myripristis multiradiatus.
Malau aniu: Myripristis adustus.
Malau loa: a large kikitualangi fish.
Malau watu: Ostichthys japonicus.
Malava: a reef fish with a poisonous dorsal fin similar to the palangi. Very abundant during the first evening rising of the star Antares in June-July.
Malolo: the common flying fish.
Malolo punakau: a long, slim flying fish.
Malolo yue: a flying fish with a large belly like the balloon fish, not eaten or caught.
Malu: a shark with dark-colored back, pointed snout and black-tipped dorsal fin (Eulamia).

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Manini: Hepatus triostegus.
Mango: Shark (generic name).
Maono: Hepatus leucoparcius.
Maono uli: Hepatus guttatus.
Mata ele: a red rock grouper with black eyes.
Matapula: Taracies steindachneri.
Matapupula: a fish similar to the malau, caught when fishing malau outside the reef.
Matauli: a small flying fish, with two large ventral and two large pectoral fins. Never seen in daytime and never hooked.
Mataweo: the largest green turtle.
Matawula: a short, very fat kakai, with short caudal fin.
Mayi: a silver mullet with a silver spot under the pectoral fin.
Memea, memea tawa, vetevete memea: memea for species of yellow mullet (Pseudopeneus) with slightly reddish skin.
Meamea: a yellow fish, almost perfectly cubical in shape, never fished or eaten.
Moanga: probably a species of the yellow mullet family, though brighter in color than the kalona.
Moi: Polydactylus sexfilis.
Moye: a reef fish.
Mu: Monotaxis grandoculis.
Muska: squid.
Mamu: probably a snapper, but with pronounced doglike teeth.
Ngalio: probably the garfish or garpike.
Ngangono: a large atu (bonito).
Ngatea: a red snapper (Pagrosomus ?), but without the black spot characteristic of the taiva.
Ngatala: a red snapper with a black spot forward of the caudal fin.
Ngutukao: the porpoise.
No: Scorpaenopsis cacopsis.
No wutu: Merinthe macrocephala.
Pakeva: Caranx sexfasciatus.
Pakoe: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (? Callyodon), with black spotted stripes.
Pala: Acanthocybium solandri.
Palaagi: a large manini fish.
Palata: Alopias vulpinus.
Palaagalaga: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (Callyodon Mechai ?).
Paleo: (?) Anampses cuvier.
Palu awe: large deep-sea fish, black, with a large mouth, perhaps a grouper.
Palu kakai: Sarda chilensis.
Palu katakata: a giant deep-sea spotted grouper.
Palu kilitala: similar to the Ruvettus.
Palu komuli: Seriola purpurascens.
Palu malau: a large deep-sea malau.
Palu mango: a large deep-sea shark, with very soft bones and flesh, grows up to 18 feet long, rarely comes to the surface.
Palu matapula: a large deep-sea fish of the malau family.
Palu mumu: Monotaxis grandoculus.
Palu paniwi: a large deep-sea paniwi fish.
Palu taeyi: Ruvettus pretiosus.
Palu tavatava: a large albacore, one of the Scombroids.
Palu tuna: a giant red grouper.
Palu yiloa: a giant yiloa fish.
Palu yue: the giant balloon fish.
Palu uli: the giant uli.
Palu ulua: a giant Carangoid.
Palu wutu: a giant fish similar to the paniwi, has silver scales.
Paniwi: Beryx decadactylus.
Papa: Variola louti.
Papata: a small coral fish, habits similar to the kalona.
Papo: one of the Pomacentridae.
Pateletele: Platophrys mancus.
Patuki: a variety of the reef grouper, Serranus.
Patuki watu: Cirrhitus pinnulatus.
Patuki yiva: a deep-sea grouper (Serranus), very strong and fierce.
Peva: a striped kavali fish of the family Carangidae.
Pilipili weke: octopus.
Piopio: a reef grouper with red eyes.
Ponepone: Chaetodon reticulatus.
Pui: Echidna zebra.
Pula: a reef and lagoon fish with a red tail.
Puaga mangeo: Cantherines pardalis.
Ta alo: Holocentrus diadema.
Ta: similar to malau, but with longer body and poisonous; also has poisonous barbs, gill sheaths and pectoral and dorsal fins.
Taiva: Lutjanus monostigma.
Talao: a variety of rock grouper (Serranus).
Tamayei: a species of silver mullet, a small kawa fish.

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136 Tasule: similar to Lutjanus gibbus save that head of tasule is not so pointed.
Taniwa: perhaps the angler fish; a deep-sea, sharp-toothed fish.
Tangau: a red snapper, similar to the ngatau.
Taotaoama: a small white fish with a long dorsal fin.
Tatatau: Chaetodon quadrimaculatus.
Tatavelo: a small taotaoama fish.
Tatela: similar to the malu shark, but with no color on the dorsal fin.
Tatu: a fish that looks like a small barracuda about 2 feet long (Sphyraena ?).
Tankotikoti: Chaetodon lineolatus.
Tavatava: Scomber japonicus (?).
Tawola: whale; tawola tu, the Right whale.
Tawoou: a scarce red fish, in appearance midway between a mullet and a grouper.
Teataoluea: similar to Forcipiger longirostris except that teataoluea is purple, not pale brown.
Teni: a short fat kakai, with a long pectoral fin.
Tikava: a large red mullet with a red lateral fin.
Titi-meyitu: Chaetodon ornatissimus.
Tiwitiwi: Chaetodon setifer.
Totala: Tetrodon stellatus (cast); similar to Chilomycterus affinus (plate), except that totala has many more spines, at least 1 spine to ½ square inch.
Tuna: a striped lagoon eel, toothless, edible.
Tunaelenga: a snapper with yellow-black stripes on the body.
Tuna taupulepule: Uropterygius tigrinus.
Tuna wenua: an eel with a white belly, black head and a pectoral fin or earlike lobe on the side of the head; inhabits fresh water.
Tupoupou: a small white fish, reef or lagoon.
Tutuku: Hemitaurichthys zoster.
Tutupaku: a small reef fish.
Uli: a large red mullet, with red lateral fin; larger than the tikava (Upeneus?).
Uloulo: the common parrot fish (? Callyodon).
Ulua: Caranx sexfasciatus.
Ululenga: a green reef fish, probably a parrot fish (Callyodon blochii ?).
Ulupu: probably the sperm whale.
Uln watu: a large patuki fish.
Ume atu: Naso hexacanthus.
Ume pate: Naso lituratus.
Ume tala: Naso annulatus.
Ume tao: Naso brevirostris.
Umulenga: Balistes capistratus.
Umaliki: Serranus fuscoguttatus.
Uwoa: a silver mullet with a silver spot under the pectoral fin; larger than the mayi (? Mulloidichthys samoensis).
Uwoa tukutai: a species of silver mullet.
Vete memea: Mulloides auriflamma.
Wai: a tailless black ray (Pteroplatea).
Wai kave: a black ray (Dasyatis); the base of the long tail is poisonous.
Wai lepu: another black ray similar to the wai kave.
Wakaulu: a very large red shark, brightly colored, two dorsal and two anal fins; follows the albacore schools.
Walala: Cantherines sandwichiensis.
Wanga: a large yellow fish, perhaps a species of snapper.
Wapuku: Stereolepoides thompsoni.
Wawalua: Manta birostris.
Weke: an octopus.
Witiwiti: a lagoon and reef fish, similar to the manini, but with a very long anterior dorsal fin.
Wo: a tiny deep-sea minnow, comes close to the reef in large schools.
Wono: the barracuda.
Wonu: Chelone midas.
Wonu kea: Chelone imbricata.
Wu: Callyodon sordidus.
Wuakau: a light yellow fish, doglike teeth, large scales, two dorsal fins; similar to the parrot fish.
Wuakula: the green duckbill fish.
Wuatua: a giant member of the wu species (see below).
Wuikamoyo: a parrot fish with red stripes along the back.
Wukoti: similar to the wuakau, but has a stripe across the back.
Wumanga: similar to the wuakau, but whitish.
Wumoemoe: Leptoscarus vaigiensis.
Wunoikila: similar to the wuakau, but has reddish scales and yellow teeth.
Wutalalou: similar to the malau, but has a black stripe across the back; poisonous barbs.
Wuvavane: similar to the wuakau, but with scales of variegated colors.
Yama kula: Chaetodon fremblii.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-S (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

136 Yayaulua: one of the Carangoids.
Yengayenga: a red striped fish weighing about 3 lbs. Perhaps 6 or more related fish vaguely known to the Pukapukan fisherman but not named.
Yika kauluyauma: Polymixia japonica.
Yika koti a poteka: Histiopterus typus.
Yika yawau: Pterois sphex.
Yikutea: Balistes vidua.
Yiku moko (?): Coris flavovittata.
Yiloa: Aprion virescens.
Yimu: Balistes ringens.
Yipa: a young flying fish.
Yoke: a fish similar to the kavali Carangoid; distinguished from the yoke mango, a young shark.
Yoyala: Chaetodon sp.
Yue: Tetrodon meleagris.

Informants recognized the following fish as being present in Pukapukan waters, but they were unable to recall the native names: *Chaetodon unimaculatus, Heniochus acuminatus, Lutjanus gibbus.* Informants recognized the following three fish as belonging to the *uu* family, but in default of colored plates, they were unable to give them definite names: *Thalassoma umbrostigma, T. trilobata,* and *T. ballieui.*

BIRDS

The following is a list of the birds found on Pukapuka:

Akiaki: a white tern with a black semicircle round the upper part of each eye.
Ali: the sooty tern, a visiting, nonresident bird (Sterna fuscata).
Kaka: the white or ghost tern. Two named varieties: kaka vai, with a small black spot on the top of the head; kaka tea (Gygis alba).
Kaleva: the native cuckoo, apparently an indigenous bird (Urodynamis taitensis).
Kawe: a curlew (Numenius tahitiensis).
Kotawa: frigate bird (Fregata minor).
Kiu: probably a variety of plover with a brownish-red beak.
Kolili: another variety of plover or sandpiper.
Lakia: black tern with a white spot on the top of the head (Anous minutus melanogenys).
Lewulewu: a small blue-grey beach bird, now extinct, which laid eggs in the sand; probably a rail.
Lulu: a large white-breasted sea bird, larger than the booby (Sula sp. ?); rare.
Lupe: said by natives to be the same as the Samoan pigeon (Globicera pacifica).
Manu uli: a large, black sea bird, with a white breast, resembling the ngongo.
Matiku: the reef heron (Demigretta sacra). Two varieties: matiku kenakena, the white heron; matiku uli, the blue heron.
Noa: a large sea bird, with straight beak, and when young, one black stripe across the breast (Sula sp. ?).
Ngongo: the noddy tern (Anous stolidus).
Polopolouenga: a white and black spotted bird, probably a turnstone.
Takupu: the booby (Sula leucogaster).
Taiko: the dusky shearwater (Puffinus obscurus).
Tala: Sterna lunata.
Talakoka: another variety of plover with two stripes on the back coming together to form a V on the breast.
Talawue: a sea bird with white breast and black back, in size midway between the tern and the booby; a visiting and nonresident bird (Sterna lunata or Thalasseus bergii).
Tavake mokomoko: the white-tailed tropic bird, a resident (Phaeton lepturus).
Tavake toto: the scarlet-tailed tropic bird; it does not lay on Pukapuka and is a rare visitor today (Phaeton rubricauda).
Toloa: the wild grey duck (Anas superciliosa).
Tuli: a sandpiper (Heteroscelus incanus).
Wili: a long-winged, spotted sea bird, probably a species of tern.

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SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*kalo payua* or *maniu payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*kalo*). The other end (*kalokalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [883] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float. 226

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *kalo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *kalokalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*napenapa*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *kalokalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngalipayua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*wua ui*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped 321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi kula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of 126 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising 262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *wetuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *tuna* (a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *ululu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou, louili kula, louili uli, louili akau,* and *louili taupulepule,* which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Koipea are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kaveu* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tous te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kaveu* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kaveu* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lauaya kaveu*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kaveu* were not reserved (*uukaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai, pala,* and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Atu* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

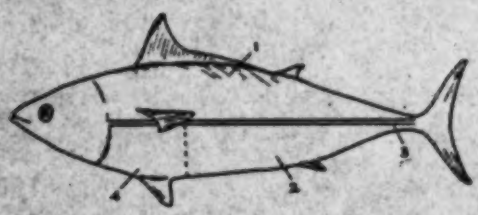

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io;* 2, bottom sides, *io alonga;* 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolewole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tunu*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*ngaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *kaloma,* are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*wakala hi te la ke pakapaka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai, pala,* and *atu*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
a taio dish. It was tapu to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this
262 rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valu Wetuna. It is likely that this tapu against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*ewe*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and cara-
262 pace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
136 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pan-
286 danus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *uriau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yalu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

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223 The large bird net (*uwata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
223 puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka hiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maonga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maonga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa uvou*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *pangau* or *pukaua* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 15 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

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221 [312] and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 515 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 241 137 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel, and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Pukapuka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond Fosberg, are recorded in the following list: 137 624

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Kave (Cassytha filiformis)
Lakau yili (Pemphis acidula)
Laukotawa (Asplenium nidus)
Laupoue (Ipomoea grandiflora)
Limu puniu (a moss) (?)
Maile (Polypodium scolopendria)
Moemoe (Boerhaavia tetrandra)
Mouku (Fimbristylis cymosa variety microcephala)

Nau (Lepidium bidentoides)
Niu, coconut (Cocos nucifera)
Ngangie (Pemphis acidula)
Ngayu (Scaevola frutescens)
Nonu (Morinda citrifolia)
Nuna (Fleurya ruderalis)
Ongoongo (Euphorbia prostrata)
Polapuka (Solanum viride)
Polo (Hedyotis romansoffiensis)
Puapua (Guettarda speciosa)
Puka (Ceodes umbellifera)
Pukama (Hernandia ovigera)
Pulaka (Cyrtosperma merkusii)

Pulunu (Jussiaea erecta)
Taeyinu (Tournefortia argentea)
Taumakomako (Achyranthes velutina)
Tiale (Gardenia tahitensis)
To, sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)
Vavai (Triumfetta procumbens)
Vayavaya (? Lepturus repens)
Vayavaya ui (? Cyperus ferax)
Wakanava (Cordia subcordata)
Wala (Pandanus sp.)
Wau (Pipturus velutinus)
Wawa, talo (Colocasia antiquorum variety esculenta)
kele
kiskie
kula
mawolawola
newunewu
pelena
polapola
pongi
} native varieties of talo
Welo (Ficus tinctoria)
Wetai (Psilotum nudum)
Wetau (Calophyllum inophyllum)
Wuti (banana) (? Musa sapientum)
malie
mitiluki
pulapuka
talua
} native varieties of banana
Wutu (Fagraea berteriana)
Yamuti (Suriana maritima)
Yulu (? Pandanus)

Note: Of the plants listed, *pukama*, *mawowu*, *puapua*, and *wetau* are used for canoes, implements and utensils; *puka* is used mainly for canoe outriggers; the bark of the *wau* is used for fishlines and cordage (termed *wau*) for fishnets. The coconut supplies material for the woman's kilt, the man's rough malo, sennit cord for fishlines, anchor lines, and general lashing, also material for rough mats, food platters, baskets, house thatch. It is one of the chief foods of the island. Pandanus is used for mats, for men's malos, today for house thatch. Its wood is valuable for house frameworks, and the ripe fruit is eaten. Pukapukans distinguish in terms of leaf shape two varieties of *Pemphis acidula*: *ngangie* and *lakau yili*. *Ngangie* is the preferred wood for fishhooks, for implements and outrigger connectives, but failing this wood, *lakau yili* is recognized as a valuable substitute. Botanically the two plants appear to be similar. The flower of the *tiale* is used for wreaths and decorations. The bark of the *welo* was formerly used for decorating ceremonial headdresses. *Nonu* makes the red dye used for mat designs. All the creepers such as *moemoe*, *laupoue* and *ongoongo*, are used extensively for wreaths and decorations. The one *wutu* tree on the island is reported to have grown from a drift seed.

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The general name for a plant is *lakau*. Root is *aka*. The trunk of a tree is *pu lakau*. A moss or lichen is *limu*. The fungoid "toadstool" growth on a fallen tree is termed *laulau talinga*. A seed is *wua*, a flower *pua*, a leaf *lau*. The name of the plant is added to these words to particularize: *wuapuapua* (*puapua* seed), *puaniu* (coconut flower), *akauula* (aerial root of the pandanus), *launiu* (coconut leaf, leaflet). The seeds of certain trees, however, have distinctive names: *pei*, seed of the *wetau* tree, and *kalaka*, *pukama* seed. The word *tiale* is used for both plant and flower of that name.

The Pukapukans are intimately familiar with the botany and horticulture of coconut and talo (pp. 81-90).

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flower of the *uvtau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Maniepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lamatul: very large nuts.
Niu kawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa iliiki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pulu venu: the best nuts for making sennit.
[137]

Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognised:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa kesulusu: pale green.
Niu kawa meiomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyiuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kowa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukosu* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kawa*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

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245 In husking (*yoha*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pawaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yuhili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoha molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoha ma te kayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

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245 A heap of *yakoli* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*malimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamaka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka: *mawolawola, wakawotu, wakena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelua, taloki, kalelea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.* All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

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244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

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2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for list of plants and their cultural uses, see p. 6.]

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-
137 fruit trees grow on the island.

262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro.
439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Gyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiata. 639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-poea, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awa (v pronounced like w) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Uro-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [187 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walk- [164] ing habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, 192 prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

886 145 phrase *koa punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

561 881 864 The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawwine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village 561 881 291 meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

561 881 The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawwine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nonu* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings [844] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lalo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*maki ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taeyinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taeyinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*onge moe*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 826 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

45 856 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngue oyo*) are believed to result if a child loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

515 Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on
302 awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea
[512] until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

302 Body hair (*wuluwulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was con-
826 sidered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvalu*, to scrape) with a knife of
832 the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tonotono*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live 159
with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that 159
I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 145
16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many 159
girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married 572
before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with 836
special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many 159
meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like 836
this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

COLORS

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The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated-coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
Kula uliuli: very dark red-brown.
Kula keye: deep red.
Kula lelenga: greasy (?) red.
Kula melo: scarlet.
Kula melomelo: reddish.
Kula pongipongi: brownish red.
Kula toto: blood red.
Kula yiyinu: shiny red.
Melomelo: yellowish.
Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
Uyi, uyiuyi, pa uyiuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
Mumuka, manunu, litolito, kena, kenakena: white.
Mukalele, mukavakevake: blinding white surface.
Tea: white, used only in proper names.
Kalipo: iridescent.
Kokone, konekone, koyikoyi: striped or variegated.
Uli (general word), uli popo, uliuli, pa uliuli, ulimotumotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kena*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *mamake*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
321 reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that
123 their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
685 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
421 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law
361 of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
226 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wala, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day
245 to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
102 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
622 suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no
577 matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way
he shoulders the burden of running the household.

462 The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
241 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
709 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and
private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with
priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male
occupation. Women practise medicine a little today, based on a limited
knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and
the like.

857 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
887 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight,
and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participa-
tion increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who reg-
ularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with
no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The
tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people con-
tinue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active
employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and rela-
tives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
634 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties,
and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter.
Specialists (*tangata moiou*) were limited to such occupations as canoe build-
ing, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense
for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All
specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic
activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives
is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the
lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint
project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization
depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during
the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is
during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depend-
ing more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be
slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 177 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

833 152 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

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[586] 152 837 Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 836 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*wia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *wia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *veia ina*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *wia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *wia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

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521 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
152 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with
578 children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
626 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manatu poto* or *ngahau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
576 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arro-
867 gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalaka-*
626 *peka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matawua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who bold;y uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yetulu-tula tutuna*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu tuhauya*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
261 person is a *tangata hahionga;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be
626 shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai yau;* one who steals food is *toyuyu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *haihai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
158 stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning
826 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma;* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-
626 headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
152 or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uui veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uui mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering
156 not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uui veia* (one who does not make enemies), *ei e ye uilinili* (one who does not select people).

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173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, including you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
643 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck
669 and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

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[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize
554 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion
521 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to
152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel-
885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking.
517 It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development
831 in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while

152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific general taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parenthesis after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is
152 playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cockhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

889 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

573 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

b:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

152 fents but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
865 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
157 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grimles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lina (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lelaua, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Lelaua, eats some food, throws off his lava-lava and then starts to walk down the
182

599 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
152 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy
[839] and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
857 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
159 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren. (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mata" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

114 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse
128 of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Puka-
157 pukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressive-
128 ness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
121 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 279, 397-99, appendix 2, pp. 458-61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutional and outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319-28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344-53, 1939.

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
8.14 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by
● [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are
156 punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual
181 behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits
156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,
578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling
578] are common emotions.

Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have
●152 indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tend-
571 encies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the tradi-
578 tional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live *for* the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
627 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
579 the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident
154 no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
837 and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans

154

[For nature and cultural patterning of dreams, see category 116, pp. 307-308.]

764 walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*wale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*wahuiuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

764 605 539 154 602 It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *wakamonga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered uneconomic, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

764 As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*wutonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-[539] hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

114 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

[155]

115 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

[114]

The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga, te kapi lalo,* and *te po lihuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

115 154 539 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction 154 of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed [372 171] in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Underworld represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

774 The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being 775 ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
757 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An ex-
ample of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuuunga*[a] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Pukapukan word *tuuunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

6. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans

862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

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857 861 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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5:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
152 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
[839] runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
839 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
159 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

577 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

857 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the
513 Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to
834 conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her
831 up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

839 sented husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practices of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
154 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
883 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be
561 added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was
582 likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 279-69). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes [illegible] disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., [illegible])

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tend-
571 encies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

● 154 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the tradi-
578 tional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

when sung by the people of one village on one of these occasions of socialized release, I give the following translation of one of the briefest wrestling chants (but not one of the most brutally violent!):

154 578

The kilts of Pana's women are easily opened—
Pressed to the ground,
Thrown by me
Rolled over and over are the rival villages.
Broken their hands and feet,
Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes.
Look from above, O two villages,
On the strength you boasted of—
Smashed it is and pressed to the ground—
Come, come now, that I may take you
On the journey of my human body,
Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping, embracing.

On the surface this may not seem to the reader to be particularly insulting. The import, however, is clear. The chant is sung by the people of Ngake village, whose other name is Pana. The implication of the first line is that although the women of this village are very hospitable (the kilt of coconut leaf was the only dress formerly worn by the women), nevertheless so defeated are the men of the other two villages that they have not the strength to take advantage of their opportunities—and no Pukapukan likes to realize this fact. Successive lines comment on the magnitude of the defeat inflicted on the two villages. The statements are extremely hyberbolic because Pukapukan wrestling is, on the whole, a very mild sport. Victory in a contest comes when a rival has both feet lifted from the ground, or touches the ground with any part of the anatomy other than the feet. The chanters, nevertheless, gain much satisfaction from exaggerated boasting. They are living for the moment in a world of make-believe, and the greater the fantasy the greater the success of the catharsis. The last four lines recur to the motif of sex: in fantasy, the Ngake men have taken the women of the other two villages away from their lovers, away to the two legendary lands of Niue and Yiva. There they may cohabit with the women free from possible interference from their beaten, weak and disorganized rivals. Thus in such a simple chant as the one adduced, the Pukapukan can work off banked emotion and receive therefrom the satisfactions of the most delightful fantasy.

154 578 The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can do justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It [156] is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts:

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
627 was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
579 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but
761 intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
152 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
579 point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
837 and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had 154 returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved.

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some 578 necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and 154 generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent 182 behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living.

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior 171 patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group.

In conclusion I would add that the material here given sug- 121 gests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.

[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

6: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans
155

[For discussion of the main patterns of personality development of the Pukapukan child, some of the overt conflict situations, and some of the stresses incidental to the process of socialization, see this entire source pp. 282-298 in category 116. ---analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*wapatika*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the 261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac- 578 companied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another 201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked 609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the 156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. 864 Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per- 576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a 832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totoloa (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against 156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

516 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
201 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
361 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this
103 islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
491 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
166 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an
164 epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
361 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
731 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-
621

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*wokatane, wokamouine*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and

613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join

884 the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

[578]

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *keinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Member-

773 ship is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *wua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 854 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given 853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The 854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the [857] infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

[152] Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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152 578 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

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Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

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10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NEW ZEALAND

105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full ●156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

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[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 571 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tendencies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 578 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the traditional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

154 578 The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can dc justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It [156] is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts:

114 fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse
128 of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

152 One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Puka-
157 pukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressive-
128 ness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other pat-
121 terns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 397–99, appendix 2, pp. 458–61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 329–38, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.

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156 not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye wiliwili* (one who does not select people).

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained
837 to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy.
His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came
crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs,
exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched
apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her
remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that
had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te
Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie
her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men
were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling
for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great
that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
● 158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting
to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would
pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of
the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his
reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There
was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a
senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis.
833 Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluelia*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that
833 it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
759 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *wale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuunga*[14] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lostilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[14] The Pukapukan word *tuunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective meaning skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while

152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Linki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Linki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Linki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific personal taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the mains of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parenthesis after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

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159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is
playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

873 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

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152 fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
865 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
159 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They
851 name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

597 Lina (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Leleau, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Leleau, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
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597 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
152 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house
on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from
her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy
[839] and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 . . The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
857 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a
159 favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

597 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

857 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to
834 conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her
831 up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

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864 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
159 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who
387 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to
864 cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practises of the de-

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lite, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

159 a garden of beautiful flowers and a woman, dreamer's father's brother's daughter, blossomed forth as one of the flowers.

(This informant has had many dreams of the dead, who look just as when they lived.)

159 Talainga: A recent dream related to special activity, fishing.
787 He dreamt he saw a big ship sailing over the land. On board were many Pukapukan men as well as white men. The ship sailed on to the taro beds and ever onward. As it passed him, Talainga recognised Iti and others on board and spoke to them, asking where they are going. They answered, "To the taro beds, and beyond in that direction." The ship disappeared and he dreamt that he then walked down to the beach He found that he was holding a fishline for kakai in his hands. He walked out to the sea and cast the line. He caught a fish which he tossed onto the beach.

(The day after this dream, he went fishing and caught plenty of fish. A dream of good luck, this.)

159 Talainga: After several sessions' work with Mrs. Henry [resident agent's wife] and me. [Pearl Beaglehole.]

He dreamt he was at the cricket ground (where he'd umpired women's cricket in which both Mrs. Henry and I had participated), a clearing on the road, surrounded by thick groves of coconut trees. The place was full of water. He saw a cemetery close by in which the graves were all pointing south. Nearby was a little house, which resembled a W.C. Asking whose house it was, he learned that it belonged to E. and P. [Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole] someone told him to move the house from alongside the burial ground. He hesitated to do this because the ground was so wet. Disliking the job, he and two others moved the house. Put down, the house was moved yet again by other people. Then he saw E. stood in front of the house, opened the door, and went in. The end of the dream

(Before either the dream was dreamt or related, informant had been invited by E. and P. to pay them a visit to their house, which was undoubtedly an important thing for him.)

Eliu: Dreamt of a meeting of Ngake men, who when ended took their canoes to the back of the island. Saw them in their canoes, fishing. He dreamt that he was lying in the meeting house watching the canoes. Where he was, he sank his line down into the ground. He pulled his line in thinking he had caught a kakai. But it was not a kakai, only a pala. He got hold of the jaws of the fish and told Te Ingoa to hit the fish, which the latter did, killing it. Then the dreamer threw his line again. This time he caught a whale which jumped about on the land and broke loose. He tried to catch it, and after a bit, succeeded. The whale's head was broken, and blood was

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--10 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

522 Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua l latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kokoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 115
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live 159
with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that 159
I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 145
16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many 159
girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married 572
before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with 836
special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many 159
meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like 836
this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 836 yet and that I was afraid that intercourse would prevent my menses from starting. We argued together for a while, he urging me to come with him and I asked to be allowed to go home. Then he asked me where I slept. I told him on top of the house platform on such-and-such a side. "But," I said, "don't come yet; wait till everyone is asleep. My sister will see you now because we sleep together." We separated then. I went to bed in my house, lying with my sister on the platform, the elders sleeping below. I didn't sleep but lay listening. He entered, stumbled and made a noise. I was very frightened. He climbed up on to the platform, but my parents heard the creaking and began to stir, asking who was making the noise. The young man hurriedly slipped out of the house. He was frightened too. I often saw him after this but I never had intercourse with him.

On another occasion I and a girl friend named Wa went to the beach near the causeway in the early evening. Coming back along the lagoon we saw two people some distance away and we took them to be the village policeman and his wife. As we came near we found they were two young men who grabbed us as we tried to pass them. We could not run away. I told the boys that my father would whip them for interfering with us. The boys said, "You won't go home; we'll stay and all go to the bush. You girls will enjoy it." We said we would go home first and see if our parents were asleep, then the two boys could come for us. The boys agreed. Then the curfew gong sounded and we began to go off home, but the boys would not let us go. They held onto our arms. The policeman came along the beach and saw all four of us together. I was frightened, ran home, closed the house door behind me and fastened it. Then the policeman came to the house and scolded me. My father woke up and asked me what the policeman wanted. I said I did not know. My father went to sleep again and I was so frightened by the boys that I never went to the bush with them at any time.

On another occasion still, I and my two sisters[2] Wa and Lima called in at a house where only one young man happened

[2] These girls were her classificatory sisters, just as when Lua refers to her parents or father in these last paragraphs she means her classificatory parents.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the 159
bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." 836
He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, " I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. " Are you just infants?" they said. " Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested 150
that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. 834
I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
[837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [334] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

194/197 the group of words in which Fijian *δ* appears between vowels is not properly distinguishable from the words where Fijian *δ* corresponds to Pukapukan *θʳ*.

In another category, however, Pukapukan *θʳ* is replaced by the Fijian *s*, said to be pronounced "as in English": *yanga* (to do), *sanga*; *yelu* (to comb), *seru*; *yeye* (foolish), *sese*; *yeu* (to mix), *seu*; *yika* (netting needle), *sika*; *yinu* (oil), *sinusinu*; *yua* (water), *suasua* (wet).

Like the *δ* sound, Fijian *s* occurs in some words where no Pukapukan consonant is now used: *ala* (path); *sala*; *angaanga*[2], *sangasanga*; *olo* (to rub), *solo*.

I find no suggestion in the literature that the Fijian *δ* is ever palatalized, though this is invariable with the Pukapukan *θ*. But the semivowel *y* is another Fijian consonant used in some words where Pukapukan requires no consonant: *ate* (liver), *yate*; *atu* (row), *yatu*.

In a few Fijian words *y* corresponds to Pukapukan *θʳ*: *yala* (to encircle), *yala*; *yau* (to come), *yau* (to come or go); *yau* (dew), *yauyau* (fog or mist).

The sound *θ* appears in the Melanesian sound system as worked out by Ray (23,p.30). It is noted in particular for Nengone and Lifu of the Loyalty Islands and for Aneityum in the southern New Hebrides (23,pp.77,139). Because of inadequate linguistic material it is impossible to determine the relation between this Melanesian sound and the voiceless spirant of Pukapuka.

Pukapukan *w* is Fijian *v*. Other consonants seem to correspond in words common to both as follows (Pukapukan given first): k, k; k, ngg (q)?; l, l; l, ndr; m, m; n, n; ng, ng; p, mb; t, t; t, nd; v, w.

It is regrettable that paucity of phonetic material for any Fijian dialect renders it impossible to draw conclusions, but when trustworthy phonetic and ethnographic material becomes available for the cultures crudely lumped together today as Fijian, it is not unlikely that phonetic and cultural anomalies found in the otherwise prevailing Polynesian culture of Pukapuka will prove no longer to be unique but part of a western sub-culture that may be traced from its eastern boundary in Pukapuka across to, and beyond, Fiji.

POPULATION

161/731/167 The population for the years for which figures are available (7) is as follows: 1906, 435; 1911, 490; 1916, 474; 1926, 526; 1935, 632.

The increase in population from 1906 to 1911, followed by a decrease in 1916, is at least partly explained by the fact that 52 Pukapukans were transferred to Rarotonga in September 1914, in order to relieve distress caused by the tidal wave that swept Pukapuka in January of that year. The population today shows a great increase over the population figures of 1916 and 1926. Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared

[2] Pukapukan informants held that the reduplicated form of the word *yanga* is not *yanguyanga*, but *anganga*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

161 Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The
163 vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available.
165 These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

162 The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		Island Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adults	84	80	54	67	61	48	199	195
	164		121		109		394	
Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

[621] These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*tau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane* or *wakawawine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	88	18	106	77	183
Female	93	11	104	61	165
					348

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kailua, Mauake, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Wakalua.
Yato: Tokelau iti, Tokelau matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full 156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

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Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

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From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	88	18	106	77	183
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In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

(a)

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Household	F	M	Ch	Ad Ch	Son's Wife	Son's Wife's Sis	Son's Wife's Sis's Ch	Son's Ch	D's Hus	D's Ch	Ad Son's Wife	Ad Son's Ch	D's M	D's F	D's Br
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
6	+	+	+												
7	+	+		+											
8	+		+		+			+	+	+					
9	+	+													
10	+	+	+												
11	+	+	+												
12	+	+		+											
13	+	+		+											
14	+			+											
15	+	+	+												
16		+	+												
17	+	+													
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19	+	+	+												
20	+	+	+	+											
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26	+	+	+		+	+	+								
27	+	+	+		+			+							
28	+	+		+									+		+
29	+	+		+											
30	+	+		+										+	
31	+	+		+											
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Table 5. Household Composition (b)

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
F's Br's Wife	F's Br's Wife's Hus Ch	F's Br's Ch	F's Br's Son's Wife	F's Sis	F's Sis's D	F's Sis's D's Hus	F's M's Sis	F's M's Sis's Ch	F's M's Br's Ch	F's M's Br's D's Hus	F's M's Br's Ad Ch	F's M's M	F's F's Sis	F's Ad F's Son	F's Ad F's Son's Ch	F's Ad M	F's Div Wife's Sis
														+	+		
							+										

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

(c)

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34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
F's Dir Wife's Sis's Hus	F's Dir Wife's Sis's Ch	M's Ch	M's Ch's Ch	M's M	M's M's Hus	M's Sis	M's Sis's Ch	M's Br's Ch	M's Br's Son's Wife	M's Br's Son's Ch	M's Br's Wife	M's M's Sis	M's M's Sis's Hus	M's M's Sis's Ch	M's Fa Br's Ch	M's Ad Br	M's Ad Br's Wife
						+											
		+															
		+															
								■									
												+	+	+			
				+			+										
									+								
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		+	+	+													
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+	+							+			+						
								+	+	+	+						
				+												+	+

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

592 mants. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for
587 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoption

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

592 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama wangai*) and of children "cut off"
597 (*tama kokoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:
162

In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kokoti* and 10 *tama wangai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a
[612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wangai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wangai*, the child as *tama wangai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for talo beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama*
591 *kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wangai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wangai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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163 with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The
165 vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available. These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

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Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walk- [164] ing habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more 192 than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

516 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
361 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
103 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
764 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
731 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
621 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
755 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 115
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [834] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
367 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this
109 islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*aue*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
764 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niue. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
361 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
731 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-
621

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 173 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, 773 became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, 183 would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

539 The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people 173 gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she 731 might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From 173 this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

731 168 261 621 166 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

173 that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people
731 should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina
168 decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provo-
261 cation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek
621 to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the
166 rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

[244] The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

173 Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of hav-
731 ing the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than
685 the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and
674 stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

539 Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth
173 and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te palo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

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Civil War

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[1] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [1] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *welo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
778 the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured; hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of
166 the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

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124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka generously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka. In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Afia named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

Served by native pastors.

1. [Pukapuka—analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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the group of words in which Fijian δ appears between vowels is not properly distinguishable from the words where Fijian δ corresponds to Pukapukan θ'.

In another category, however, Pukapukan θ' is replaced by the Fijian *s*, said to be pronounced "as in English": *yanga* (to do), *sanga*; *yelu* (to comb), *seru*; *yeye* (foolish), *sese*; *yen* (to mix), *sen*; *yika* (netting needle), *sika*; *yinu* (oil), *sinusinu*; *yua* (water), *suasua* (wet).

Like the δ sound, Fijian *s* occurs in some words where no Pukapukan consonant is now used: *ala* (path), *sala*; *angoanga*[2], *sangasanga*; *olo* (to rub), *solo*.

I find no suggestion in the literature that the Fijian δ is ever palatalized, though this is invariable with the Pukapukan θ. But the semivowel *y* is another Fijian consonant used in some words where Pukapukan requires no consonant: *ate* (liver), *yate*; *atu* (row), *yatu*.

In a few Fijian words *y* corresponds to Pukapukan θ': *yala* (to encircle), *yala*; *yau* (to come), *yau* (to come or go); *yau* (dew), *yauyau* (fog or mist).

The sound θ appears in the Melanesian sound system as worked out by Ray (23,p.30). It is noted in particular for Nengone and Lifu of the Loyalty Islands and for Aneityum in the southern New Hebrides (23,pp.77,139). Because of inadequate linguistic material it is impossible to determine the relation between this Melanesian sound and the voiceless spirant of Pukapuka.

Pukapukan *w* is Fijian *v*. Other consonants seem to correspond in words common to both as follows (Pukapukan given first): k, k; k, ngg (q)?; l, l; l, ndr; m, m; n, n; ng, ng; p, mb; t, t; t, nd; v, w.

It is regrettable that paucity of phonetic material for any Fijian dialect renders it impossible to draw conclusions, but when trustworthy phonetic and ethnographic material becomes available for the cultures crudely lumped together today as Fijian, it is not unlikely that phonetic and cultural anomalies found in the otherwise prevailing Polynesian culture of Pukapuka will prove no longer to be unique but part of a western sub-culture that may be traced from its eastern boundary in Pukapuka across to, and beyond, Fiji.

POPULATION

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The population for the years for which figures are available (7) is as follows: 1906, 435; 1911, 490; 1916, 474; 1926, 526; 1935, 632.

The increase in population from 1906 to 1911, followed by a decrease in 1916, is at least partly explained by the fact that 52 Pukapukans were transferred to Rarotonga in September 1914, in order to relieve distress caused by the tidal wave that swept Pukapuka in January of that year. The population today shows a great increase over the population figures of 1916 and 1926. Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared

[2] Pukapukan informants held that the reduplicated form of the word *yanga* is not *yangayanga*, but *angoanga*.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

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491 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
166 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an
164 epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
361 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
931 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-
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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

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Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, including you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

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The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the stoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

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The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for
and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were
609 adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the
reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man
and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko,
but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
[563 Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal line-
ages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
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That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakaua* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngauliauli* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old
men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

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203 The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

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VOYAGING

173 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

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The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

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I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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173 tore apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was revenged on the Tongan people.

173 Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of
167 Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100
484 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

173 All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travelers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the ngeyu bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yasaunga, named Tahawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Tahawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Tahawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Tahawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaua, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitongaauka. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitongaauka had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaua who had voyaged abroad. But Talitongaauka and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaua sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167●
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga lee yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Lungoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaiā wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

COCONUT

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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flower of the *welau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wualole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lanunui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa lolos: nuts with long husks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TIEBEAM HOUSE

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The tiebeam house with paired side supporting posts, wall and roof plates is termed *wale wakayamoa* (fig.8,*b*). Though similar to the Rakahangan and Samoan tiebeam houses (29, pp. 70-75; 27, pp. 15 ff.), the Pukapukan house customarily has no kingpost, its principal rafters cross below the ridgepole, and there is no set of wall posts other than the main series of paired wall posts which support the wall plates, tiebeams, and roof plates. For this reason I have retained the term "wall plate" for the longitudinal beam that rests on the wall posts, but this wall plate functions in the same manner as the tiebeam plate of the Samoan house. It is likely that the Pukapukan name for the type house, *wale wakayamoa*, is derived from its similarities to the Samoan house of this style.

This house type is used for dwelling and cook houses in both village and copra settlements. When the tiebeams are covered with a platform (*papanga*), on which coconuts at the *takataka* stage are stored, the house is termed *wale takataka*, a name sometimes given as the type name of the house. The *wale wakayamoa* is also constructed in the reserves as a watch house for the guards. On the outskirts of the villages rough structures of this type are used as shelters for disassembled canoe sections.

In the typical house of this style, two wall posts on either side, grooved at the upper end, support wall plates which rest untashed in the grooves. Four tiebeams (*aka*) rest on these wall plates and project 18 inches beyond the wall plates to which they are lashed. Resting against the outer ends of each tiebeam are thin poles which serve as supports for the coconut-leaf wall sheets (*takapau*). Roof plates (*kaukau lua*) are placed longitudinally on top of, and at the outer extremities of, the tiebeams. Twelve rafters (*uuti poto*) run from roof plate to ridgepole on either side of the house. They are lashed to both roof plate and ridgepole and cross above the ridgepole to support the thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*). An eaves purlin (*tahilihili*) and a second purlin (*talava*) midway between roof plate and ridgepole are lashed to the inside of the rafters on each side of the house. The roof plate seems to function here as a third purlin, and some informants gave *talava* as the name for both purlin and roof plate. On the two outer tiebeams at each end of the house are lashed, longitudinally, thin split sections of pandanus wood. These form end platforms for the storage of mats and household goods. They project beyond the outer tiebeam at each end to support an end purlin (*talava tala lewa*). The end rafters are lashed to this purlin and to an end eaves purlin. On one side of the roof framework, a diagonal strut (*yoka*) runs on the inside of the rafters from the ridgepole at the point where the first rafter joins the ridgepole, down to the roof plate at the point where the tenth rafter joins the roof plate. The strut is lashed to ridgepole, intermediate rafters, and roof plate. On the opposite side of the house, the strut runs from the ridgepole at the tenth rafter to the roof plate at the first rafter. In other houses of the *wakayamoa* type, two braces are used on each side. The braces run diagonally from the roof plate in the center upward to each end of the ridgepole. The type house has no other ridgepole support than rafters and struts, but in one house observed, a rough kingpost ran from the second tiebeam in from the end and supported a ridgepole. The kingpost, also called *yoka*, was of rough wood, undressed, and obviously a novel addition to the roof framework. It was lashed neither to tiebeam nor ridgepole.

Each gable end of the type house is made by running eight end rafters (*uuti poto*

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tala leuw) from the end eaves purlin (which is itself lashed at each end to the side eaves purlins) to the end side rafters. Four end rafters run to the left side rafter, four to the right side rafter. The end rafters are of varying length depending on their distance from the highest point of the ridgepole. Another end purlin, midway between eaves purlin and ridgepole supports the end rafters on the inside. A variation may sometimes be introduced into the gable end of both the *wakayamoa* and the *wale atua* house types, by using for the end purlin a piece of timber that has a slight, natural curve in the horizontal plane. The end rafters would be made of suitable length to retain the natural curve of the purlin. In small houses of the *wakayamoa* type, where the end purlin was of small diameter, it was sometimes bent into an artificial curve through binding the two ends of the purlin to the ends of the two outermost side principal rafters and through graduating the length of the end rafters in such a way that when lashed to the purlin, they thrust it out in a slight horizontal curve. There are no side or end thatch rafters on the type house. The coconut roof sheets are fastened directly to the principal rafters, the midribs of the sheets functioning as thatch rafters.

Lashing

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The lashing used for all parts of the house framework is of one pattern only, that of alternating curves, termed *yimu makawiui*. The lashing corresponds to the curved pattern lashing described by Buck (29, p. 72, fig. 5)

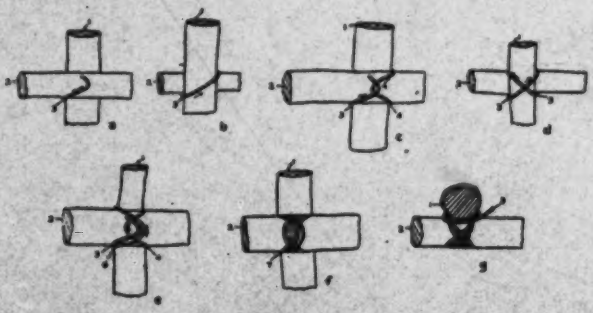

FIGURE 9.—Alternating curves lashing, used for principal parts of house framework; lashing shown for fastening together tiebeam (1) and wall plate (2). *a*, view from above: sennit braid laid on wall plate and held with thumb; free end makes curved turn on under side of wall plate (3). *b*, view from below: free end makes transverse turn across tiebeam. *c*, view from above: sennit braid (4) brought across commencement end, thumb holds crossing cords in place while braid makes curved turn across and down at wall plate (4). *d*, view from below: braid (5) makes transverse turn across and up tiebeam to curve around wall plate. *e*, view from above: braid (6) curves to right across second curve (4) and locks preceding two curves in place; thumb then removed and rough sennit does not slip. *f*, view from above: repetition of two curved turns successively applied on outer side of previous turns produces pattern (7); number of lashings varies according to elements, average number being 5 curves on either side, 10 in all. *g*, side view: crossings of turns and half of one design; braid (3) makes number of horizontal circumferential turns around lashing turns between two wooden elements; end of braid fixed by half hitches around last loops. (Diagram adapted from Buck, 29, fig. 5, p. 72.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola launia*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
312 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
284 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
171 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uka*); the method of passing the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yuki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yinahi lau*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tele*) some roof
284 sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*pu pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato yinahi lau* method. The *ato tele* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yinahi* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more nearly waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yinahi* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola wawati*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by skewering them with a lifting pole (*tuku pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola taupoto*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*tahapau taupoto*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 28-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*hotihoti te tulutulu wale*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reenforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
284 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*wor lauwala* or
322 *yayalo lauwala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau wor lauwala*). The leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pokai lauwala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are
285 bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuania*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pola lauwala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
335 *wakayamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*wakaulu pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*wakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*wakakanu*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *wakayamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles, the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced
[171] equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Vene-

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285/352 Sleeping and floor mats are made of all three pandanus materials in various sizes for children and adults. The name of the material is added to the general name for a mat (*panga*) to distinguish the various types. Pukapukan mats in Bishop Museum are:

Name	Specimen Number	Material	Size	Wefts to Inch	Use
Panga laupua	C8070	lauwilu	3'5" square	6	Crawling mat for child
Panga lauwilu ava	C8071	lauwilu	1'11" × 1'6"	5	Mat on which new-born infant is laid
Epaepa	C8074	lauwilu	5' × 6'6"	5	Durable under-mat for sleeping
Panga lito	C8114	lito	5'3" × 4'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lito	C8122	lito	5'8" × 3'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lauwala pakapaka	C8123	lauwala pakapaka	4'10" × 4'	3	Coarse foundation mat placed under epaepa for sleeping
Panga kanoni (mixed) lauwilu ma lito	C8166	lauwilu and lito	5'1" × 3'3"	6	Durable sleeping mat
Panga kie wete	C8121	kie wete	5'4" × 4'	6	Soft mat used to cover body when sleeping

285/171 All the above mats have the exposed sinistral finish described by Buck (27, fig. 118,*a*), except the last which presents two interesting variations in the fundamental plaiting technique:

> It is made of single elements to obtain a soft surface, but in order to bind the edges securely, the Samoan fine mat technique of a five-weft braid finish is used in defining the lower border. The commencement edge on the reverse side of the mat follows the method described by Buck (27, fig.161) and the continuation is the turned back fringe described by Buck (27, fig. 162 right). In the Pukapukan mat the dropped sinistrals are cut off flush with the lower border. The upper, finishing edge follows the Samoan method (27, figs.163,164) with the exceptions that the Pukapukan mat has a five-weft braid finish; the fringe ends produced by the projecting sinistrals and dextrals are cut off flush with the border; the right upper corner is not braided into a tail but the last three working dextrals are roughly interlocked by carrying the third working dextral from the end over the corner of the mat and pushing it under one sinistral, then with a forward turn, pushing it under two dextrals and cutting the ends off flush with the edge. The last two working dextrals from the end are turned back at the edge and pushed underneath the third dextral where it passes to the other side of the mat.

285/531 All the mats have overlaid or through and through designs of the customary red-dyed pandanus material. Most of the designs are old but several are obviously modern, for example the turtle (*wonu*) and the house side (*talawale*) designs. The mats are more heavily laden with design than is usual because the plaiters felt that many designs were appropriate for what they knew would be museum pieces.

285′ 313 either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau wuti*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau hawa*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow CB182 has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow CB183 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lounala pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

285′ 291 177 Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting stroke or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

MATS AND SHEETS

285′ [171] The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

BASKETS

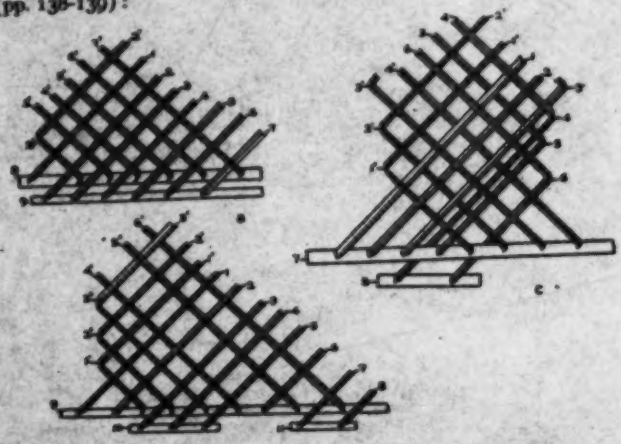
Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ola*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 167, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinistral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two midrib strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127,133, figs. 14,17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 Baskets made with the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement (fig. 15,*a*,*b*,*c*) are called generically *kete*. They are used for transporting talo corms, coconuts, crabs, and the like. Small baskets with one or two points are sometimes used to hold talo pudding (*olo*), but they are generally used as shellfish and crabbing baskets. The plaiting technique is the same as for the Manihiki *pite* pointed receptacles (29, p. 117, fig. 33).

Pukapukan baskets in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list (pp. 138-139):



285 FIGURE 15.—Coconut-leaf mat. *a*, turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (8) with leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out first leaflet (1), remaining leaflets on strip turn back to function as sinistrals (2′, 3′, 4′, 5′, 6′, 7′); sinistrals engage with naturally inclined leaflets of second strip (9) which function as natural dextrals (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). *b*, discontinuous two-strip commencement: lower continuous leaflet strip (9) carries leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out dextral leaflets 1 and 2, leaflets 1′, 2′, 3′, 4′ are turned back to function as sinistrals, engaging with naturally inclined dextral leaflets (3, 4, 5) carried by second strip (10); leaflet 6, of first strip (9) keeps its natural direction and acts as a dextral; the next two leaflets of this strip (5′, 6′) bend back to act as sinistrals engaging previous dextrals; leaflets (7, 8) of third strip (11) act as natural dextrals and will engage with turned-back sinistrals of first strip; course of plaiting continued by additional strips and turning back of naturally inclined leaflets to left to act as sinistrals. *c*, variation of turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (7) carries eight leaflets naturally inclined to right; to establish stroke four leaflets (1, 2, 3, 5) function as natural dextrals; they engage in plaiting stroke remaining four leaflets on strip which are bent back to act as sinistrals (1′, 2′, 3′, 4′); additional strip (8), carrying two natural dextrals (4, 6), placed under first strip (7), and two extra dextrals engage with turned-back sinistrals of first, or upper strip (7); when stroke has been established, edges are formed by giving a half turn to sinistrals at left edge so that free sinistrals are converted back into functioning dextrals; for right edge, free dextrals given a half turn to left and continue to function as sinistrals in plaiting.

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

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The pump drill (*wou*) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reenforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

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To drill is also *wou*. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This sprit is termed
502 *toko*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*wakamounga no te toko*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapou*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*kaiaru*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapou* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unshipping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*kaioli* or *yolo*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*uwe*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*mata*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*lomiau uwe*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact
[226 with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*koa tangi te uwe*), used to attract fish
536] to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*tua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ala tua*) is reserved today for short spurts and for making the paddle resound, the front (*alaala* or *takrulu*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toka*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko hug the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

501 The bailer (*tata*, fig. 26,*g*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with
415 carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe,
171 but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

501 The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater
322 canoe shown in figure 23.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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284

proper (p. 188). It is lashed to the hook with fine two-ply twisted *uso*. The hackle is made of short lengths (1 to 1½ inches) of *uso* cord; the number of separate lengths ranges from 10, if of fine cord, to 28 lengths if of fine thread. Pukapukan fishermen have never used hackles of any material other than *uso*.

FIGURE 42.—Bonito hook points (*mango*). *a*, common shape, rounded back, point almost parallel with base line; *b*, another common point, similar to *a*, but with longer point base; *c*, point with square back, acute angle at top right edge of base; *d*, short functional point and base, wide bend; *e*, point with well-rounded bend, downward projecting functional point. 1, functional point; 2, bend; 3, base; 4, distal hole (*pu hi muli*); 5, proximal hole (*pu hi mua*).

No ceremonial is associated with the lashing together of the parts of the bonito hook. Considerable variation exists in lashing methods employed. Some fishermen employ separate lashings for the proximal and distal point holes in fastening point to shank, others employ a continuous lashing. The lashing of shank head to snood is also variable; some lashings consist of simple transverse turns, others of transverse and figure-of-eight turns.

A single hole lashing commences at the proximal hole with the middle of a long piece of thread. One end of the thread is left free to make the snood seizings, the other end is used to make transverse turns through the proximal hole of the point and round the shank. On the back of the shank, these turns make oblique crossings (*wahawiwi*). On one hook only are the crossings parallel and not oblique. After six or eight transverse turns are made, they are bound on one side with the finishing end of the thread and fastened with overhand knots. On the other side, the free commencement end also binds the turns and is knotted, but the free end is passed backward and forward between the head hole and the proximal hole of the point for two or three turns and laid aside.

The snood is now laid on the front of the shank. One end of the snood is passed through the proximal hole of the point and doubled back along its length for the whole or part of the distance between point hole and head hole. The free end of the proximal hole lashing which has just made the turns between point hole and head hole is now seized round both the doubled snood and its previous turns through head hole with close turns. The point-head hole turns may be left out of the seizing for a few turns and then caught up again, or they may be continuously included in the seizing turns. In any case, toward the head, the point-head hole turns are dropped from the seizing which is continued to a point above the head hole. Most snood-head hole lashings consist of transverse turns between the hole and the snood followed by figure-of-eight turns over the snood, corresponding to the Manihiki method (29, p. 183, fig. 97).

[171]

With a separate length of thread transverse turns are made through the distal hole and round the tail of the shank, fixing the hackle in this lashing with oblique turns according to the Manihiki method (29, p. 179, fig. 91), with the exception, however, that the lashing thread, after making about ten oblique transverse turns, makes half hitch side bindings round the near side lashing of the distal hole. The free end of the thread is passed through the distal hole to the far side, again makes half hitch side bindings round the far side lashing. The free end is then brought back round the distal end of the point, passed under the near side lashing, up, back over it to make a distal point

227 loop, and is finally fastened with overhand knots to this distal point loop. This loop is stretched and knotted on itself with an overhand knot. The loop is cut below the knot and each end knotted again to prevent unravelling. This method of making the secondary hackle was the one illustrated to me, but it is possible that the Samoan method (27, p. 500) is also employed.

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[171] If the base of the point is narrow and the point, after lashing, appears to be loose, filler sticks, ranging from 1 to 2¼ inches long, are inserted between the point base and the point-shank lashings to fill this space and tighten up the point. They are used in 17 hooks, absent in 11 hooks.

Variations on type hook. The previous description summarizes the type bonito hook. Variations, especially in lashings, are common.

Continuous lashing of the two point holes to the shank is done with a very long lashing thread. The worker measures this into three sections. Commencing with the middle section, he lashes the proximal hole with transverse, oblique turns, binds this lashing with half hitches and passes one end of the thread up to the head hole. The head hole-point turns may be simple turns passing from the near side proximal point hole to the near side head hole, through the head hole and back to the far side point hole, or they may be oblique figure-of-eight turns, passing from the near side point hole to the far side head hole, through this hole and back to the far side point hole. In either case, after finally passing through the point hole, the seizing of the head hole-point turns continues as before. When the lashing of the snood to the head is completed, the free end of the third section of lashing thread is passed along the base of the point to the distal hole and completes the distal hole lashing, hackle fixation, and secondary hackle as before. Alternately, in one hook, the free end passes through the proximal hole, to the far side, makes a half hitch side binding, then passes back to the near side distal hole between the base of the point and the front of the shank.

The turns between head hole and point in one hook are made by passing the lashing thread from the near side proximal hole of the point up to the head hole, down to the point again, round the far side proximal hole lashing at the side of the point base, up to the head hole, through this, down the near side and round the near side proximal hole lashing. This is continued for the customary three turns and the free end continues with the snood seizing. In yet another hook, the turns between head hole and point have been added after the snood was lashed to the head and instead of passing through the head hole, pass round the head snood lashing between the snood and the head of the shank. The third downward turn on the near side passes obliquely underneath the snood to the far side proximal hole and through this hole to the near side to complete the lashing.

Several hooks have a simpler lashing of snood to the head of the shank. The thread makes transverse turns through the head hole and over the snood, binding these turns with circumferential turns between the head of the shank and the snood. This lashing corresponds to the simple Manihiki technique (29, p. 183, fig. 96).

[171] Most side bindings of point lashings are made with the regular lashing thread. In one hook, however, this is done with a separate short length of thread. The commencement end of this thread is knotted round the near side distal point hole lashing, passes to the near side proximal hole lashing, makes one turn round this, is then pushed through the proximal hole to the far side, binds the far side proximal hole lashing with one turn and passes down to the far side distal hole lashing round which it is knotted.

All but three hooks have the secondary hackle. One has nothing to take the place of this hackle. The second has a thread about 3 inches long knotted an inch from one end round the near side distal hole lashing, the two ends of the thread serving as a sort of secondary hackle. On the far side distal hole lashing, the finishing end of the thread lashing, after being knotted round the distal lashing, is cut off about 1½ inches from

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 the lashing and serves as a single secondary hackle for the distal side. The third hook
284 has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted round this and cut off about 1½ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but has been subsequently broken.

227 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both
284 of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary
171 hackle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and head hole are added as is customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized as far as the head with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 89,*e*), and was done presumably for the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle instead of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an interestingly lashed hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached
284 from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound transversely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is required again.

227 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant
171 features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito
114 hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194). Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves, merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (20, pp. 30-31) from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

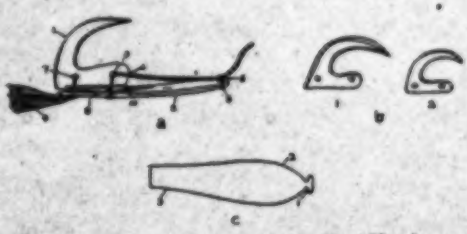
7. [See 2; McGregor-- analyst.]

227 ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Raiatanga, Fagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that
171 of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the
114 remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Macgregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig.43,*a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *komuli* fish and are named generically *pa taki komuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malau* fish and are termed *pa malau*.



227 FIGURE 43.—Small trolling hook (*pa taki komuli*) (CB133). *a*, composite hook:
284 point (*2*) first lashed to shank (*2*) through proximal hole (*3*); snood (*4*) passed through proximal hole and seized with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing continues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (*5*) around shank and binds them with circumferential turns (*6*), then seizes snood for about 1 inch beyond head; distal hole (*7*) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal hole underneath shank (*8*) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal hole and around shank to fix hackle (*9*) of *uso* fiber with oblique turns; no secondary hackle on this hook; filler sticks (*10*) inserted between lashings and sides of point base. *b*, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend, and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, widest part; 3, tail.

223 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of
284 rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3') by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 Netting needles (*tui* or *uutu*) and mesh gauges (*yika*) are used. Of two types of
227 needle, the *uutu* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia.
286 One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob and in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yika* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (C8131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅞ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Puka-
227 pukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method
286 described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

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171/227 method corresponds to the Samoan technique of "dropping meshes in the various rows" (27, p. 472): gathering together two or more meshes in one row to function as a single mesh means that in the next row there will be fewer meshes with which to work, hence the technique is equivalent to dropping meshes from subsequent working rows.

286

TYPES OF NETS

The seine net (*kupenga*) and the large hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) have been
227 described (pp. 57-58). The flying-fish dip net (*tae malolo*) consists of a long handle, a crossbar and framework (figs. 45,*a*, 46). Its use is described on
286 page 58.

284

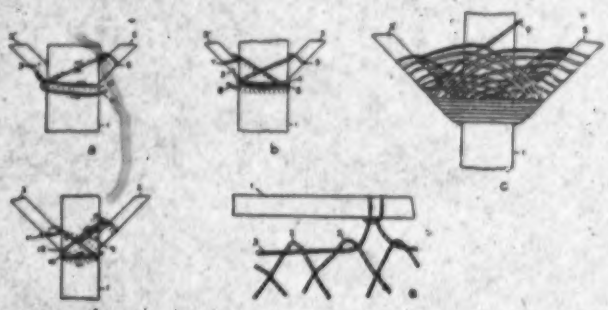

FIGURE 46.—Lashing of flying-fish net framework. *a*, commencement of lashing of stout rods (2, 2′) to handle (1): commencement end of sennit cord (3) laid on far side of left rod; cord brought around in front of handle and transversely (4) around to back, across to far side, then up diagonally across near side, passing between rod (2) and handle, across front of rod (5), then diagonally down far side of handle, passing around and across front of handle (6). *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (6) passes to back of handle, diagonally up and across to rod (2′), around front of rod (7), behind it and diagonally down and across front of handle, and around back of handle (8); this establishes lashing pattern, which is continued for about 12 or more complete diagonal turns passing to each rod. *c*, completed lashing pattern is here shown with six turns only; *d*, on top of pattern are superimposed four superior diagonal lashing turns; method of making turns shown here (inferior lashings omitted); free end of cord (9) passes diagonally down far side of handle, around to front (10), across handle, diagonally up far side (11), around rod (2′), diagonally down near side, around far side of handle again, up diagonally across near side (12) to rod (2), around this rod and diagonally down across far side of handle; lashing pattern is continued until there are two diagonal lashings up and down handle; finishing end of cord carried diagonally across near side of handle to rod (2), makes two transverse turns around rod and buries finishing end underneath these two turns; finished lashing is of neat and pleasing design. *e*, attachment of flying-fish net to frame: 1, rod of framework; 2, marginal net meshes; 3, marginal cord passes through meshes, then up to frame, making a clove hitch around rod, passing down to pick up more marginal meshes; process continued until all marginal meshes are picked up on cord, rod clove hitches 6 to 8 inches apart, free ends of cord wound round handle just below cross-lashing holding suspensory lashing of crossbar to handle; second cord passes through marginal meshes at proximal end of net and is fastened to stout rods above lashing of crossbar.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-
[284] fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*uuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
223 puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

231 Stakes of *puapua* or *pukania* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique
824 described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*vivo*), the windmill (*poteka launiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wakatangitangi*),
171 and the leaflet spinner (*wakaki matangi* or *wuti lele launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig.49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the mesial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *wakanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by cover-
171 ing a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes.
526 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-
527 making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

177 Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

524 The toy bow (*uvau*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *wetau* tree.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true
202 drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nawa*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nawa* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa wenua*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched
533 sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kauta*). Formerly, when a large chanting and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*waa vaka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an
534 "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chanting on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *teahouou* or *uutau* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *lulu ki te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

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613 616 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *wuele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

776 171 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panenu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *weiau* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 582 684 776 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wale*, "house eating" or *kai kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 616 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 582 171 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
[582] sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
171 society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
613 and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
(each called for this purpose *uakatoi*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
578 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting
in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group,
petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts
over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety
division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time
more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is
merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns,
represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of impor-
tance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth
and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course,
the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided
among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning
is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that
they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose
majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered.
That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is
charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relation-
ship ties based on maternal descent.

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *tuua* or *yolongo* units. Village membership
616 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
597 village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
621 born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*wilo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
578 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
621 elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolongo*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.
574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
616 for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
498 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

178

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
646 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupele*. These
623 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands
562 of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Mem-
887 bership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal line-
> 561 age or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulu-aki o tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *moina ututu* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *moina ya* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *moina ututu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kulapupui (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Koumoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kauliki (children).
Tamaalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalos: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loga and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matvaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupele: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief
644 had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to
[613] their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last
613 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special
576 salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakakauvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these
793 chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might
643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu-
645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intralineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*,
[171] the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born
613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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601 171 relationships, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities. Dual lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and easily kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The intension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a [557] mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; at all other times, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

Table 7. Kinship Terms

Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal
2	Tupuna tane (great uncle) Tupuna wawine (great aunt)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (spouse's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (uncle) Matua wawine (aunt)	Matua tane (father) Matua wawine (mother)	Matua angavai tane (father-in-law) Matua angavai wawine (mother-in-law)
0	Cousins of same sex as speaker, taina; cousins of opposite sex to speaker, kainga wakana or wale atua	Siblings of same sex as speaker, taina; siblings of opposite sex to speaker, tua tane (w. s.), tua wawine (m. s.), kainga (m. or w. s.)	Taokete tane (brother-in-law), taokete wawine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tao tangata
—1	Tamatane (nephew), tamawawine (niece)	Tamatane (son), tamawawine (daughter)	Unaonga tane (son-in-law), unaonga wawine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives at this level generally, konga tangata, as, tua konga tane, brothers of son- and -daughter-in-law.
—2	Makopuna tane (great nephew) Makopuna wawine (great niece)	Makopuna tane (grandson), makopuna wawine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, as, wawine na taku makopuna tane, wife of my male grandchild

601 One important characteristic of the Pukapukan system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother *taina mua*. By the use of the terms *mua*

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more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niu wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners. The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakaleleí*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*taute*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *awanga*. These are *te newu o Tulikalo* and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *newu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tongata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitonga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of
154 talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga,* presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
312 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
171 world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
774 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being
775 ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

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502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

487 In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

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1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lua lau
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngaulu tini

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
526 eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the
512 beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
536 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning
527 rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*ia te ulu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kiu*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kiu* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kiu* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatau nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai ama mama (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvuna*) are drawn about 30 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewike (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

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Muliwutu, then to the houses of Yangalipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*you*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

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There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *you* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *You* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te
192 Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.
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It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Puka-
773 puka from the Tokelau Islands:

539 The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kau wowotu*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

173 In the time of Kuluea and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact
773 was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

539 Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Mataliki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

123 real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

484 The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Walalanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakalava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to uglinesa, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the basalt rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Matu-o-te-tokalua (Stars-of-the-pair).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tonu (captain) and Taea with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tonu and Taea was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tuwua (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky) the navigators tried to pick the flower called *tokolangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the copulating places tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Matalili, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

[171] Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Welei was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Welei a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nuku-[illegible] (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-[illegible] (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Welei that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 484 171 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *voko o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

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173 177 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tawua and Te Papakiava. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tawua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taro. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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181/831 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

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171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

171 Pukapuka and Samoa. The double-pointed throwing weapon links Pukapuka to Funafuti; oval or round religious structures seem to have their nearest parallel with those of Niutao in the Ellice Islands. Unlike Samoa, Pukapuka lacks tattooing, the arched house, the use of house decorative lashings and the plank-flanged canoe, though the use of flanges on the dugout canoe may suggest Samoan influence.

In social organization, Pukapuka presents several features that seem more Melanesian than Polynesian. This is notable in the structure of the maternal moieties, and the importance of named maternal descent groups. The common western Polynesian custom of *vasu* or *fahu* is absent in Pukapuka. Though the Pukapukan kinship system is marginal to the west, there has been a specialization in the function of at least one western kinship category (the *mayakitanga*, sacred maid), and whereas brother-sister tapu is absent, the full weight of avoidance has fallen on those of opposite sex who are related as cross or parallel cousins. This strongly suggests a similar emphasis reported for the southeast and northwest Solomon Islands (Mala and Buka). Again, the elaboration of rank within kindred associated with the west, and the elaboration of rank within the social structure associated with Samoa and Tonga, together with a chiefly language, are all lacking in the simpler, more democratic structure of Pukapukan society.

The hierarchy of Pukapukan gods is hard to trace elsewhere. The named gods and their elaboration of function seem peculiar to Pukapuka. The absence of such gods as Tangaloa, Tane, Ru, and Rongo points to a break with the deistic systems of the rest of Polynesia, Certain correspondence between the Pukapukan conception of the Underworld and that formerly prevalent in Futuna may be noted, but it is significant that a common western name for the underworld, *pulotu* or its dialectical equivalent, is unknown in Pukapuka other than as a recently introduced word.

191 Linguistically, the dialect of Pukapuka and its phonetic material seem to be unique in that it is impossible to say whether Pukapukan is more closely allied to the western or to eastern dialects. One of the two phonetic anomalies that are not found elsewhere in Polynesia appears to have its closest affinity with sounds recorded for Fiji and the New Hebrides.

171 The games of Pukapuka are widespread Polynesian games. Analysis of the string figures indicates that these show a closer affinity with the west than with the east. Because comparative string figure collections are still very inadequate, it is impossible to be more definite than this.

The myths and tales of Pukapuka mention several of the well-known Polynesian culture heroes. It is possible that the relatively large number of animal tales in Pukapuka, though few by comparison with the total number of known tales, points to a far western affiliation. At least it serves to dis-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

171 tinguish Pukapuka from most other Polynesian groups. The Pukapukan origin myth is characteristically western in its phrasing.

Traditional history seems to point to fairly close contact long ago with islands to the west. It is unfortunate that so many of the foreign lands mentioned in these accounts can not be identified. The modern Pukapukan firmly believes that such names as Tonga, Yamoa, Witi, Tokelau and others refer in the legends to Polynesian islands which bear these names today. For lack of other evidence I see no reason to deny this. In the light of this traditional history it is hardly legitimate to pose the question: whence came the Pukapukans? The modern Pukapukan has no answer. The modern ethnologist can not yet speak with finality.

101 I take it as reasonably clear, however, that on a basic stratum of fundamentally Polynesian patterns, there has been superimposed a culture that has strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole is marginal to the west. These strata, combined with certain specific elaborations or survivals in social organization, serve to give characteristic accent to Pukapukan culture when viewed against the background of Polynesia as a whole.

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538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise; [171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Mauikatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky,
is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land
of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were
gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The
gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the
sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The
god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask
Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant
land of Aólako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu
arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two
friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods
crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the
sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu
turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were
again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both
arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position.
The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about
but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on
his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly,
tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was
stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu
stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe, and finally stretched
his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck
above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth
and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

773 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and
171 fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [11 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65. category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:
Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupenu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoono wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto. "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:
There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! .pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatateki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[71] [538] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
You crawl on the roof,
You jump down to the end rafters.
We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
You are killed by the people
And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538 171 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical reference in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

Introduction

121 · The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
● 171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

524 The comparative material is much too unequal for final results
171 to be adduced and must inevitably remain so until an exhaustive number of figures is collected from each island group in Occeania. Certain tentative conclusions however may be mentioned. Taking Polynesia proper and dividing it into four sub-areas (north, Hawaii; south, New Zealand; central and east, Aitutaki, Australs, Marquesas, Society, and Tuamotus; and west, Tokelau, Tonga, Samoa, Uvea, and also Fiji), the percentage of correspondence between Pukapukan figures and the total number of available figures for each area mentioned is shown in the following:

	Figures reported	Pukapuka	Percentage
West	54	17	31
South	36	7	20
Central-East	218	31	14
North	115	4	3

From this it is evident that prevailing correspondences between Pukapuka and the rest of Polynesia rather heavily favor the West. The percentage of 31 for the West may be compared with a total correspondence of 37 percent for Polynesia, excluding the West. If western and southern affiliations with Pukapuka are grouped, the percentage correspondence is 51 against a correspondence of 17 percent with North, Central, and East.

Of the 8 Pukapukan figures which correspond with figures from Fiji, 6 are widely distributed throughout the rest of Polynesia. Only 2 are reported for Pukapuka and Fiji alone. Of the 9 Pukapukan figures also found in the Tuamotus, 7 are found elsewhere in Polynesia, leaving but 2 which are reported for the Tuamotus and Pukapuka alone. Only 1 of the 7 Pukapukan figures found also in New Zealand is not reported elsewhere. This analysis indicates that unique Pukapukan figures occur equally in part of the West, part of the East, and to a degree, in the South.

The Pukapukan series of 6 figures which are grouped under the type figure, Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua, is strikingly absent in figures reported elsewhere. The Marquesan figure, Te-nohona-o-te-kua (Handy, 9, p. 32), shows vague resemblances to one of the series (Lua-tangata). The Maori figure, Kopu 2 (Andersen, 1, p. 65) bears some resemblance again to another of this series, Te-imu-o-Tima, but the Maori and Pukapukan figures are by no means identical.

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Pukapuka	Tuamotus	Austral	Fiji	New Zealand
1. Tava	Kokikokiko (3 Diamonds)	Iisuri (Rurutu)	Suviaulo Kapa	Parori Over and over
2. Na wiwi (Lau kapa series)	Mangrongoo	Raupaka tatai (Kapa) Rurutu Tubuai Tup. Rim.	Imbi	Takapau
3. Tikoaikoni	Moko (Meth. 2)	Ga uro (Kapa)	Tambua*	Mouli*
4. Waia yila wua		Matariki (Kapa)	Lalakai	Bitiki
5. Kumete		Ga kamia (Kapa) Mato (Rim.) Ayao iios(Rurutu)	Velovelo	
6. Te kolemu yengiyengi	Ki faru	(la-le) (Kapa)		Toomi
7. Wala ola		Tuora (Kapa)	Mataki latiai	
8. Te tai kiki		(Kapa) (Rurutu) (Rim., Tub.)		
9. Te itu waia kula	Kahengahenga* Na fare turu	Te Are Matui (Rurutu) (Rim.) (Tup.)		
10. Te kivi a ia kakai	Puhanga toto			
11. Te itu wuuli kilengi	Te vaka Tiranga			Te waka a Tama Rererefi
12. La palopalo				
13. Kupenga			Kupenga* Lawa	
14. Paiokiola itu (a) Kitikiti polo* (b) Toca kula	(a) Komo rikiriki (b) Na taringa moko			
15. Te matangi yaoloka (Meth. 1)	Te raki o Hiro*			
16. Te imu o Te Lautale				Kourá
17. Te pu o Muniumaveka			Rara ni Kulá	
Hand slip trick				
Authority	Emory (7)	Stokes (13)	Hornell (10)	Anderson (1)

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Society	Marquesas	Hawaii	Tonga	Uvea
Iolo	Tohiau		Matamata kupenga Moenga	Mata kupenga Iliiki
Firi rau anani	Kou kape		Lou kape*	
Mo'o		Moo-iki B (Meth. 1)	Pilitaleiku*	
	Tapa'au tua fitu*			
Apoo mai ahana Apoo tio		Wa's		
	Popo tikaue	Okole amo (Meth. 3)		
Ruruiu	Tuhii koa*			
				Tai loloto
Te tumu o te papa* Te fare no Oro*				
		Four Eyes A (Meth. 2)		
Fifi rau ape				Mata kupenga laiahi
		E loli e		
Handy (9)	Handy (9)	Dickey (6)	Hornell (10)	Burrows (3)

9: Beaglehole-3b E-5 (1934-1935) Pukapukans

DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

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New Caledonia Loyalty Island	D'Entrecasteaux	Samoa	Aitutaki	Caroline Is.
Nameless X	Giwala			
		Pilli+ - me'ime'i	Moku	
The sugar cane				Ten-men Betel leaf
	Fa'se			
Sardines				
		Laulau		
Compton (15)	Jenness (11)	Buck (15)	Buck (14)	Compton (5)

DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

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Gilbert	New Hebrides	Tokelau	Nauru	
Tape		Tafa		
	Kilikia leaves			
				Flying fishes
Hornell (10)	Dickey (4)	Hornell (4)	Hembruch (8)	

524 A very individual Hawaiian ending for some figures which
171 is made by navahoing the thumbs, inserting the indices into the thumb triangles, and turning the fingers away under the figure and up which Dickey (6, p. 9) found elsewhere only in one figure reported from Africa, Ireland, and for one Osage Indian is employed in the Pukapukan figures, Te-kivi-a-te-kakai and Te-kivi-a-Yilewu in a manner which corresponds exactly to the Hawiian method. Emory (7) reports Te-kivi-a-te-kakai for the Tuamotus. The same ending is used in a related manner for the Pukapukan liu wuwuli figures.

Grouping of figures

Twenty-eight of the Pukapukan figures may be grouped into 9 series, each employing a characteristic opening or closing which is unique to the series. These groups are:

1. Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua
   Te-imu-o-Tima
   Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau
   Te-ikapaetai
   Te-langi-loa
   Te-papanga-o-te-waulua
2. Taku-laukape
   Na-wiwi
   Te-Va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga
   Te-pitopito-i-Kolo
   Te-kapu-ta-ika
   Kau-a-pulaka
3. Te-ponaunau
   Te-katatuna
   Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka
4. Te-matangi-tavili
   Te-matangi-yauleka
   Te-matangi-tavili
5. Wala-ola
   Wala-yila-wua
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
   Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
7. Paiokiole
   Tikonikoni
8. Te-tau-lunga
   Te-tau-lalo
9. Te-kivi-a-te-kakai
   Te-kivi-a-Yilewu

The remainder of the figures do not fall into any groups.

Most of the Pukapukan figures open in the usual Polynesian manner, position 1, opening A. Besides this orthodox opening, 11 other openings are used in 13 figures. The figures that have unorthodox openings are:

1. Te-tavatav-o-te-wui-kiole
2. Te-Pu-o-Loto
3. Te-matangi-tavili
   Te-matangi-yauleka
4. Te-matangi-taulele
   Te-tai-kiki
5. Te-itu-wala-kula
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
7. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
8. Te-kolemu-yengiyengi
9. Te-wua-ya-valu
10. Kupenga
11. Te-kau-a-pulaka

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved. 154

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living. 578 154 182

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group. 171

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is 121

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Implements

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Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

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Religious enclosures (*auanga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*unu*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Taua, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village. Two of these sites were cleared.

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At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaoa there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tulikaio. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tulikaio was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaoa. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tumulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakiate. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

778 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yiongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *parpas* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi uale* and *uni alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

764 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipolo, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangakula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[765] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[768] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuanua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matauto, of a man named Walakula and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangakula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangwa, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alongaoa.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*mauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objetts contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

[778] 172 764

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adze; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tepe* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *ooa tiki ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

ADZES

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).[1] They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21).
199 No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

1 [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 – a. alight.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

539 173 were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

172 Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

173 One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells
173 of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

539 173 Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitongauuku noticed them. Talitongauuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitongauuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitongauuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tatai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[525] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

173 180 322

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *mahanava* and *metau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukama* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukama* (hence its name, *poti pukama*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

322 501 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20; fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle section; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yato, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
591 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[523] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is
[851] a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
597 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

764 Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
177 household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 35 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 643 597 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yona*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yona*) round the neck of the successor and the *taumanoa* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief. 776 782

613 643 173 773 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakauyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakauyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakauyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakauyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *lupe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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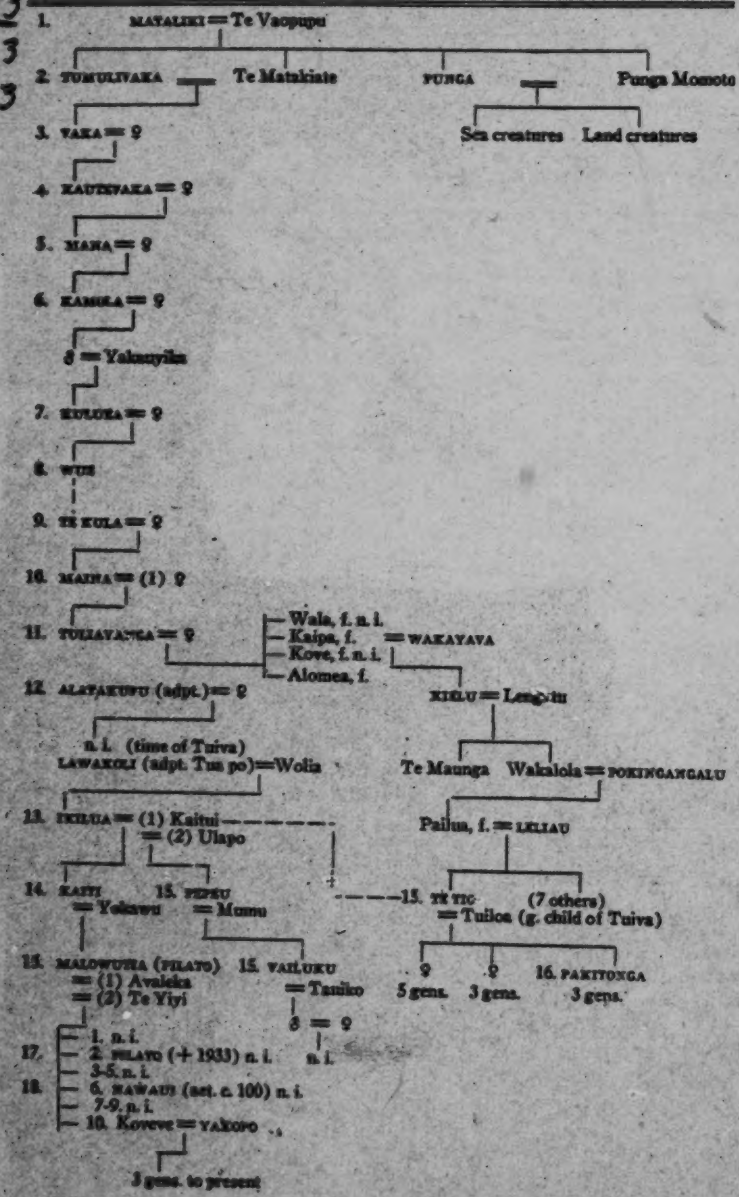
Table 4. Aliki Succession



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The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamaliki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wanguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, tapu-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wanguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wanguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

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Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*puna mua*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatakupu. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted [622] son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yula*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Mataliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, [721] and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years 613 643 old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

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Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

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E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki lunga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lunga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki lunga, wuwuti ki lunga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lunga, koa oko ki te konga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lunga. Iii loa te vaka ki lunga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pae ki lunga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1/1 [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano koe uluna e wawine ma koe. Teia te konga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongaleleva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koiai tana tamawine. Ko te wawine ia ka aumai e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tamawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, oko kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine na talatala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te tamawine ia, aumai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, koa loa te vaia. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te tama, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Pupute oki wakawou, to oki; e tamawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E tautua no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te onoono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Koa opoopo i te wui atua ki ona tawa. Onoono loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kavea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wui atua. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, motu. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaokao ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ke te mata wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga laua lua tamaliki; tawanga lua matutua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongaleleva. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched. Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

173 173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241)[1] that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See category 173 or 116 -- analysti]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 given in informant's statement that Wanguna, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this time-scale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate wolo*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tongaleleva, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

Immigrants

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the west, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Utelei and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

173 173 Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely
173 that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation of the textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

6'39 They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangaloa. The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the
173 chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taupeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (*you*): Poike, Niutao, Tane, Tapungaye. First to the *you* of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the *you* of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his *you* completely. They went to the *you* of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his *you*. They went to the *you* of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his *you* completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taupeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga.[30] We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taupeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloa. Taupeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloa. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-na-to-i-Te-Aumaloa (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloa), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likoliko*) and decayed coconut (*yomi*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumawawine was her name. She went to Matautu, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawea. She spoke to Tokaipole and Taupeloa. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

[30] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

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is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupeloa who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeloa looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tau. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupeloa and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeloa said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeloa shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Watu-manava-mui (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wulumanu-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

[173] A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai aku mea ke yamuyamu ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*tohe-welangi*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

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173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*taulua*) with a crew
173 of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kuluea, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyauola; the second, Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of
173 his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyauola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyauola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyauola. The

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woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalekimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malokaneton. These two knew that Tuyiyauola desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyauola had several wives and families (*puna*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyauola became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongaleleva people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongaleleva to find a canoe crew.

Luaivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Luaivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalekimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Luaivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Luaivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, lelei te yua o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach of the lagoon. The chief Kulpea saw the strangers go past his house. He was frightened to see men higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to arouse his men. First he went to the houses of Matanga lineage, then to the houses of

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539 173 Muliwutu, then to the houses of Yangalipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed?" Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*yau*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

173 111 192 There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *yau* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yau* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

173 come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which
192 canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

171 It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Puka-
173 puka from the Tokelau Islands:

539 The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kas wowotu*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Puputya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

173 In the time of Kuluea and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact
173 was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

539 Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Matalki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

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539 were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and
173 forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

172 Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

173 One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells
173 of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

539 Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take
173 offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaoa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukinga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lasi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pulo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

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Civil War

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

578 "The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wele* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

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173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of
166 the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

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173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and
643 petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal char-
661 acter, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust
578 or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was
579 food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangonga*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men
643 became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tana to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuamua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuamua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuamua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery.. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
761 permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and
533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *oloa* dirge:

539 Moe ma te toto e,
Tatou tatangi ki motu e,
Na mauli kape i mata e, kape ma na vae.

Tino yauleña, ye vava, yaele wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kukai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia kotou i to kotou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wui mulivaka,
Koa ngalo koe, e ule kaina i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wywuli ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatekateka la lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakauluia mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Namuiai koe pe Welei,
Ko ye tua na waitunga o tangata o te atu
Yamoa.
Koa yau loa to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tungoungou wakamanava
Wakamailunga i te kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leku kotou.
E oku taina, ke vave ake au pe Uyo,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Makeke ake, nenewu.
Koa toku me to winangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house.
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[29]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[30]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[31]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the
579 people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing,
643 the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Taua and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should
fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came
669 across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailoa. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Taua to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[29] A character in a popular story.
[30] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[31] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, including you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat.
643 Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead,
669 that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped
152 a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for
609 and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

[563 597] That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakouu* basis (p. 374), went out in
177 canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngawaliwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

173 It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery
131 from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was
643 again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in
598 it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: λ

173 Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

639 Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

λ. [See category 116, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

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They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Walatapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *vovui* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognized that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngayu* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngayu*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newu.* He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uikele, Vakaua, Vakauli, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Pukapuka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, they girt on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pala* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uikele went away to his and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uikele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?

* The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tuliuala.

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Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Uikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Uikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Uikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He wakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kilika. He went to Kilika, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*wale lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kilika listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kilika arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taiva* and *wie* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into two (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Mangamanga and Talitonganuku, and Taua, and Matalili and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Motu-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuanunui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kilika and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kilika. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kilika were searching for them

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in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening.

Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kilika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kilika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kilika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kilika ran to Wumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kilika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koko* (throwing weapons). Kilika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wunui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Waula. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warded off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tau* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kilika arrived at Te Wunui. Kilika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The talo bed was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kilika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wunui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kilika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kilika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kilika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kilika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his man who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kilika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Taumalanga, bandaged it with *welo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kilika, "Kilika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kilika jumped over, Vakaua was feinting over Tuiva. Kilika pierced him in the heel; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kilika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

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173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[554] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

173/177 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

[203] 554 The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 484 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful 177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one 554 paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through 167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether 829 physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

173 484 I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Walalanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakalava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to ugliness, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the basalt rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Mata-o-te-tokalua (Stars-of-the-pair).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tonu (captain) and Taea with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tonu and Taea was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tuwua (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky) the navigators tried to pick the flower called *tokolangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the copulating places tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Mataliki, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

[171] Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Welei was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Welei a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nukumautole (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-namutole (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Welei that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 484 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval. 171

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever. [626 558]

173 177 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of talo. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

173 of going to the land of Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui, a small islet close to the shores of Yayake, an islet famous for its talo, where all the food complement desired could be easily procured. Yi did not want to go to Yayake, so Te Nana said he would go alone. Yi replied: "Agreed. You go to the windward islands, I will go to the leeward islands." So both canoes took in anchors, and one went one way, the other another way.

The story of Te Nana follows. Te Nana arrived at Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapui. He beached his canoe at a place called Avalau. There was plenty of talo in the talo beds, and the crew settled down to feed on the abundance. Te Nana had a passion for talo cooked as *likoliko*; this was prepared every day, 40 to 50 shells full for each man at each meal. As each man finished his shellful, he threw it behind his back, and soon there was a high mountain of shells growing up on the beach. The crew kept on eating talo while planting to renew the beds. They began at one end, and worked to the other end, and kept on until they had worked through all the talo beds on the islet five times.

About this time the people of Yayake suddenly realized that there were signs of life on the islet which was to them tapu. They looked across the sea and saw flocks of birds rising from the islet day after day. They began to query each other as to the reason for this, and at last decided to go and see what was disturbing the birds.

Te Palo, a Yayake warrior, volunteered to make a reconnaissance. He sailed his canoe to the islet, and coming near the beach, saw a group of people watching him. One man, Te Nana, he saw standing by a *taeyinu* tree. He was burnt black by exposure to sun, and was tremendous in size through his feeding on *likoliko*. Te Palo took him to be a strange monster of a man, and hurriedly sailed back to Yayake to report.

The people of Yayake decided to sail a great fleet of canoes to the islet to kill off the giant strangers. In the vanguard went the canoes of Te Palo, followed closely by the canoes of Yukui, another noted Yayake warrior. Behind sailed the general fleet of Yayake canoes; so many were there that they looked like a huge net flung on the ocean. The plan was for the two warriors to land first, and then while they engaged the strangers, the other canoes were to land their men.

Te Nana watched the canoes coming, and to test them out he decided to throw the challenging coconut midrib (*yiliyili*). He said to Te Vae-matua: "Stand in front, Te Vae-matua. Tie up your hair, gird on your malo. When the canoes are close, hurl at them this *kaleva* bird (midrib), and then we shall see whether the canoes are friendly or not." Te Vae-matua did as he was bid. Twice he hurled the *kaleva*, and twice it was taken and thrown back at him (a sign of hostility). A third time Te Nana ordered him to throw, but Te Vae-matua was frightened of the strange host, and suggested that another might care to have the honor of throwing the *kaleva*. But Te Nana said: "No, you are our mouth, go and throw again." Weeping, Te Vae-matua went forward and hurled the *kaleva* a third time. The two Yayake warriors were now so close to the beach that they jumped ashore and stabbed Te Vae-matua before he could retreat. They cut his legs, arms, and head from his trunk. Te Palo impaled the trunk on a spear, and advanced with it to meet Te Nana.

At the sight of his friend thus killed, Te Nana felt a great fierceness well up through his stomach. As the three came closer, Te Palo called to Yukui: "Don't look behind, don't watch me, watch only the place you plan to strike. It will be above (the head), while my place will be below (the stomach)". Te Nana had ready another *kaleva* which he formally threw at the two warriors. It was returned to him. Then the three men engaged. Yukui ran forward recklessly, with his guard lowered. Te Palo was more careful, realizing from the way Te Nana handled his weapons that he was a skilled warrior. Te Nana watched his chance, and soon cut Yukui to pieces, in the same way that Te Vae-matua had been killed. He impaled the body of Yukui on his spear, and then charged at Te Palo. Coming closer, with a mighty throw, he threw the body at Te Palo.

Te Palo, amazed at the strength displayed, rushed for his canoe, which was awaiting him on the reef. He set sail and hauled off to where the gathered Yayake canoes were awaiting the outcome of the champions' fight. Despite the orders of Te Palo, some of

173 his crew had followed him ashore, and these were easily killed by Te Nana and his men. Te Palo waited in his canoe for the outcome of this shore battle, between Te Nana and his own crew. As the battle swayed to the leeward, Te Palo shouted in admiration of the skill of Te Nana: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai lalo" (Glittering, brilliant, the school of *ayeu* fish of the war party from the west). And as the battle swayed back to the windward part of the beach he called out: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai ngake" (. . . from the east). Then, realizing that his own men were getting badly beaten, he called to them to stop fighting. They made their way to a canoe, and Te Nana, finding he had won the fight, ceased fighting also. The people of Yayake sailed back to the main island. Te Nana saw however that they would come a second time and that a second time he might not be able to beat them, so he got ready his canoe and soon sailed off for Niue.

Leaving Te Nana, the story of Yi follows. When Yi sailed to the leeward, he finally made a landfall at Tonga-nui or Tonga-wolo. The Tongan people decided to test out the powers of the strangers and to this end arranged a contest to shift a pile of coconut husks from one place to another. Yi chose one of his crew, but his men refused to have any other champion than Yi himself, saying he was a man of power (*mana-mana*) and hence the one best fitted to represent them. Yi agreed. The Tongans chose their champion, a man named Yuliyuli. Both men stood before their piles of husks, and the contest started. Yuliyuli started fast at first, while Yi went slowly. All the people watched the contest while the men ran back and forth. Soon Yuliyuli got short-winded; Yi increased his speed and won the contest. The Tongan people killed and ate the loser, as was their custom.

A new trial was decided on to catch the strangers. This was a food-eating contest, in which the contestants were to be old, grey-headed men only. Yi picked out his warrior, Mayau, the oldest man in his crew. The Tongans chose their champion, and both men sat down before a huge pile of food, pigs and nuts. Mayau thought to outwit the Tongans. When he picked up a piece of food, he made a feint at eating, and then threw the food to some of his men behind him. This was noticed by the Tongans who became angry at the subterfuge, and stopped the contest, saying that Mayau was disgracing their way of playing the contest by giving the tapu food of the old men to commoners to eat.

Then they gave out the word that the strangers had given sufficient offence rightfully to be put to death. All were ordered to collect firewood and cooking stones, that the strangers might be killed, cooked, and eaten on the morrow. Yi and his men heard of the plan. They slept until early daylight. Then Yi roused and armed his men. He got some to prepare his canoe. The old man Mayau he sent to the Tongans. Armed with a huge club, he told the Tongans: "This club will be used to strike down you Tongans, if you stop our going. Yi is a powerful warrior, and I warn you this club will strike you like the head of an eel. Listen not with one ear, but with two ears." The people of Tonga were frightened by this bold threat, and while they were undecided what to do, Yi got his canoe launched, and all his men aboard.

He set sail for Niue, where he met Te Nana coming from Yayake. The two went ashore together, and settled down for a while before going to sea again.

After a long stay in Niue, they decided it was time to begin the voyage back to Pukapuka. They and their crews had been living an idle life on Niue, and when they went to look at their canoes, they found that both were imprisoned by the growth of young coconuts which people of Niue, either by design or through chance, had planted around the canoes. The two men began to tear up the coconut trees, in order to clear the canoes.

Now there was a young woman of Niue named Tauyaningaloa, who had become infatuated with Te Nana. Seeing that he was getting his canoe ready for a voyage, she said to Te Nana: "Take me with you back to Pukapuka and make me your wife." Te Nana would not agree. Yi had his canoe in the water, and Te Nana was ready to move his canoe to the sea. Then the girl returned, bringing with her a basket of prepared

173 talo (*likoliko*), of which she knew Te Nana was excessively fond. She gave the food to Te Nana, pleading, "My sweetheart, take me with you to Pukapuka." But Te Nana replied in horror, "What, you wish me to take you, a woman, in my canoe, and disgrace (*lepu*) it before the eyes of my gods? If I did this, I would never arrive in Pukapuka; the gods would punish me for my horrible sin." [See p. 309.]

The girl was not to be turned aside, however, and to prevent Te Nana from leaving Niue, since he would not take her with him, she roused up the people of Niue, crying that the Pukapukans were stealing away, taking with them many things stolen from the people of Niue, and that Te Nana was also trying to steal her away from her people.

It was now nearly dark. The people of Niue came rushing to the beach, bringing with them weapons and torches of dry coconut leaves. They rushed at Te Nana and at his canoe, which was still on the beach. Te Nana picked up a coconut club, and beat off all the people attacking him. He rushed at them, drove them back, then tried to pull his canoe nearer the water. The Niue men rushed forward again. Some applied torches to the canoe, which, being very dry, blazed up. Te Nana saw his beloved canoe on fire, and in a frenzy of desperation, he threw down his club and tore at the people with his hands and his teeth. Then finding all was useless, he crept into his burning canoe.

The Niue people stood off, and Te Nana was burned to death with his canoe. Yi had all this time been standing off the beach in his own canoe. Those of Te Nana's crew not killed swam to it and were taken aboard. Yi saw the great crowd of Niue people and fearing that if he went to help all would be killed, he decided to save himself and his own canoe. He had, however, left on shore a valuable anchor line, which he wished to get. Thinking it would be madness to beach the canoe, he waited until the Niue men were all engaged with Te Nana, then he slipped into the sea and swam ashore with his club. He stole to where his anchor rope was lying. Some Niue men rushed at him, but he killed them with his club. He picked up the rope, wound it on his arm and started back for the beach, killing all who tried to stop him. He got to the beach safely and swam out to his canoe, which hoisted sail and returned to Pukapuka.

He told the people the story of his own voyage and of the voyage of Te Nana as related to him by Te Nana, and the fate of Te Nana and his canoe.

Yi lived on in Pukapuka to become a member of the older men's age group (*multuka*). When the people of Yato went to Motu Kotawa to catch booby birds, Yi went with them. Being still an active man, he elected to climb a tall *puka* tree. While he was waiting in the tree for the birds, a sudden squall blew up. The rain poured down, making the bark of the trees so slippery that none could climb down safely. The other men saw the squall coming and managed to get down safely. But Yi lost his head, for the spirit of Te Nana had entered into him. He did not climb down quickly, but called out to those on the ground: "I am going to fall. Gather together coconut leaves, pile them under the tree, that I may fall on something soft." The men complied, and cried to Yi to jump. But he was crazed by the spirit of Te Nana, and could not. Again the people cried to him, but he could not jump. A third time they called to him, but there was no reply. They saw him jump clear, but no body fell to earth. And so the people of Pukapuka believe that the spirit of Te Nana consumed Yi's body and soul in order to punish him for having deserted Te Nana when Te Nana was fighting against great odds in Niue. Had he rushed to the help of Te Nana on that occasion, all might have been well, and both might have returned safely to Pukapuka.

The Pukapukans remember a cycle of five stories about Te Palo, the Yayake warrior with whom Te Nana fought, of which one recounts his adventures with Te Nana in Yayake; three, his adventures killing man-eating demons (*kai tangata*), and one, his adventures in coming to Pukapuka.

The last account relates that Te Palo came to Nassau and from Nassau to Pukapuka on a voyage of woman-seeking (*e tele timotimo*). He was greatly impressed with the

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173 amount of tálo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli ngauta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Nassau, Te Palo sewed his sail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Taua was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's armpit with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

173 [502] 484 As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*wakamana*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The canoes were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puoyo*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her atoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tama e, ka ni o mo mea la langa ake te inu o to taua kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trials of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 tore apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was revenged on the Tongan people.

173 Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of
167 Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed
484 to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

173 All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travelers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngayu* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yamaunga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Taluawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawani, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the nuts and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

173 [For stories about the voyages of Wue and the contact between Pukapuka and Nassau see pp. 73-77, category 116 or 539--analyst].

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

II: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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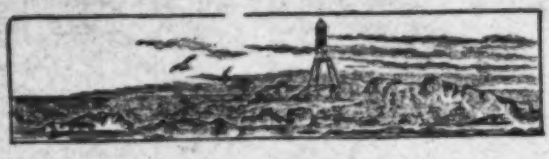

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS

OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiste. 639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-poro, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [187 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niuē,

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-uiui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetana, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yanora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-ruru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea. 973 539

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one. 173●

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads; and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

773 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture
539 of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings,
173 each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.

227 **Circular hooks.** Circular pearl-shell hooks (*matau* and *wahavae*) are made with a barb (*wakatala*). Most of these hooks are as wide as they are
284 high, but the size of the barb varies considerably (fig.39,*b*). In most hooks, the functional point is level with the lowest transverse turn of the snood lashing, directly opposite a point about 3/16 inch below the proximal end of the shank.

In one hook examined in the field, however, the inner curve of the hook was almost a perfect circle, the functional point being on a level with the top of the snood lashing and the proximal end of the shank. Another unusual feature observed on an old hook of this type was a pronounced terminal knob at the proximal end of the shank, separate from, and other than, the customary shank knob which was also cut on the outside of the shank.

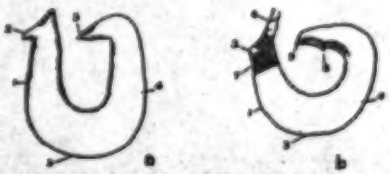

FIGURE 39.—One-piece shell hooks. *a*, U-shaped hook (*tape*): greatest length 2 inches, greatest width 1⅝ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; *b*, circular hook (*matau* or *wahavae*): greatest length 1½ inches, greatest width 1¾ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; barb (*wakatala*) markedly concave and beveled; snood thick two-ply sinc cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns. 1, shank; 2, shank knob; 3, bend; 4, point limb; 5, point; 6, snood; 7, snood lashings; 8, barb. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 4.)

226 There can be no doubt that the barbed hook is native to Pukapuka and
176 antedates European influence. The first man to make the barbed hook is said to have been Te Upe, a man of Loto who lived in the reign of Maina, twelve generations ago. His name is mentioned in connection with barbed hooks in an old chant "Ulu taku tangi". Beasley (4, p. 34, pls. XLIX A and XLIX B) figures six hooks of this type apparently collected by Gill prior to 1877. Beasley attributes the hooks to "Pukapuka, Paumotu group", an evident mistake. The figured hooks range in height from 1½ to 2⅜ inches.

227 **Slanted-U hooks.** Slanted U-shaped hooks, large enough to be called *wakaolo* or *wahavae* and used for albecore fishing, have barbs. Small hooks of this type without barbs are called *tui wua* (fig.38,*b*) and are used to catch the smaller reef fish.

These hooks are much higher than they are wide. The point limb is short compared with the length of the shank and the functional point bends only slightly from the plane of the point limb. The barb runs from the point at a very acute angle making a large point-shank clearance (fig. 38,*b*, *c*).

Despite a superficial similarity in shape of the hook shown in figure 38,*c* to European fishhooks, informants were positive that this type of barbed fishhook was native

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
609 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people
191 of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary
777 Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
963] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
642 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence
794 most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

served by native pastors.
1. [Puka puka—analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
439 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is
205 now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
799 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
791 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the
642 stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
799 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
191 and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Puka-
[124] pukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
799 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

::Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but
tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always
571 speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code.
197 It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judg-
ment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us
123 was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained
confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best
609 behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free.
This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of
the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay
we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The
cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any
penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

177 White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manu-
717 facture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral
lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, espe-
291 cially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the
women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well.
342 The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there
has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke
out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during
working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most
part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear
dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would
be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

177 Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as
411 drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fish-
hooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank
227 canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed
European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the
501 reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely
according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the
Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently
infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

124 Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were
127 obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential
friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on
formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities,
to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding
the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Animal Life

12 177 The fauna of Pukapuka is similar to that of other Polynesian atolls. The pig, chicken, and European rat were introduced after white contact. The native rat was trapped, but not eaten. The native dog was unknown.

FISH

136 192 The Pukapukans empirically group the fish in their environment first into major classes of beach fish, lagoon fish, reef fish, reef fish outside the lagoon, and deep-sea fish, and second, into "families". In some cases, the larger fish of one family are given a different name from the smaller fish of the same family. In other cases, however, stages in the growth of the same fish from infancy to maturity are indicated by adding the following adjectives to the name of the fish: *liki, lewu, tino lewu, towila,* for young fish; *towolo, towolowolo, uwolo, punua, tino uwolo, tapulanga, tongi* and *palu,* for the large fish. With some fish again, the two systems for indicating development are combined, the name of the fish changing when maturity has been reached. The adjective *palu* associated with fish names, applies to a fish that inhabits very deep water up to 300 fathoms, though it is similar to another fish inhabiting shallower water. Thus, *palu malou* is a deep-water fish that looks like the smaller reef *malou.* The adjective *towila* refers to small, newly-spawned fish that are driven into the lagoon shallows by bad weather.

136 The following list contains all the native names of fish that could be remembered by informants as being found in Pukapukan waters. Where possible I have also included scientific names, most of them obtained since I left Pukapuka by Robert Dean Frisbie. Mr. Frisbie asked a number of informants to identify the fish figured by Fowler (9). Other names I have procured from an examination of casts in Bernice B. Bishop Museum.

Akuaku: species of Belone, Strongylura, and Ablennes.
Akula panoko: Tetrapturus mitsukurii.
Akula toa: Istiophorus orientalis.
Aku pa: similar to aku tangata, but has a squarer body and upper and lower jaws of equal length.
Aku tangata: Strongylura indica.
Ali towolo: Platophrys thompsoni.
Aliki: silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Ali niukatea: similar to pateletele.
Atu: Euthynnus pelamis (bonito).
Atule: Selar crumenophthalmus.
Asa: species of silver mullet, larger than the aliki.
Ave: Chanos chanos.
Ave: a long slim albacore.
Ayetoa: black deep-sea shark, sharp nose, single dorsal fin, single caudal fin, long pectoral fin, long upper fluke to caudal fin, a fast swimmer and a man-eater.
Ayiu: Caranx lugubris.
Ayole: a mulletlike fish, scaleless, white in color with a speckled dorsal fin (Polydactylus ?).
Ayou: deep-sea shark, white belly, black head, very flabby skin, four dorsal fins, two anal fins, earlike protuberance on head.
Eve: species of rock or reef grouper, with smoother skin than the patuki (? Grammistes sexlineatus).
Ie: species of Hemiramphus and Hyporhamphus.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wokatane* and *makawuwise*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kenu*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pounga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yorkili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayuni*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayuni*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

[412]

245 A heap of *yukali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamatuku*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka: *mawolawola, wakowotu, wakena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *peleua,*
137 *talaki, kalelea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
244 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payuo*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kalavu*), 30 to 40 *payuo* on each string. The strung *payuo* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*valuvalu*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makilakila*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal,
[554] and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*limo*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi kayokayo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*mulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to
252 visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg. A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
284 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uoe lawuala* or
322 *payale lawuala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau uoe lawuala*). The leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pokai lawuala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
285 over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuaia*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pola lawuala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
335 *wakayamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*wakaula pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*wakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*wakakamu*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *wakayamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles, the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
[171] as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Vene-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 tian blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
285 the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
284 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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335
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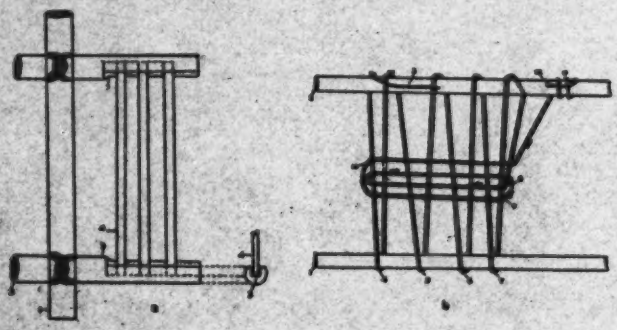

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*uuinui*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rails fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*pinu uukanau*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*tau uutua, tau lua*), also bracing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautalu* and *uiu momoli*) in model *uale atua* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of sennit braid laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*uuinui*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
335 of the *uukoyomoa* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two *pandanus* logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *puapua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10,*a*), incloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *takapau* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting
[177] horizontal slats between uprights and tying the slats together by a continuous cord of sennit is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu lua*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pu tui*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *wale takataka*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, retied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
412 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called
414 *tala*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *wale takataka* house with two hatches
177 in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *wale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*wale atua*), but the massive con-
335 struction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *wale atua* house (C8086)[7]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eaves purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,*c*).

[7] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
373 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukawa*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *wakanava* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uenu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*)
356 become vicious:

285 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end
412 of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*velevele*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*velevele tuaniu*, C8193) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*wakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*mulimuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*velevele wolo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

in scraping shell (*valuyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uwo* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uwo* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uwo* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uwtau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10⅜ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*teke*) cut from solid block of *wakanovo* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*amo*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

314 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua iivi*) on its back (*koa yiyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is termed *tua*, the front, *aloalo* or *vakevake*. When the fire has burned
372 down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*koa lala te lito hi lunga o te uvi*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*wakamumuha te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yuyalo te lito hi te ngaipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spikes of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yapini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side inward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pokai*) by winding one leaf
285 on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 12 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *lauwilu* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spikes are trimmed off (*yiyi loa na mato tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf strips are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*lauhie*) used for mats; the *tua* strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hie uvie*) used for plaiting malos. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*wakamangalo i te yua*). They are then dried in the shade (*kavv loa tatou he pakapaka i loto o te wale*), and smoothed (*yapini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*kavv loa wakalo he mumuha*) and rolled into large bundles (*pokai*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, termed *lauwala pakapaka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *papa* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-
177 221). Plaiting elements are either single (*langa tai*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*langa lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

283 171 ing. In plaiting with a single element, the finished surface has the back of the leaf uppermost. In plaiting with double elements, the two single elements are placed together with the back surfaces (*tua*) outward; when the mat is finished, the back of the leaf shows on both sides.

The free single or double element commencement is known as *kauinga pukapuka* to distinguish it from the double butt commencement for single element plaiting (27, p. 217), which is termed *kauinga pa wenua* (foreign commencement). Informants believed that the double butt commencement commonly used today in hat making and satchel plaiting was introduced from Samoa or from the lower Cook Islands after white contact.

The finishing technique follows the Samoan method (27, pp. 218-220, figs. 116-118). It is impossible to fold in the last dextrals when the right hand top corner is reached, so the worker takes a thin strip of coconut midrib about 6 inches long, points it at one end and makes a longitudinal transverse slit in the other end. The free end of the dextral is inserted in the slit and the midrib is passed back underneath the check strokes, drawing the dextral after it. Both the process and the needle are called *yulu*. The dextral is then cut off flush with the dextrals that have been folded back along the finished edge.

283 Technical terms employed in Pukapukan plaiting are:

Langa, wai: to plait.
Tawenu: pandanus element.
Tawenu patapata: a wide element.
Tawenu liliki: a narrow element.
Langa tai: to plait with single elements.
Langa lua: to plait with double elements.
Tawenu ki lunga, tawenu ki lalo: the element above, the element below, in double element plaiting.
Tawenu: to add elements when working elements have run short and must be lengthened to continue the plaiting.
Kauinga: the commencement corner of the plaiting.
Wakamulinga: the bottom right corner.
Ikilkinga: the top right corner where the finishing process (*ikiiki*) commences.
Wakamulinga no te ikilkinga: the top right, or finishing corner.
Taotawa: the right or left edge of the plaiting.
Ala: the working shed.
Tonga: the term used to describe the number of elements making up the working shed. The shed is made of 5 to 20 elements according to the thickness of the elements and the skill of the worker. One asks: "Ewea to tonga?" ("How many in your shed?") The reply is: "E laulau toku tonga" ("My shed is composed of 20 elements").
Lolotonu: the completed part of the plaiting to the left and below the working edge.
Kopi: to fold an element in making the edge.
Nape, napenape: a plaiting stroke or series of strokes. To plait in check was given as tawenu nape takitai, or tapani tai; to plait in twilled twos, tawenu nape takilua or tapani lua.
Loa, lapalapa: length, breadth of plaiting surface.

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313 either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau uuti*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau hawa*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow C8182 has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow C8183 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lauuala pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

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291 Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting stroke or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They
177 are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

MATS AND SHEETS

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[171] The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

BASKETS

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ola*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 107, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinistral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two midrib strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127,133, figs. 14,17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The commencement end (*kamatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kawa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*ibo*, pl.3,*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kawa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅝ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uwo* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

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CLOTHING

291 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings).
177 Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wakakawu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalavu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8192 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these
283 girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or
[764] was wound round the waist (*pepelu ki te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalava*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wakamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are 763 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use 178 for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of 283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there 797 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make 178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men 283 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or 292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wa*). 828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were 787 fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the 539 antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tupotupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaeveevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

292 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* 177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle
836 of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet
564 wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a
717 symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on
552 lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests
114 as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support
778 from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states
324 was used by the bird man Watu-manava-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of
133 coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have
177 been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate
417 set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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791 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice
228 Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative
346 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted
[361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yionga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pas-*
613 *pas*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paspas* that marked the
341 foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[177] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Chris-
565 tian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners
764 (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wolo* and *uui aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that [778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the 172 two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

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Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mua titi ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 177 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).† They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

† [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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and from their scarcity. The quadrangular basaltic adz figured by Macgregor (20,fig.14) was picked up on the outer beach of Wale. It is similar to Samoan type I adzes (27,p.334) and was perhaps imported from Samoa. A second basaltic adz was seen by Talainga in the old grave unintentionally opened. From Talainga's description and rough sketch this adz appears to be a triangular one, perhaps corresponding in shape to the Samoan type VII or VIII (27,p.351). It was 10 inches long, the back ground smooth, the front roughly chipped, and the poll rounded. The depth of the bevel was about 2 inches.

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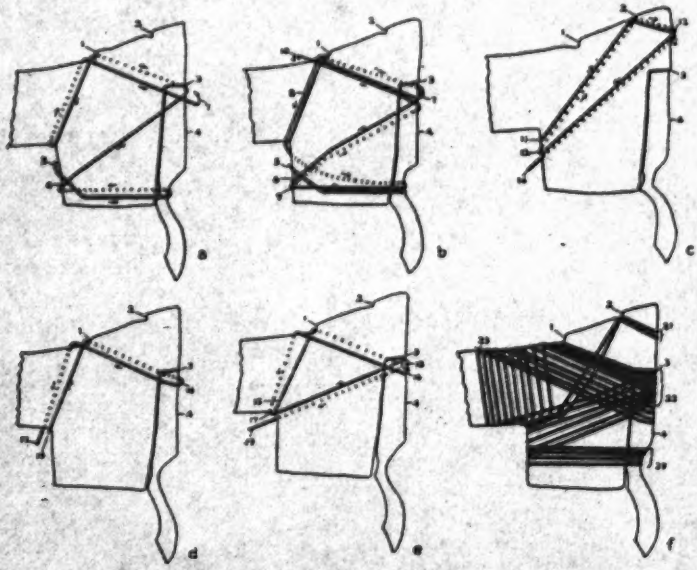

FIGURE 21.—*Tridacna* shell adz (C8105) with haft of *uvhanotu* wood; length of haft from toe angle to slightly flared butt, 19 inches; haft round in cross section, average diameter being 1½ inches; at heel angle a prominent longitudinal ridge runs up to point of heel; above heel angle (see *a*) is cut a notch (1) to prevent lashing from slipping; ¾ inch below point of heel a second notch (2) is cut, also to prevent lashing from slipping; 1¾ inches below point of heel on foot of haft is cut ½ inch deep shoulder (3), against which adz (4) fits to avert slipping when in use; because of irregular shape of poll of adz, shoulder is cut transversely on foot, so that distance from heel point on one side is 1¾ inches, other side 2¼ inches; lashing material three-ply sennit braid ¼ inch thick. *a*, lashing commencement: commencement end of sennit (5) laid under toe angle, free end passing transversely around near side of toe and back across far side of toe and brought across toe angle to near side; grips commence-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

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The pump drill (*wou*) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reenforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

[177]

To drill is also *wou*. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done
322 with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood. The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a
177 piece of *hana* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *ui*. Other bivalve shells of about the same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *ui* with an added adjective,
321 as in *ui pakayau alango*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the tentacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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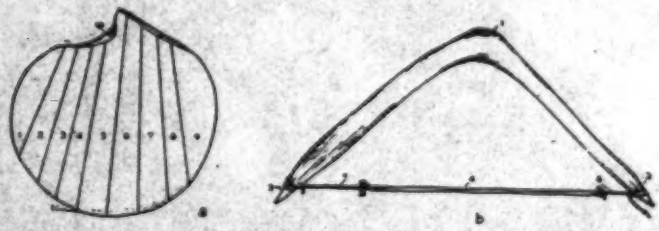


Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11): preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tuwa*; 2, *patuau*; 3, *pa hi te uua*; 4, *wyololoto*; 5, 6, 7, *wyoloto*; 8, *iyumotu*; 9, *ohuve*. *b*, shell file (*hoana*) of shark skin (C8037): 1, frame, small branch of *wukanatu* wood with limbs 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of limbs pointed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9½ inches long, ¼ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of limbs three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*itu ui*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (fig. 23, *a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito points.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kusana*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 281 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kusana olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kusana uenga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23,*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*usu kowe*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 322 211 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

177 501 322 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukana*) does not seem to be an old style canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood be-
322 comes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *voka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *voka tui tuta* lasts about seven
[283] years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*taulua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*haukau*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were termed *tokai*. A platform (*papanga taulua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*wale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made
502 more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than on the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reenforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

To change the direction of any canoe is *wuli* or *wuwuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*ki katea*) or to port (*ki ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La ama!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tawi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan canoe are few:
322

In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 of the hook. The hooks are made from black- or gold-lipped pearl shell and provided with snoods of *uso* cord. They may be classified by shape into
284 three types: a U-shaped hook, a circular hook that is usually barbed, and a slanted U-shaped hook that may be barbed.

FIGURE 38.—Shell fishhooks. *a*, pearl-shell hook (*yehi kaloma*) (C8158): hook ⅝ inch high, 3/16 inch wide, and 1/16 inch thick; point (1) short, making point-shank clearance comparatively wide; inner and outer surfaces of point limb (2), bend (3), and shank (4) beveled; shank knob (5) flush with proximal end of shank; snood of finest two-ply twisted *uso* (6) fastened to shank by three transverse turns with free end of snood line which effectively holds snood fast to shank; finishing end (7) tucked under turns and held tight; bait string (not shown) of *uso* fiber wound around bend of hook. *b*, barbless, slanted U-hook (*tui uso*) of gold-lipped shell (C8224): hook 1 inch high, ⅝ inch wide; edges beveled, but owing to irregular shape of shell, point directed away from mesial longitudinal line of shank; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); wide point-shank clearance; snood (3) of *uso* cord fastened to shank by lashing meant to be descending figure-of-eight turns, but very irregular (4) owing to fact that worker suffered from bad eyesight. *c*, pearl-shell hook (*uokaolo yi kakai*) for albacore (C8164): hook 2 inches high, 1⅛ inches wide; edges beveled; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); barb (3) runs from point at acute angle, barb-point edge straight, beveled slightly; wide point-shank clearance; snood (4) of three-ply *uso* cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; finishing end of lashing seizes snood for length of ½ inch at 5.

226 **U-shaped hooks.** Small U-shaped hooks (*yehi*) are used for beach
177 angling and for catching the smaller lagoon fish by other fishing methods.

An example of the *yehi* hook (fig.38,*a*) is minute and almost as wide as it is high. It was used for catching *kaloma* fish before European pins came into use. It is a beautifully made hook and shows craftsmanship of high order. The term *yehi* is applied to hooks of this general shape up to about 1 or 1½ inches high when the name *tofe* comes into use. *Tofe* hooks are U-shaped, but tend to be higher than they are wide. The name is also applied to hooks of other material such as turtle shell or coconut shell which have this general shape. The type *tofe* hook of pearl shell is shown in figure 30,*a*. Other *tofe* hooks in the Bishop Museum collection range in height from 1½ to 1¾ inches and in greatest outside width from 1 inch to 1½ inches. They are made of gold- or black-lipped shell; descending or ascending figure-of-eight lashings attach the snood of two- or three-ply *uso* cord to the shank of the hook. They are provided with bait strings.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique
824 described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*vivo*), the windmill (*poteka launiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wakatangitangi*),
171 and the leaflet spinner (*wakaki matangi* or *wuti lele launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig.49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the mesial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *wakanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by cover-
177 ing a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipa*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or tennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes.
526 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-
527 making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by chil-
177 dren.

The toy bow (*uvna*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs
524 is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pri*) seeds from the *wetau* tree.

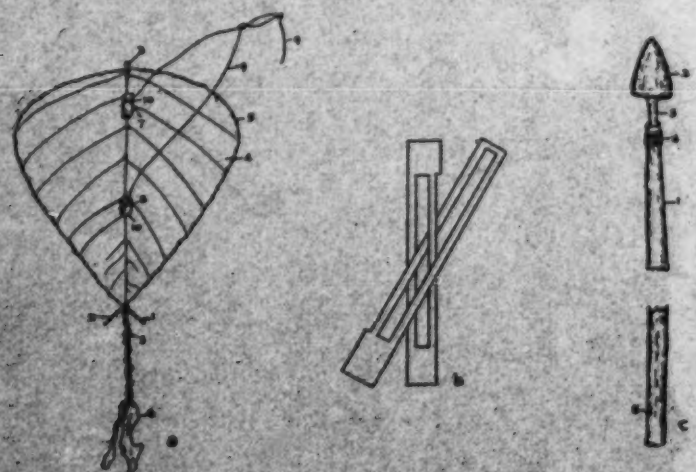
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

524 Swings (*tulakelake*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangie* wood
177 by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wue on his return to Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngayu* branch. The seed of the *taeyinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupu* bird, a piston of *puapua* wood, and *taeyinu* seed or *ipiipi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*papa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524 FIGURE 40.—Toys and composite dart. a, kite (*hello*) of *puapua* leaf (C8039): coconut leaflet midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib
284 (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*holoua*); edges of large *puapua* leaf (4) bent over this frame and fastened to it by continuous thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf and around frame midrib; center midrib (3) extends below apex of kite and to this a tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by transverse turns of fiber; at two points

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
591 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

[563] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

264 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another.
597 X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father,
764 she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
122 household 5 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

764 613 177 364 182

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *mataiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

613 192

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uua* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

613 618 621

Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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565 643 613 645 [561] 793

te uui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

565 643 613 177

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today.. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwutu	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipule	One langatila
Yato	Yaloogo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamaunga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[644]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so
643 were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Taua, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the
776 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*wakapono lulu*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*wakaponongo no te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wakaponongo a te uui aliki*)
645 discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these
[177] governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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578 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

172 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
685 from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six
625 *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

601 (before, first), *loto* (middle), *muli* (behind, after) it is possible sufficiently to indicate seniority differences according to the Pukapukan pattern. The word *tautua* is occasionally applied by an older brother or sister to a younger sibling of the same or opposite sex. There are no special terms other than the descriptive words just given indicating seniority in cross sex reference; thus a younger brother calls an older sister *tua wawine mua*. Today, with [177] the breakdown of the native system, Rarotongan kinship terms indicating seniority are commonly used. Sex differences on the zero stratum are indicated by the use of the terms *taina* between siblings of the same sex, *tua tane* or *tua wawine* between siblings of the opposite sex. Some informants tend to apply the term *kainga* (to be distinguished from the term *kainga wakama*, which indicates cousins of opposite sex) to siblings of opposite sex. In this sense the term is constantly used in folk stories, but one at least of our best informants did not agree with this use of the term, and others changed their opinion several times during the course of temporally separate discussions about the matter. Sex differences for other terms are indicated by the words *tane* and *wawine* for male and female respectively.

Descriptive terms are used to indicate remote relationships on each stratum if exactness of reference is required. Affinal relatives generally, at the zero and minus one stratum, are called *tao tangata* and *konga tangata* respectively. These words refer to close relatives by marriage connection, not by blood. A child of an unmarried mother is a *tama to taka*; spouse's child by another man or woman is *tama tau tokalua*. Conversely, blood mother or father's mate is *matua tau tokalua*. Blood parents are *matua wanau* as opposed to adoptive parents, *matua lave*.

The eldest child, male or female, in a family is called the *uluaki*. *Ngaloto* is applied to the second child in a family of three or four children; to the second and third children in a family of five children; to the second, third, and fourth children in a family of six children. *Taina* is used for the next to last child in a family of more than three children. *Wakamuli* is the last child in any family. *Aukimua* is the heir apparent in the chiefly family, the boy either chosen by the father or generally reckoned to be the child likely to succeed to the title. *Angavale* (grandchild) is a term with more affectionate feeling tone than the colorless word *makopuna*.

In spite of the strong matriliny in Pukapukan society, there is no special term for mother's brother, nor any indication of special obligations or privileges between mother's brother and sister's child, corresponding to the *tamasa* or *vasu* relationships of Samoa and Fiji. The word *ilamutu*, however, has meaning for the Pukapukan:

It is now an archaic word, found only in old chants, and not in current usage. A man's adopted child (*tama kokoti*) of either sex who is the blood child of a female blood relative of his own generation—that is, of his older or younger blood sister, or of his

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *wale atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai walanga* (incest).

No reference to *wale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *wale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
588 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *wale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te unhatitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te unhailikinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
831 secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
753 pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the
833 *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to
575 assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema, tama yele,* or *mayni*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrange-
591 ment has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayako, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *you*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *you* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *you* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *you*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *you* (1) is still pointed out.

837 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get worry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

837 586 If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puki uvuna*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and no punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the 837 operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island. 586 This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as 177 long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce (*maka*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned: where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly, 586 separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal 177 divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*e wenua maka tane*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

586 Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is an easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

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756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
759 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
172 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuuunga*[14] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was t' chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[14] The Pukapukan word *tuuunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

755 783

In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old sennit malo that the child would receive should it live to maturity.

The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau kino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.

All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

757

Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

[171]

Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uaua*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi*, cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.

The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *yoka* (deep pressure) or *uaua* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *unkatele* (to travel), placing

805 Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
Koa to te la: the sun falls.
Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
Koa yeyengi te po: the night begins to darken.
Koa po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kelekele: black night.
Te pouli mata newu: dark when stars are dim.
Koa vaelua te po: the night is divided into two.
Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Koa wenake te ata kena: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
Koa kitia te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te taupalenga la* (afternoon), *te auiawi* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Mawu, no te vaia o Lotanga, no te vaia o Uikili, no te vaia o te taiweke.* The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater 805 emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*takalonga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

[177] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotoloungo*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valovalo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *takapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotoloungo, tolotoloungo na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 535 177 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*amu*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

859 593

S26 removed (*ia*). Should he have two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*kai*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *tita lua*; to knock off three is *tita tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *kauyalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ia te ulu*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *iki*; two, *iki lua*; three, *iki tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *kauyalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tama ia! E kole, te tupe i te tautawa na!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skillful player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours on end by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the cool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

S24 There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *tolotolowaga* and *poi* nor do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

S26 [177] Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*waiagaga kake niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope; the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the hole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
[563 Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
597]

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakaseu* basis (p. 374), went out in
177 canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngauwiwili* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 539 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 173 593 602 579 [762] Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 484 177 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

173 177 [354] When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenge*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots spraying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

173 484 171 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *voka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

[626 558] The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

173 172 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of talo. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure. 324

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2). 177 178

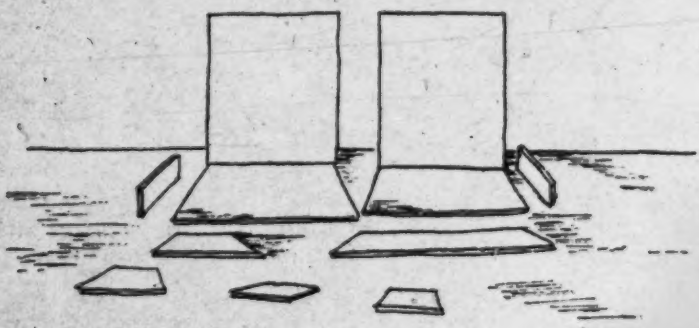

FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914. 000

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is

and the midrib is pushed through the hole before the needle is withdrawn. As shown by Buck (12) the same technique is used in the Cook Islands. 000

Most dwelling houses are built on a double platform of coral rubble, the lower platform several feet larger than the floor of the house. The upper platform, which forms the floor of the house, is made on the first platform and extends about 1 foot outside the walls of the house. Each platform is retained by logs or a curbing of coral slabs 8 or 10 inches high.

ADZES

For cutting out canoes and shaping timbers, the Pukapukans, like the dwellers on other Polynesian atolls, made adzes from the *Tridacna* shell—the only local material available. 321 412

In the adz shown in figure 13, *a*, the poll is pointed and the side curves to the rounded cutting edges. The striated outer surface of the shell has been left on the convex front and only the bevel ground smooth. The concave inner surface forms the back which has the grinding surface to sharpen the cutting edge.

Another shell adz (fig. 13, *b*) is roughly rectangular in shape. The front is the outer stratified surface of the shell, except at the bevel which is ground on this surface; the back is the concave inner nacreous surface of the shell; the cutting edge is slightly convex. Part of the concavity and thickness of the shell have been removed by grinding down the outer rim until only a slight depression is left in the center. Along the slightly concave cutting edge and the two sides the surface is smooth and flat. The poll is broad and irregular and has a rough broken surface.

An adz found in Pukapuka (but obviously an importation) is made of basalt and is of the type common to western Polynesia (fig. 14). It is a long, thin, flat, quadrangular, tangless adz that tapers from the cutting edge to the poll. The front surface is slightly convex and is narrower than the back. The front, also the bevel of the back, are ground smooth. The remainder of the back and the two sides have rough chipped surfaces. The edge of the blade is straight; the bevel is convex longitudinally. Due to the rough, unground surface of the back, the chin is irregular. 177 412

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

finished at the edge of the basket and is seamless. The end elements of the finishing edge are turned over and worked into the plaiting over the opposite elements. The basket has two handles made of braided strips of hala which are sewed to the sides. 415 285

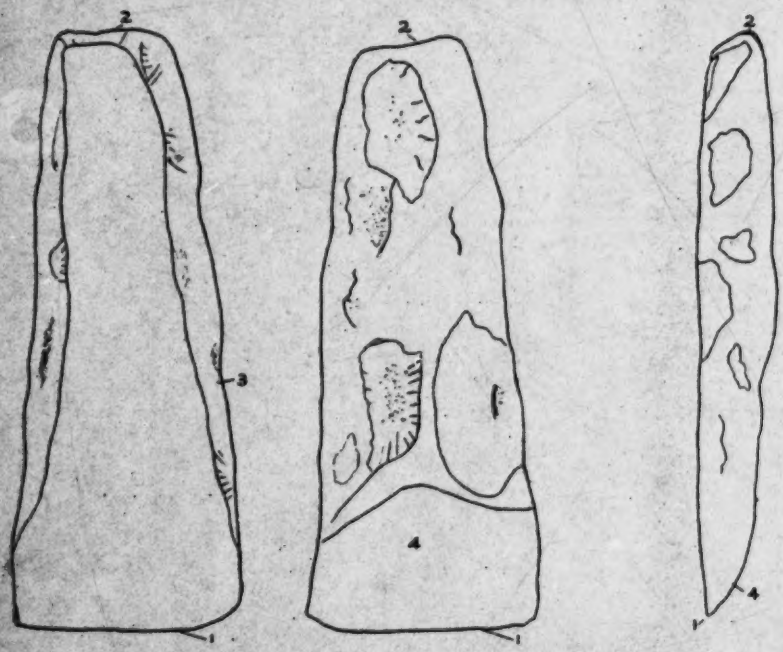

FIGURE 14.—Quadrilateral adz of basalt (no. B 8809, Bernice P. Bishop Museum), front, back, and side views: 1, cutting edge; 2, poll; 3, oblique side; 4, bevel; greatest length 7.5 inches. 412 177●

Food is mixed in wooden bowls (*kumete*) (fig. 15). They are hewn from single pieces of wood and shaped into elliptical bowls with flat bottoms. Short handles are cut at either end. 415

FIGURE 15.—Elliptical wooden food bowl with end lug handles and flat bottom.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

The dances seen during an evening's entertainment were performed by a small number of people in Loto village: 535 177

Men and women danced together in four lines, the men performing one set of movements in unison, the women performing another set. In one dance the men brought their knees up high in a stationary run or kicked their heels behind them, while the women moved their hips rapidly from side to side, keeping the upper part of their bodies motionless. The gestures and steps of this dance and several others recorded in motion pictures are identical with rapidly performed dances of Tahiti. Each dance was led by one man, who made gestures and remarks amusing to the natives.

The accompaniment was kept with an improvised drum made of a roll of mats. The rhythm was first given, and after a long roll of the drumsticks the dance commenced. Throughout the dances, the dancers sang songs which they called *'imine*, a Tahitian word derived from the English "hymn."

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533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--10 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

522 Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua l latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kokoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.

888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

793 834 226 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 286 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 855 863 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food shares away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 177 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Raratonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayake. Wekake loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua leo. Wo loa la te wenua ia ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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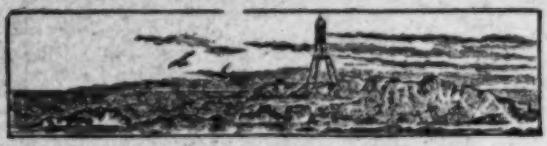

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

In the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate. 639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupo-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [187 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niuā,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

413 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
423 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of
ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to
245 protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and
respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of
the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal
lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts
from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally
retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally
inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was
formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to
women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is
to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever
be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own
423 wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from
these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level
in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat
unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections
or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of
423 Ngake held *tutubi* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites
as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no
memory of *tutubi* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are
so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part,
that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal
group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[591] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed
there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated
with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulunga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tupipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikouri*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
578 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*mouw*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day.
202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*toukolo*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wukumangolo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Totoloa and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one
764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*asa*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo kawa*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3662. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1½ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo C8069. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the
178 modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiokiole* design. An informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him
292 when he attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiokiole* design.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa uo*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaevoevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uvlo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uvlo* bark (*uuti uvlo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uvlo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uvlo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayu hotouu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *uuti uvlo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the cocoanut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki hehoo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yolonga* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

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Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

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It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
641 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*alihi*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
> a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal line-
> age or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period,
> 561 which is then called *te tahulonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All
> other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata*
> and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au
> i te tahulonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulu-
> aki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occa-
> sionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then
> the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ta* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai*
> *tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month
> period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata*
> periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai ta-*
> *ngata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical pur-
> poses. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age
> grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kulápupui (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulumoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kumemoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kaniki (children).
Tamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kivatangaloa: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Malivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

828 789 [521] friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771 Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua pumpunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki lunga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngaluc te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te uhaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngaluc ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kauliliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kena: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [178 762] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

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121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They reduced principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259-63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., [illegible]

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
187 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme
522 realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize 554 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion 521 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to 152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel- 885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. 517 It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of 181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development 831 in the symbolism of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

181/831 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen. [461]

171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land talo cultivation without irrigation is common to both

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

344 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
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114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full 156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether ● 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,
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[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 about that his love for his *uale atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai ualenga* (incest).

No reference to *uale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *uale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
588 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *uale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very least that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te uahatilinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te uahatilinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te uene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
755 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach
833 and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Fua, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved. 154

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living. 578 154 182

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group. 171

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in these closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is 121

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole

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[For description of personality types and specific cultural patternings of preferred conduct, see category 116, p. 306.]

183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psy-
774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the
869 tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the
793 existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman
828 to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
787 At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained
775 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the
[524] hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*)
828 which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the con-
787 ception of a child (*miti uakatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 173 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, 773 became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, 183 would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga lee yi o latou longo ki tupua").

539 The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people 173 gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she 731 might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From 173 this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

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Rehabilitation

168 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it 261 was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The 621 time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te 166 Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

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124 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a
127 few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the
128 more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as
[184] a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalizations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

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sharp, long-spined porcupine); *talo pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *ululu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou, louili hula, louili uli, louili akau,* and *louili taupulepule,* which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipoa are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kauru* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tuua te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kauru* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kauru* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lauaya kauru*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kauru* were not reserved (*uukaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

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flower of the *wetou* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lanunui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

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501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tatai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[425] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

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322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *uukonoro* and *uetau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukama* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukama* (hence its name, *poti pukama*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

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FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20; fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom: 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger booms, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yaio, the village of its owner, and Moen Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

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The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uwi aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uwi aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matuiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

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LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*vua* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

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Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele mauu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelia ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth gained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

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526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *alutau* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wakatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*lulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *taua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*hoi*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*to te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palekimuli*.

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Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngayu* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

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Running races (*wolele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuloki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vaevio* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

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Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole. E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tutu*, strong men): *mua vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

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The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

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Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

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The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 3 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *kamai*, and *wanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

833

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

574 533 621 186

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taps governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *bobai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

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Mat-making Contests

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In former times women held mat-making contests (*waingonga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liabi na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
609 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people
191 of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary
777 Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
463] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tiose, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
642 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence
794 most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

served by native pastors.
1. [Puka'puka—analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
799 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
771 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the
672 stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
799 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in
191 the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
799 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans

192

[For words used to describe personality and conduct among the Pukapukans, see category 116, p. 306.]

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 [164] The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 192 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1.) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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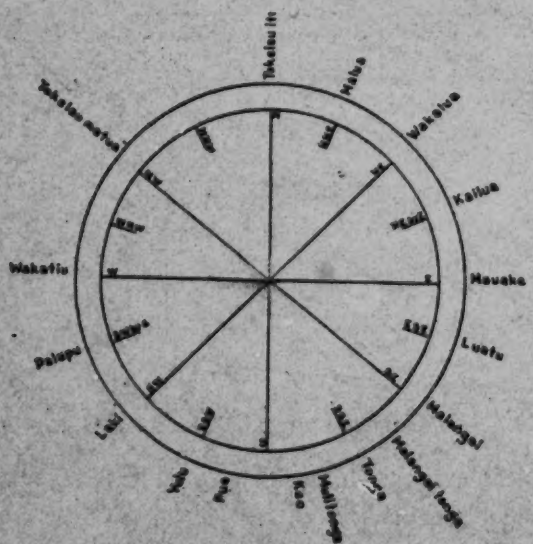

FIGURE 2.—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

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The word for side or direction is *kaokao*. Hence a person says *kaokao tokelau* (northern direction), *kaokao tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga malungi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *mao* is used. *E mao tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *mao* wind; thus a wind blowing

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *mauake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
787 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A
226 vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments
[847] for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree or when a meteor (*mata uai kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*nuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te wale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Kave (Cassytha filiformis)
Lakau yili (Pemphis acidula)
Laukotawa (Asplenium nidus)
Laupoue (Ipomoea grandiflora)
Limu puniu (a moss) (?)
Maile (Polypodium scolopendria)
Moemoe (Boerhaavia tetrandra)
Mouku (Fimbristylis cymosa variety mucrocephala)

Nau (Lepidium bidentoides)
Niu, coconut (Cocos nucifera)
Ngangie (Pemphis acidula)
Ngayu (Scaevola frutescens)
Nonu (Morinda citrifolia)
Nuna (Fleurya ruderalis)
Ongoongo (Euphorbia prostrata)
Polapuka (Solanum viride)
Polo (Hedyotis romanzoffiensis)
Puapua (Guettarda speciosa)
Puka (Ceodes umbellifera)
Pukama (Hernandia ovigera)
Pulaka (Cyrtosperma merkusii)

Pulumu (Jussiaea erecta)
Taeyinu (Tournefortia argentea)
Taumakomako (Achyranthes velutina)
Tiale (Gardenia tahitensis)

To, sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)
Vavai (Triumfetta procumbens)
Vayavaya (? Lepturus repens)
Vayavaya ui (? Cyperus ferax)
Wakanava (Cordia subcordata)
Wala (Pandanus sp.)
Wau (Pipturus velutinus)
Wawa, talo (Colocasia antiquorum variety esculenta)
- kele
- kiekie
- kula
- mawolawola
- newunewu
- peleua
- polapola
- pongi

} native varieties of talo

Welo (Ficus tinctoria)
Wetai (Psilotum nudum)
Wetau (Calophyllum inophyllum)
Wuti (banana) (? Musa sapientum)
- malie
- mitiluki
- pukapuka
- talua

} native varieties of banana

Wutu (Fagraea berteriana)
Yamuti (Suriana maritima)
Yulu (? Pandanus)

NOTE: Of the plants listed, *pukama*, *wakanava*, *puapua*, and *wetau* are used for canoes, implements and utensils; *puka* is used mainly for canoe outriggers; the bark of the *wau* is used for fishlines and cordage (termed *wao*) for fishnets. The coconut supplies material for the woman's kilt, the man's rough *malo*, sennit cord for fishlines, anchor lines, and general lashing, also material for rough mats, food platters, baskets, house thatch. It is one of the chief foods of the island. Pandanus is used for mats, for men's malos, today for house thatch. Its wood is valuable for house frameworks, and the ripe fruit is eaten. Pukapukans distinguish in terms of leaf shape two varieties of *Pemphis acidula*: *ngangie* and *lakau yili*. *Ngangie* is the preferred wood for fishhooks, for implements and outrigger connectives, but failing this wood, *lakau yili* is recognized as a valuable substitute. Botanically the two plants appear to be similar. The flower of the *tiale* is used for wreaths and decorations. The bark of the *welo* was formerly used for decorating ceremonial headdresses. *Nonu* makes the red dye used for mat designs. All the creepers such as *moemoe*, *laupoue* and *ongoongo*, are used extensively for wreaths and decorations. The one *wutu* tree on the island is reported to have grown from a drift seed.

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The general name for a plant is *lakau*. Root is *aka*. The trunk of a tree is *pu lakau*. A moss or lichen is *limu*. The fungoid "toadstool" growth on a fallen tree is termed *laulau talinga*. A seed is *wua*, a flower *pua*, a leaf *lau*. The name of the plant is added to these words to particularize: *wuapuapua* (*puapua* seed), *puaniu* (coconut flower), *akauula* (aerial root of the pandanus), *launiu* (coconut leaf, leaflet). The seeds of certain trees, however, have distinctive names: *pei*, seed of the *wetau* tree, and *kalaka*, *pukama* seed. The word *tiale* is used for both plant and flower of that name.

The Pukapukans are intimately familiar with the botany and horticulture of coconut and talo (pp. 81-90).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Animal Life

126 The fauna of Pukapuka is similar to that of other Polynesian atolls. The
177 pig, chicken, and European rat were introduced after white contact. The native rat was trapped, but not eaten. The native dog was unknown.

FISH

136 The Pukapukans empirically group the fish in their environment first into
192 major classes of beach fish, lagoon fish, reef fish, reef fish outside the lagoon, and deep-sea fish, and second, into "families". In some cases, the larger fish of one family are given a different name from the smaller fish of the same family. In other cases, however, stages in the growth of the same fish from infancy to maturity are indicated by adding the following adjectives to the name of the fish: *liki, lewu, tino lewu, tawila,* for young fish; *towolo, towolowolo, wolo, punua, tino wolo, tapulonga, tongi* and *palu,* for the large fish. With some fish again, the two systems for indicating development are combined, the name of the fish changing when maturity has been reached. The adjective *palu* associated with fish names, applies to a fish that inhabits very deep water up to 300 fathoms, though it is similar to another fish inhabiting shallower water. Thus, *palu malau* is a deep-water fish that looks like the smaller reef *malau.* The adjective *tawila* refers to small, newly-spawned fish that are driven into the lagoon shallows by bad weather.

196 The following list contains all the native names of fish that could be remembered by informants as being found in Pukapukan waters. Where possible I have also included scientific names, most of them obtained since I left Pukapuka by Robert Dean Frisbie. Mr. Frisbie asked a number of informants to identify the fish figured by Fowler (9). Other names I have procured from an examination of casts in Bernice B. Bishop Museum.

Aksaku: species of Belone, Strongylura, and Ablennes.
Akula panoko: Tetrapturus mitsukurii.
Akula toa: Isiophorus orientalis.
Aku pa: similar to aku tangata, but has a squarer body and upper and lower jaws of equal length.
Aku tangata: Strongylura indica.
Ali towolo: Platophrys thompsoni.
Aliki: silver mullet (? Mulloidichthys).
Ali niukatea: similar to pateletele.
Atu: Euthynnus pelamis (bonito).
Atule: Selar crumenophthalmus.
Aua: species of silver mullet, larger than the aliki.
Avu: Chanos chanos.
Ave: a long slim albacore.
Ayetoa: black deep-sea shark, sharp nose, single dorsal fin, single caudal fin, long pectoral fin, long upper fluke to caudal fin, a fast swimmer and a man-eater.
Ayiu: Caranx lugubris.
Ayole: a mulletlike fish, scaleless, white in color with a speckled dorsal fin (Polydactylus ?).
Ayou: deep-sea shark, white belly, black head, very flabby skin, four dorsal fins, two anal fins, earlike protuberance on head.
Eve: species of rock or reef grouper, with smoother skin than the patuki (? Grammistes sexlineatus).
Ie: species of Hemiramphus and Hyporhamphus.

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

539 Te malu, te malu, te malu
626 Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,
461 Tuku loa ki te vananga
Puke atu emenu pe te poi[6]
E koa yinga wua ia.

The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

123 226 Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

226 621 The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

226 615 133 The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

192 [6] The choices are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pisui* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1: Beagleholes and Beagleholes B-5 (1934-5) 1938
Puka pukans

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The names for the parts of a coconut tree (*niu*) are:

Pu niu: trunk.
Launiu: leaf and leaflets.
Kauniu: leaf midrib.
Tuniu: leaflet midrib.
Pakiawa: midrib base.
Kaiawa: fibers from leaf midrib.
Kaka: fibrous stipule.

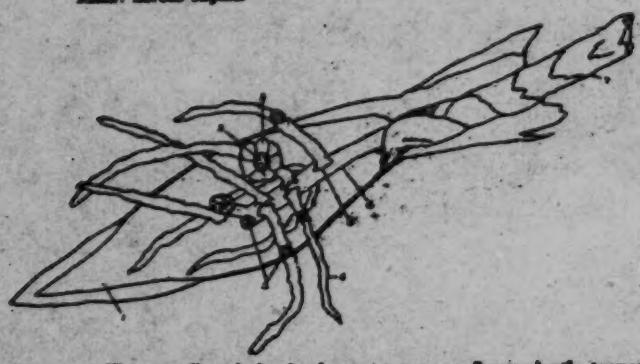

FIGURE 3.—Flower stalk and sheath of coconut tree: 1, flower sheath, *tuaw*; 2, base of bract, *uu*; 3, floral bracts, *matahiliwi*; 4, flower stalk, *hualauakaw*; 5, base of flower stalk, *pu o te hualauakaw*; 6, flower stem, *hualaulau*; 7, base of stem, *pu o te hualaulau*.

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Names for spathe and flower stalks are given in figure 5. Informants had no ideas about the reproduction of the coconut nor could they give any names for the sexes of the flowers.

Stages in Growth

Five stages are named in the growth of the tree from the seed nut to the small tree:

Yuno: the nut sends its roots (*shanin*) into the ground, and stem and leaves grow upward.

Angapu: young stem tissue (*niho*) have shot upward to a height of about 6 inches.

Uto: sprouts have grown to a height of about 2.5 feet, and the absorbing organ of the coconut cotyledon (*uto*) has filled the entire cavity of the nut.

Lauka: the tree has taken firm root in the ground and the leaves have attained a height of 4 to 5 feet.

Yau: the leaves are growing vigorously and the young coconut tree is well established.

The 15 named stages in the growth of the fruit are:

Pua koua: the fertilized female flower of the coconut has developed into a flower bud.

Koua: the immature nut, an inch or more in length. If the koua falls from the tree, it is used in the game of juggling (*tikili koua*).

1; Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

245 Wuauli: the nut is a little larger than koua and has a dark green husk.

834 Uivaka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

192 Moto katia: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

262 Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu melo, niu kawa kenakena, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.

Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Niu mata motomoto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (leka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Niu katea: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

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Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.

Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa kula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kinaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 *Takataka* nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*uale takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the *yakali* nuts may be left unhusked (*uui kowu*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make sennit. By the second storage method the *yakali* nuts are husked and a piece of *pungu* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

251 according to the quality of *takataka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takataka* nuts.

245 192 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 481 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 857 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *mako te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo,* or *takavili te niu.* Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 534 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

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244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo
262 dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
192 Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapula: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Laumea: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral cormlet or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wuluwulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*wawai*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matauyu*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *tope wawa*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*kete launiu*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*taku*). She recognizes the mature (*kiu*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*lauga*) the talo plant and slices off (*tope*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*tobi*) with a stick (*koyo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matalolau e, Matalomea e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The mothers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*tuku ki lunga o te ulu*).

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There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

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Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavayo ui*) and fertilizing (*uukalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukamu* leaves, *lau kotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukamu* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukamu* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

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In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Teki te tingapola: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, koa tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, koa velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po luma, koa loa te lito o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angaulu, koa velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao atu, koa kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Koa velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Koa kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Koa kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Koa kau lima: (23d day) there are five petioles growing.
Koa wakalaungavali: (24th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Koa toaki te kau lima, koa uyi, koa tupu mai oki te lau kaua, koa ono lau talo, koa ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Koa uouto ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Koa ola loa ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Koa tuku te ulu: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Koa matapu te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Oko ki te vavenga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Koa kivi, koa wowolo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

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192 The Pukapukan *tui tuta* canoe is shown in figures 24, 25, 26 and plate 5,*A*. The native names for parts of the plank canoe are given in the following list:

Mua vaka: fore section of hull.
Wualoto: central section of hull.
Muli vaka: aft section of hull.
Oa: washstrakes.
Velo: stern cover, shaped like fishtail.
Laulau velo: after projection of stern cover.
Talamoko: raised cleat on stern cover.
Wakakauvae wonu: raised bait deck on stern cover, fashioned from cover or built up with extra wood.
Tuku: place inside wakakauvae wonu where bait and line are laid.
Kalenu: extreme after point of after section of hull.
Tala tuki: point of bow.
Tuki: forward part of bow cover.
Puka: second section of bow cover.
Tala puka: wave guard on bow cover.
Malae puka: top of wave guard.
Pu oyo: place covered by bow cover where provisions and fishing gear are stored.
Kaukau: outrigger cross booms.
Kaukau mua vaka: forward outrigger boom.
Kaukau muli vaka: aft outrigger boom.
Kiato: longitudinal spar supporting cross booms.
Manu poto: additional short cross booms, supporting kiato and running from strakes to spar.
Ama: outrigger float.
Mata ama: bow and stern points of outrigger float.
Tutuki: connecting pegs between outrigger float and cross booms.
Tutuki tokai: diagonal bracing strut running from inner pair of pegs to boom.
Oanga: suspensory lashing supporting outrigger float.
Manu ki mua: forward lifting bar.
Manu ki muli: stern lifting bar.
Manu a lua: crossbar aft of after cross boom.
Palepale langayu: short longitudinal spars lashed on either side of washstrake to lifting bar and cross boom.
Lakau iki: lifting pole.
Tuinga iki: sennit lifting loops fastened to starboard washstrake just aft of cross booms.
Yeke: seats formed by cross booms and lifting bars.
Tau muli: rear seat just forward of rear lifting bar.
Kaukau katea: starboard side.
Kaukau ama: port side.

322 The hull is in three sections lashed together (*tuta*) with three-ply braid which passes through holes (*pu*) bored (*yuki*) through the hull with the shell implement termed *yuki vaka*. A shell borer might be lashed to a wooden holder about 6 inches
501 long, to make the implement called *waoa*. The point of the shell was held against the
284 wood with the left hand and the wooden holder tapped smartly (*paopao* or *tukiwki*) with a mallet of *kaupapa* coral or a whale's tooth (*tukituki paopao vaka*). The point was then worked gently from side to side (*luelue* or *wakiwuki*) to enlarge the hole. Tapping and working from side to side continued until a hole was made through the wood. The *waoa* was then twisted (*yuki*) and worked back and forth until the hole was of the required size. The lashing forms a crisscross pattern (*lu kawa lua*, fig. 27,*d*). Washstrakes (*oa*) are added to the hull sections with a single diagonal lashing (*lu kawa tai*, fig. 27,*a*). Where the *oa* are in several sections, the edges of contiguous

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

192 The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
101 Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *puna*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extention, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga e nono i te nguturuale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *nguturuale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *nguturuale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *mackunga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*lulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

597 When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

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The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*wui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *wui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *mataiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

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LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*wua* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

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Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *welo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lautulu* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manava*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

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The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *hokowi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wake na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

844 As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the newborn child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

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844 The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulango*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yuo wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*wu wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

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757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nonu* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, [844] vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lalo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taryinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taryinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo mao*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child
852 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

487 In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

171 193 192

1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lua lau
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngaulu tini

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

802 The word *katoa* is used for ten in simple enumeration. It is never used
193 in conjunction with the name of the object enumerated, but in its place *launganlu* is used. Where the special counting prefixes are used, these are added to the suffix *ngaulu* to indicate 10 objects of whatever class.

Numbers higher than *ngaulu tini* in progression of numerical greatness
802 are: *manomano muamua, matinitini, makelekele,* and *ye,* which is an expres-
192 sion that corresponds to infinity. The number of terms that the Pukapukan uses to indicate high numbers is interesting though it is a little hard to see the function of high numerical concepts in an atoll culture.

It was a favorite jest among informants that the Pukapukan could count to a higher power than we could; proof of this they argued was not only the presence of words indicating progressions to infinity, but also the ability of the culture hero Maui to find Pukapukan words which enabled him completely to enumerate the stars in the sky, the fish in the sea, the sands on the beach, and so forth. It is likely, however, that such words as *tini, ngaulu tini, manomano muamua* indicate not so much a definite number as a progression of increasing greatness that is more sensed or felt than definitely apprehended.

802 To indicate "more than" or "plus" to even numerals, *tu ma* is suffixed
193 to the numeral: some 70 people (*tinowitu tu ma*). To form numerical nouns from the numerals 1 to 10, *ngawa* is suffixed to the number: I have received my three (*na maua toku tolungawa*). Each is *taki*; one person or object each: *takitayi.* The prefix *tokitaki tu* is used of things to indicate "one by one", "one at a time", and so forth: *tokitaki tu tayi, tokitaki tu lua*; of people the prefix *takitau* is used: *takitau tokalua,* by twos, or, for each pair.

802 To count is *kaui or wakalau.* A special set of terms is used to count
192 coconuts by pairs (*oaniu*). One pair of drinking or mature nuts is *tayi oaniu.* From this on the counting runs:

Lua: 4 nuts.	Iva: 18 nuts.
Tolu: 6 nuts.	Yaea: 20 nuts.
Wa: 8 nuts.	Tolu: 30 nuts.
Yepulupulu: 10 nuts.	Wa: 40 nuts.
Ono: 12 nuts.	Lima: 50 nuts.
Witu: 14 nuts.	Lau: 100 nuts.
Valu: 16 nuts.	

802 The development of counting prefixes is indicated by the following list.
193 To count people, the prefixes are:

Toka, counting people from 1 to 10: e tokatolu tatou, we are three.
Tino, counting people from 10 upward: tinongaulu, 10; tinowelau, 100 people.
Matino, used solely for counting the priest members of a god house (*wale atua*): matinotolu, three priests; matinowitu, 7 priests.

Inanimate objects or creatures other than human beings are counted with the following prefixes:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

COLORS

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The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
Kula ulisli: very dark red-brown.
Kula keye: deep red.
Kula lolenga: greasy (?) red.
Kula melo: scarlet.
Kula melomelo: reddish.
Kula pungipungi: brownish red.
Kula toto: blood red.
Kula yiyina: shiny red.
Melomelo: yellowish.
Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
Uyi, uyiuyi, pa uyiuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
Mamake, mamame, litolito, kena, kenakena: white.
Mahalele, mahavakevake: blinding white surface.
Ten: white, used only in proper names.
Kalipo: iridescent.
Kokone, konokone, koyikuyi: striped or variegated.
Uli (general word), **uli popo, ulisli, pa ulisli, ulinotunotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa**: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kena*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *mamake*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.

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Muliwutu, then to the houses of Yangalipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*you*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

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There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *you* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *You* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

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It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

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The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kau wowotu*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

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Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

173 In the time of Kuluea and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

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Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Mataliki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
[563 Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
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That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakawa* basis (p. 374), went out in
177 canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[192 below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngauaiwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old
561 men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
155 satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.

192 Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

7: Beaglehole--1 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Field Notes: Pukapukan Dictionary

192 I. Physiological processes and parts of body named by in-
826 formant Pau:

abdomen	manava
adam's apple	kopu
amniotic bag	iko or kawu
amniotic fluid	lanupa
ankle	ponaponavae
anus	pu lemu or kanokano
armpit	keke
belch	wakamapui
bladder	lau matangi
brains	pe ulu as in the phrase "Ka ni o pe ulu la?" Have you no brains?
breast	wu
breast, upper part of	tua wu
breast, lower part of	alonga wu
breast, space between	va wu
breath	ao
bruise	weweu
buttocks	tua muli
calf of leg	kiko kau lilikinga or puku vae
cervix	wiwi
cheek	kaponga
chest	vakavaka or uma
chin	kauvae
chin, double	kolokolo
clitoris	yoko or talakelake
choke (on bone)	laoa
colon	taipili
congestion (windpipe)	kakikapi
crowsfeet	ala mata
detumescence	toka
ear	talinga
erection of penis	makau to ule, or talanga
erection of clitoris	makau te yoko
eruption (skin)	kili mawune
eruption (tongue)	ā
eye	mata
eyeball	ua mata
eye, iris	mouli or kano mata
eye, white of	kena mata

7: Beaglehole--2 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

192 eye, pouch below	kalu
826 eye, pupil	uli mata
face	mata, tupu, or ongaonga
faint	ikotu
fallopian tubes	wakaki tinga (hurts when full)?
fat (body)	ngako
fetus	wita
finger	mangamanga lima
finger, thumb	mangamanga lima matua
finger, index	mangmanga lima loa
finger, middle	mangamanga loto
finger, ring	mangamanga tolewu
finger, little	mangamanga lewu
flatulence	taeyu
flesh	kiko
foot	papa vae
foot, sole of	kili vae
foot, ball of	kili mulivae
foot, arch of	kili vokonga vae
foot, instep of	tua vae
foot, heel of	mulimuli vae
forehead	lae
foreskin	kili ule
freckles	yilayila
gall bladder	au
glans penis	wakatala ule
halitosis	ngengele
hand	lima
hand, palm of	alonga papa lima
hand, back of	tua papa lima
heart	watu manava
hiccough	tokamauli
hymen	kili pupuni te pu
internal organs	ngakau
intestine, small	mangalongalo
kidney	kiko tua
knee	tulivae
labia majore	lau ngutuwu
labia minore	ngutuwu lua
larynx	manga lua kopu
leg	vae
lip, upper	lau ngutu ki lunga
lip, lower	lau ngutu ki lalo
liver	ate

192 lung	mama
125 lung, inspiration of	mimiti
lung, respiration of	pupuyi
membranes	kalava
milk of breast	wu
mole	mea tupuni
mons veneris	pali
mucus from the nose	pe iyu
nail, finger or toe	matitiku or maititiku
nape of neck	ua or ngati
nape of neck, fat below	tupanaka
navel	pito
navel cord	pito
nipple of breast	mata wu
nose	iyu
nostril	pongaponga iyu
oesophagus	e ala no te ngakau matua
os uterus	puwiwi
ovary	mape
palate	tua ngutu
penis	ule, kavi or niwi
penis, slack	ule mate, or ule malulu
placenta	wenua
pubic hair	kava
pulse, fast	koa vivili te uaua
pulse, slow	koa panapana te uaua
secretions, female	vale or lenga
semen	nene or kamonga
skin	kili
skin, wrinkles on	ala kili
spittle or saliva	yuvale
sputum	valinga kau
stomach	ngakau matua
stomach, rumblings of	ngalue
tears	yua mata or loi mata
temple	lawilawinga
testicles	layo
testicle gland	wua moko
thigh	tenga
throat	kolokolo
toe	mangamanga vae
toe, big	mangamanga vae matua
toe, second	mangamanga vae loa
toe, third	mangamanga vae loto

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192	toe, fourth	mangamanga vae tolewu
826	toe, little	mangamanga vae lewu
	toe, ball of	kili mangamanga vae
	toes, space between	va mangamanga vae
	tongue	alelo
	tonsils	wolo manga (big yawn?)
	urethra, male	yekenga mimi
	urethra, female	pu mimi
	uterus	moenga tamaliki
	uvula	pakiko
	vagina	wu or tole
	waist	taukupu
	wind pipe	kaki

II. Names for various bones of the body recognized by informant Pau:

bones in each toe	ivi mangamanga vae
metatarpal bones of foot	ivi likiliki wononga
os calcis	ivi mulimuli vae
fibula	ivi ulu manu
tibia	ivi ulu matua
patella	ivi pupuni tulivae
femur	ivi tenga
ilium	ivi pulapula
thigh bone	ivi tenga
pelvis	ivi pali
backbone, spine	ivi papatua
caudal bone	ivi mulimuli or pulapula
vertibrae	wononga ivi papatua
ribs, floating or lower	ivi manunu
ribs, upper	ivi vakavaka
ribs, upper top section	ivi vakavaka ki lunga
ribs, upper middle section	ivi vakavaka ki lolotonu
ribs, lower section	ivi vakavaka ki lalo
sternum	ivi matua no te vakavaka
clavicle	ivi pokoivi
scapula	pokoivi
humerus	ivi pokolima
ulna	ivi ulu manu o te lima
radius	ivi wolo o te lima
elbow joint	ivi tuke lima
wrist joint	ivi wononga taulu lima
metacarpal bones	ivi papa lima

192/826	spinous process in vertibrae	ivi kaykayo
	neck vertibrae	ivi ua
	atlas vertibra	ivi muli ulu
	crown of skull	papa ulu
	occipital region of skull	muli ulu
	parietal region of skull	tau muli ulu
	region about coronal suture	puyo ulu
	sutures in skull	ngutu papa ulu
	frontal bone	lae
	frontal bone, upper section	tua lae
	frontal bone, forehead	muamua lae
	frontal-temporal ridges	tipi lae
	frontal ridge (on which glabella located)	ivi va mata
	nasion	ivi manunu iyu
	temple bones	tua mata
	supra-orbital ridges	ivi kokotinga mata
	outermost section of eye socket	ivi yikunga mata
	zygomatic arch	ivi tua kaponga
	mastoid process	ivi tua talinga
	nasal bone	ivi iyu
	styloid process	ivi kaponga
	lower mandible	ivi kauvae lalo
	upper mandible	ivi kauvae lunga
	hyal process	ivi alonga kauvae
	muscle	yakali or uaua, described in terms of the various bones with which they articulate
	artery, gland, vein	Uaua toto or uaua matua, described according to the part of the body. Uaua toto is the precise name for an artery or vein. Uaua matua is the precise term for a lymphatic gland. It is believed that the lymphatic glands are filled with a type of water and not with blood.
	tendon	ivi tamo wononga

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192 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:
826

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:
833
839

sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 IV. Types of sleep:
513

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

192/513	very deep sleep	moe nanau
	to doze	moe wakatalianga
	to sleep standing	moe tu
	restless sleep	moe tuitui
	to sleep with head on knee	moe tulivae
	to walk in sleep	moe yaele
	to sleep on side with legs outstretched	moe yayae
	to sleep with arms against the sides (like a corpse)	moe yayako
	to sleep badly because of physical pain	moe yoya
	to sleep with eyes open	moe yiyila
	the sleep of a pregnant woman after unsatisfying intercourse with her husband which may cause a miscarriage	moe yuayua
	to become possessed by a ghost during sleep	moe uluia
	to pretend to be asleep	moe wayiyila
	to move arms during sleep	moe wawa
	to sleep with one leg wound round another person	moe wakawiwi
	to be too excited to sleep	moe wawangu
	to sleep with legs spread apart	moe wewela
	to turn from side to side in sleep	moe witi
	fitful spasmodic sleep	moe wowowowo
	to turn over on side during sleep	moe wuli kaokao
	to sleep lying on the stomach	moe wuli pulou
	to sleep lying on the back	moe wuli vakevake
	to groan or talk in sleep	moe wunga

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

539 maata. E meangiti ua te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo, no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraia e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere aia e kua tuatua aia kia rave i te peu akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa aia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua riri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te deluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Ruru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Teraio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te ā ia o te kopu tangata.

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192 Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki te reo Rarotonga, e te rea Beritane.

Bukabukan.	*Rarotongan.*	*English.*
Teratara	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Taaua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katoa	Ngauru	Ten
Akaemaema	Akaperepere	Beloved
Tataku	Pure	Pray
Manatuā	Vareae	Jealousy
Riri pokerekere	Riri otooto	Fierce anger
Watitiri	Mangungu	Thunder
Ranie	Rangi marie	Fine (as a fine day)
Tainamua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tainamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kāinga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kāinga Tane	Tungane	Real Brother
Whareatua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Whareatua = the abode of the god.
Inakava	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuaine	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Takai	To tread
Lei vanau	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kava	Kerekere rava	Very black
Kena	Teatea	White
Mukavakevake	Teatea rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura melo	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoyinga	Ngati, as Ngati tangiia	A tribe
Poripori	Katiri	*A line of descent.

*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lua lau
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngaulu tini

802 The word *katoa* is used for ten in simple enumeration. It is never used
193 in conjunction with the name of the object enumerated, but in its place *launganlu* is used. Where the special counting prefixes are used, these are added to the suffix *ngaulu* to indicate 10 objects of whatever class.

802 Numbers higher than *ngaulu tini* in progression of numerical greatness
192 are: *manomano muamua, matinitini, makelekele,* and *ye,* which is an expression that corresponds to infinity. The number of terms that the Pukapukan uses to indicate high numbers is interesting though it is a little hard to see the function of high numerical concepts in an atoll culture.

It was a favorite jest among informants that the Pukapukan could count to a higher power than we could; proof of this they argued was not only the presence of words indicating progressions to infinity, but also the ability of the culture hero Maui to find Pukapukan words which enabled him completely to enumerate the stars in the sky, the fish in the sea, the sands on the beach, and so forth. It is likely, however, that such words as *tini, ngaulu tini, manomano muamua* indicate not so much a definite number as a progression of increasing greatness that is more sensed or felt than definitely apprehended.

802 To indicate "more than" or "plus" to even numerals, *tu ma* is suffixed
193 to the numeral: some 70 people (*tinowitu tu ma*). To form numerical nouns from the numerals 1 to 10, *ngawa* is suffixed to the number: I have received my three (*na maua toku tolungawa*). Each is *taki*; one person or object each: *takitayi.* The prefix *tokitaki tu* is used of things to indicate "one by one", "one at a time", and so forth: *tokitaki tu tayi, tokitaki tu lua*; of people the prefix *takitau* is used: *takitau tokalua,* by twos, or, for each pair.

802 To count is *kaui or wakalau.* A special set of terms is used to count
192 coconuts by pairs (*oaniu*). One pair of drinking or mature nuts is *tayi oaniu.* From this on the counting runs:

Lua: 4 nuts.	Iva: 18 nuts.
Tolu: 6 nuts.	Yaea: 20 nuts.
Wa: 8 nuts.	Tolu: 30 nuts.
Yepulupulu: 10 nuts.	Wa: 40 nuts.
Ono: 12 nuts.	Lima: 50 nuts.
Witu: 14 nuts.	Lau: 100 nuts.
Valu: 16 nuts.	

802 The development of counting prefixes is indicated by the following list.
193 To count people, the prefixes are:

Toka, counting people from 1 to 10: e tokatolu tatou, we are three.
Tino, counting people from 10 upward: tinongaulu, 10; tinowelau, 100 people.
Matino, used solely for counting the priest members of a god house (*wale atua*): matinotolu, three priests; matinowitu, 7 priests.

Inanimate objects or creatures other than human beings are counted with the following prefixes:

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Ipu, coconut shells: ipungaulu, 10; ipulua, 20; ipuwelau, 100; ipuluangalau, 200.
Kai, fishhooks, used when counting the number of hooks on a composite fishing apparatus (taumakoemako): kailima, 5 hooks. The number of fish caught with this apparatus is also counted with the prefix kai, as kailima ika, 5 fish.
Kau, oven stones, fishline sinkers, leaves of prepared pandanus for plaiting: kaulua, 20; kauwelau, 100; kautolungalau, 300.
Kaui, fishhooks stored in the special tuluma receptacle, or hooks on a bonito trolling rod: kauitolu, 3 bonito hooks.
Kupu, plaited objects such as mats, hats: kupungaulu, 10; kupulua, 20; kupuwelau, 100.
Lau, fish caught by ordinary methods, or live fish: laungaulu, 10; lau lua, 20; lau, 100.
Manga, branches, livers (internal organs), bananas, or fingers: mangangaulu, 10.
Mata, talo, or pulaka: matangaulu, 10 tubers; matalua, 20; matawelau, 100 tubers.
Mata, meshes in a net: matalungalau, 200 meshes.
Tua, crayfish or crabs: tuangaulu, 10 crayfish; tualua, 20; tuawelau, 100.
Ua, shellfish; uangaulu, 10 clams; ualua, 20.
Ulu, victories in a progressive game: ulutolu, 3 wins in disc-throwing game (tupe).
Yeka, canoe seats: yekoono, 6-seater canoe.

These counting prefixes are also used in questions inquiring the number counted, as: *E tinowen te tangata*? How many people? *E matowen te mawu*? How many talo corms? *E yekowen te vaka*? How big is the canoe? The answer uses the prefixes as given above.

804 Measurements of length are commonly used for fishlines, or in craft activities. Those in common usage are:

Watinga mangamanga lima: length of one finger joint, tip of finger to first joint.
Lua watinga mangamanga lima: two finger joints.
Tolu watinga mangamanga lima: three finger joints, i.e., one finger length.
Ngawa mangamanga lima: span of hand from thumb to longest finger.
Watinga lima: finger tip to elbow joint.
Lima: finger tip to shoulder of outstretched arm.
Uma: finger tip to center of chest with outstretched arm.
Ngawa: tip to tip of fingers, with outstretched arms, across chest; tolunga ngawa, three lengths, and so forth.
Kauni: a length of 10 ngawa.
Lau: 100 ngawa: E wen te loa o te mea la? E lau; What is the length? 100 ngawa.

Measures of volume are made by the use of descriptive terms:

Mo mea lewu: a very little.
Lewu: a little.
Mo mea: a little more.
To ki: (a container) about ¼ full.
To kiki: between ¼ and ½ full.
To kiki ki lolotoau: about ½ full.
Ki: full.
Ki kalale: brimful.
Ki kalalale: full to flowing over.

There are no standardized measures for volume; the liquid which is being described is added to the descriptive term to make clear the amount of liquid measured.

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121 128 affinities with other Polynesian systems. This provides the objective background for studying the meaning of these patterns for the personalities of those who live within the frame of reference called Pukapukan society. This task is touched upon in the data on children (2). If certain problems of symbolism, pattern status, emotional conditioning, and all that makes up the dynamics of culture have been largely overlooked in these pages, it is not through unawareness of the existence and importance of these problems but solely because the type of field work represented by this and other manuscripts is that which it was most practicable to carry to a conclusion.

NOTE ON PHONETIC STRUCTURE

194 [128] Throughout this monograph Pukapukan words are written in the ordinary English alphabet, in accordance with standard usage for Polynesian ethnology. Obviously such recording represents only an approximate rendering of the true sounds and words of the language.

The symbols *k*, *p*, and *t* represent the intermediates between sonant *g* and surd *k*, between *b* and *p*, and between *d* and *t* respectively; *k* is pre-palatal before the vowels *e* and *i*, post-palatal before *a*, *o*, and *u*—it is never aspirated; *p* is aspirated only before the vowel *u*; *t* is always dental and unaspirated.

The lateral, *l*, is dental. The nasals are *m*, a dental *n*, and the front palatal *eng* (*ng*). The semivowel *w* functions as a major consonant; when it occurs within a word before *u* or *i* (as in the words *mawu*, *awi*) it has a guttural quality.

Finally, there are the bilabial spirant *v*, voiceless and unaspirated, and the voiceless interdental spirant, not previously recorded for a Polynesian dialect. This spirant (corresponding to the *th* in English "thin") is invariably palatalized, followed by a *y* slur ("thin" with a *y* inserted before the *i*, "thyin"). This compound sound (*θy* in certain phonetic systems) is rendered by the symbol *y* in this monograph, but is not to be confused with the ordinary *y* semivowel which does not occur as a Pukapukan consonant. The Pukapukan voiceless interdental spirant palatalized is the sound mistakenly described by Macgregor (20, p. 3) as a glottal closure accompanied by "an added breath . . . giving a sound of *i* consonant," and written by him *'i*.

The glottal closure as an independent consonant is absent. The consonants are never long.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* all have the continental values. In rapid speech, however, a short *a* is pronounced as *u* in English "but"; short *i*, especially before *ng*, as *i* in English "pin". Final *i* after *t* tends to be voiceless.

Quantity and quality of vowels, presence or absence of diphthongs, and the location of stress are not indicated in native words. These phonetic characteristics are reserved for treatment in a Pukapukan dictionary which will include also the general rules of pronunciation governing accent.

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Table 1. Comparison of *θ* and *w* with other Polynesian consonants.*

	Pukapuka	New Zealand	Samoa	Niue	Tonga	Uvea	Ontong Java	Hawaii	Marquesas	Rarotonga	Tahiti	Mangareva	Easter Island
	θ	h	s,-	h	h	h	h, s	h	h, f	'	h	'	h
To walk	yaele	haere	(saele)	haele	haele	haele	haele	haele	hee	'aere	haere	'ere	ahere
To err	yala	hara	sala	hala	hala	hala		hala	haa	'ara	hara	'ara	hara
To do	yanga	hanga	anga	(hanga)	(hangahanga)	hangahanga		hana	hana	'anga'anga	ha'a	'anga	hanga
Pregnant	yapu	hapu					sopo		hopu		hapu		
To tie	yele	here		hele	hele			hele	fee	'ere	here	'ere	here
To mix	yeuyeu	heuheu			heuheu				feu	'eu	heu		(heu)
Tail	yiku	hiku	si'u; i'u	hiku	hiku	hiku		hi'u		'iku		'iku	iku
Gray	yina	hina	sina	(hina)	hina			hina	hina	'ina	hina	'ina	
Friend	yoa	hoa	soa	(hoa)	hoa	hoa		hoa	hoa	'oa	hoa	'oa	hoa
Spittle	yuvale	huware									huare		
	w	wh, h	f, s	f	f	f	h	h	f, h	'	f, h	'	h
Four	wa	wha	fa	fa	fa	fa		ha	fa, ha	'a		'a	ha
To make	wai	whai	fai	fai	fai	fai			fai, hai		fai		hai
Caus. prefix	waka	whaka	fa'a	faka	faka	faka		ha'a	haa, haka	'aka	haka, faka	'aka	haka
House	wale	whare	fale	fale	fale	fale	hale	hale	hae, fae	'are	fare	'are	hare
To go	wano	whano	fano	fano	fano	fano	hango				fano		
Land	wenua	whenua	fanua		fonua	fenua	(hengua)		fenua, henua	'enua	fenua	'enua	henua
To want	wia	hia	fia	fia	fie	fia		hia	fia, hia	'ia	hia		
Paddle	woe	hoe	foe		fohe	foe	hoe	hoe	hoe	'oe	hoe	'oe	hoe
New	wou	hou	fou	fou	fou	fou		hou	hou	'ou	hou	'ou	hou
To swallow	wolo	horo	folo	folo	folo	folo			hoo		horo	'oro	horo
Seed	wua	hua	fua	fua	fua	fua	hua	hua	hua	'ua	hua	('ua)	hua
To open	wuke	huke	su'e	fuke	fuke	fuke				'uke			

* This table reflects all the limitations of the phonetic and dictionary material available for present study.

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The main body of Pukapukan sounds presents no special features of comparative interest. But the two consonants *θ* and *w* are peculiar members of the otherwise usual Polynesian consonantal system. The Pukapukan *w* is not to be confused with the sound which is recorded as *w* in some dialects and which is probably more correctly described as the intermediate *β*, a sound found in primitive Hawaiian and in Rarotongan. Table 1 indicates the role of *θ* and *w* in widely distributed Polynesian words. On the information of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck), the *h* mistakenly recorded by Tregear (30) for Mangarevan is here discarded. It is regrettable that the presence or absence of the glottal stop as a consonant has in too many Polynesian dialects become a matter of considerable mystery.

In New Zealand, both *h* and *wh* are used before the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, but *h* is required (in most words) before the vowels *o* and *u*. In no other dialect, except Tahitian, is this distinction evident. Maori *wh* equates with the simple Pukapukan *w*, Maori *h* with the Pukapukan *θ* or *w*. Maori *ha* and *he* tend to change to Pukapukan *θa* and *θe*; Maori *hi* sometimes becomes Pukapukan *θi*, more often Pukapukan *wi*. A more consistent rule of consonantal change is evident in comparing Pukapukan and Samoan, where Pukapukan *θ* becomes Samoan *s* and Pukapukan *w* becomes Samoan *f*. In Niue, Tonga, and Uvea, Pukapukan *θ* changes to *h*, Pukapukan *w* to *f*. In Hawaii, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Mangareva, Easter Island, and probably also Ontong Java, one consonant only (*h* or ') occurs in the several words where western Polynesian dialects distinguish between *s* and *f*, or between *θ* and *w*.

The most striking similarity to the Pukapukan sound *θ* occurs not in Polynesia proper, but in Fiji. Hazelwood (17, p. 1) describes for Fiji the consonant he writes *c* as "*tha*, as in that or this; not as in thick." It appears, therefore, that this sound is the voiced interdental spirant, *δ*. In some words in which this Fijian consonant occurs it corresponds to the Pukapukan *θ*[1]: *yola* (to err), *cala*; *yau* (breeze), *caucau*; *yiyi* (to split), *cici*; *yila* (to shine), *cila*; *yoko* (to spear), *coka*; *oyo* (provisions), *oco*; *yula* (to fasten), *cula*; *yuki* (to pierce), *cuki*.

In other words, the Fijian *δ* is used before or between vowels where corresponding words in Pukapukan require no consonant: *akau* (reef), *cakau*; *angi* (to blow), *cangi*; *ana* (outrigger), *cama*; *iva* (nine), *ciua*; *moe* (to sleep), *moce*; *woe* (to paddle), *voce*.

Pukapukan informants were not consistent in their use of the *θ* at the beginning of certain words. Alternately, for example, they said *iliili* (to ask) and *yiliyili*. This, together with the fact that few Pukapukan words collected commence with a vowel, gives me the strong impression that formerly a *θ* preceded all vowels now commencing words. If this is true, then

[1] In the following comparisons the Pukapukan term is given first, followed by the translation in parentheses, and the Fijian term.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

194/197 the group of words in which Fijian *s* appears between vowels is not properly distinguishable from the words where Fijian *s* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ'*.

In another category, however, Pukapukan *θ'* is replaced by the Fijian *s*, said to be pronounced "as in English": *yanga* (to do), *sanga*; *yelu* (to comb), *seru*; *yeye* (foolish), *sese*; *yeu* (to mix), *seu*; *yika* (netting needle), *sika*; *yinu* (oil), *sinusinu*; *yua* (water), *suasua* (wet).

Like the *s* sound, Fijian *s* occurs in some words where no Pukapukan consonant is now used: *ala* (path), *sala*; *angaanga*[8], *sangasanga*; *olo* (to rub), *solo*.

I find no suggestion in the literature that the Fijian *s* is ever palatalized, though this is invariable with the Pukapukan *θ*. But the semivowel *y* is another Fijian consonant used in some words where Pukapukan requires no consonant: *ate* (liver), *yate*; *atu* (row), *yatu*.

In a few Fijian words *y* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ'*: *yala* (to encircle), *yala*; *yau* (to come), *yau* (to come or go); *yau* (dew), *yauyau* (fog or mist).

The sound *θ* appears in the Melanesian sound system as worked out by Ray (23,p.30). It is noted in particular for Nengone and Lifu of the Loyalty Islands and for Aneityum in the southern New Hebrides (23,pp.77,139). Because of inadequate linguistic material it is impossible to determine the relation between this Melanesian sound and the voiceless spirant of Pukapuka.

Pukapukan *w* is Fijian *v*. Other consonants seem to correspond in words common to both as follows (Pukapukan given first): k, k; k, ngg (q)?; l, l; l, ndr; m, m; n, n; ng, ng; p, mb; t, t; t, nd; v, w.

It is regrettable that paucity of phonetic material for any Fijian dialect renders it impossible to draw conclusions, but when trustworthy phonetic and ethnographic material becomes available for the cultures crudely lumped together today as Fijian, it is not unlikely that phonetic and cultural anomalies found in the otherwise prevailing Polynesian culture of Pukapuka will prove no longer to be unique but part of a western sub-culture that may be traced from its eastern boundary in Pukapuka across to, and beyond, Fiji.

POPULATION

161 The population for the years for which figures are available (7) is as follows: 1906, 435; 1911, 490; 1916, 474; 1926, 526; 1935, 632.

731 The increase in population from 1906 to 1911, followed by a decrease in 1916, is at least partly explained by the fact that 52 Pukapukans were transferred to Rarotonga in September 1914, in order to relieve distress caused by the tidal wave that swept Pukapuka in January of that year. The population today shows a great increase over the population figures of 1916 and 1926. Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared

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[8] Pukapukan informants held that the reduplicated form of the word *yanga* is not *yangayanga*, but *angaanga*.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations
127 which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling
[124] exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

● 194 The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and nine consonants, *k, l, m, n, ng, p, t, v,* and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6). * The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 40.

194 197 sented in the text as *'i*. This extra sound following *h* is found in the dialect of the Tokelau Islands (9), Manihiki, and Rakahanga (13). Many natives of Pukapuka drop the glottal closure at the beginning of a word and retain only the *i* sound. To English-speaking people this sounds like *y*, as in the word year, and has led Frisbie (3), Hutchin (6), and Trotter (17) to write *y* in words that contain this sound. A comparison of words written with *y* by Trotter with cognate words of the Maori dialect (16) and the Samoan dialect (10) shows that the *y* becomes *h* or *r* in Maori and *s* or *l* in Samoan. I believe that Trotter has confused the liquid sound of the Pukapukan *l* with the *y* sound which he heard in other words. He has given *lengalenga* (green) as "yengayenga" and *lava* (multitude) as "yava". The forms *lengalenga* and *lava* are found in the Samoan dialect also. In all other words containing *y*, the *y* becomes *h* in the Maori form and *s* in the Samoan form, as shown in the following comparative list of words:

Pukapuka	Maori	Samoa	Translation
ye	———	se	not
yauariki matangi	hau	sau	gentle breeze, fresh, cool, dew
yeuyeu	heuheu	seu	to mix or scatter
yoka	hoka	so'a	to husk
yoyongi	hongi	sogi	to smell or kiss
yna	hina	sina	grey, white

The original Polynesian *h*, which Buck (13) suggests has been retained in Hawaii, and the old form *wh* of the Maori dialect (also retained in the Manihiki dialect) has been developed into a full *w* sound in Pukapuka speech. The Hawaiian word hau (*whau* in Maori) becomes *wau* in Pukapuka.

The sound of *t* also has a variant sound *ts* before the vowel *i*, as in the Tongan and several other Polynesian dialects. *K* is often given the sound of hard *g*, a characteristic often heard in Tokelau speech. The name of the Pukapuka god, Te Akuaku, was pronounced by one informant "Te Aguagu". *L* has an intermediate sound between *l* and *r*, as pronounced by many of the natives. In representing it as *l*, I may be influenced by the fact that I had previously heard only Polynesian dialects containing the true *l*. Hutchin, Frisbie, and Trotter, familiar with dialects containing *r*, evidently heard the sound of *r* and have represented it so in their writings. The sound of *v* exists in the words *vaka* (canoe) and *vai* (water) but is usually sounded as *w*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *laui* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or [653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[4] e to taua[4] lulu ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tama ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukea maua i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa la te manu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
241 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *tatou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaivai uuiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the 511 household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the 431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later 431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give [574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tauapaloa* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for 195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tauapaloa* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 cally as *muli tuluma* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the
[195] bottom of the *tuluma* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *taungaloa*. *Watonga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in
431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of talo to the gods Matalomea and
782 Matalolau, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *umhatapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 292).

431 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoosi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yuuyuu nunui*.
[578] To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atonui*, the mean or stingy person, *kakionge*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437 Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today
439 to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief 644 had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to [613] their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

642 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his sub-ordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last 613 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, body-guard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special 576 salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakakouvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these 793 chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might 643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu-645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was [171] the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, 613 the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Puka Pukans

643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te uole ye o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of
782 a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *uele* berries, a headband of *uele* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki yokio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Ui", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*uua*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te vei*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia[*] wai mali wauiu | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wowolo te wawa | Let the talo tubers grow big |
> | Kia tautengatanga | (Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request) |
> | Kia matolu te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (feces) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ale te wenua | Until the land stinks |
> | Kava ye te tangata | Countless the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koa tauyala wua hoe ki nua" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leoui* or *tauia*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
[302] choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part
643 of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *malou*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries.
643 From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*mahayoui*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[*] *Kia*, an archaic particle used in preferring requests to the god.

857 195 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wakamots* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 856 866 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 868 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
832 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named
539 Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nui*, *uetou*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*uui ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uoinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku hakala*) to tame her spirit (*uakalata i tona mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
195 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations be-
533 tween the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *wakasava* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (*eat*). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
835 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native ter-
833 minology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on
533 his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

805 Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
Koa to te la: the sun falls.
Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
Koa yeyengi te po: the night begins to darken.
Koa po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kelekele: black night.
Te pouli mata newu: dark when stars are dim.
Koa vaelua te po: the night is divided into two.
Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Koa wenake te ata kena: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
Koa kiwa te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te taupalonga la* (afternoon), *te auiomi* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Manu, no te vaia o Lotanga, no te vaia o Uikili, no te vaia o te taiweke.* The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*tahalonga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

805

[177] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realises fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayai were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

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Table 1. Comparison of *f* and *w* with other Polynesian consonants.*

	Pukapuka	New Zealand	Samoa	Niue	Tonga	Uvea	Ontong Java	Hawaii	Marquesas	Rarotonga	Tahiti	Mangareva	Easter Island
	f	h	s,-	h	h	h	h, s	h	h, f	'	h	'	h
To walk	yaele	haere	(saele)	haele	haele	haele	haele	haele	hee	'aere	haere	'ere	ahere
To err	yala	hara	sala	hala	hala	hala		hala	haa	'ara	hara	'ara	hara
To do	yanga	hanga	anga	(hanga)	(hangahanga)	hangahanga		hana	hana	'anga'anga	ha'a	'anga	hanga
Pregnant	yapu	hapu					sopo		hopu		hapu		
To tie	yele	here		hele	hele			hele	fee	'ere	here	'ere	here
To mix	yeuyeu	heuheu			heuheu				feu	'eu	heu		(heu)
Tail	yiku	hiku	si'u; i'u	hiku	hiku	hiku		hi'u		'iku		'iku	iku
Gray	yina	hina	sina	(hina)	hina			hina	hina	'ina	hina	'ina	
Friend	yoa	hoa	soa	(hoa)	hoa	hoa		hoa	hoa	'oa	hoa	'oa	hoa
Spittle	yuvale	huware									huare		
	w	wh, h	f, s	f	f	f	h	h	f, h	'	f, h	'	h
Four	wa	wha	fa	fa	fa	fa		ha	fa, ha	'a		'a	ha
To make	wai	whai	fai	fai	fai	fai			fai, hai		fai		hai
Caus. prefix	waka	whaka	fa'a	faka	faka	faka		ha'a	haa, haka	'aka	haka, faka	'aka	haka
House	wale	whare	fale	fale	fale	fale	hale	hale	hae, fae	'are	fare	'are	hare
To go	wano	whano	fano	fano	fano	fano	hango				fano		
Land	wenua	whenua	fanua		fonua	fenua	(hengua)		fenua, henua	'enua	fenua	'enua	henua
To want	wia	hia	fia	fia	fie	fia		hia	fia, hia	'ia	hia		
Paddle	woe	hoe	foe		fohe	foe	hoe	hoe	hoe	'oe	hoe	'oe	hoe
New	wou	hou	fou	fou	fou	fou		hou	hou	'ou	hou	'ou	hou
To swallow	wolo	horo	folo	folo	folo	folo			hoo		horo	'oro	horo
Seed	wua	hua	fua	fua	fua	fua	hua	hua	hua	'ua	hua	('ua)	hua
To open	wuke	huke	su'e	fuke	fuke	fuke				'uke			

* This table reflects all the limitations of the phonetic and dictionary material available for present study.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The main body of Pukapukan sounds presents no special features of comparative interest. But the two consonants *θ* and *w* are peculiar members of the otherwise usual Polynesian consonantal system. The Pukapukan *w* is not to be confused with the sound which is recorded as *w* in some dialects and which is probably more correctly described as the intermediate *β*, a sound found in primitive Hawaiian and in Rarotongan. Table 1 indicates the role of *θ* and *w* in widely distributed Polynesian words. On the information of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck), the *h* mistakenly recorded by Tregear (30) for Mangarevan is here discarded. It is regrettable that the presence or absence of the glottal stop as a consonant has in too many Polynesian dialects become a matter of considerable mystery.

In New Zealand, both *h* and *wh* are used before the vowels *a, i, e,* but *h* is required (in most words) before the vowels *o* and *u*. In no other dialect, except Tahitian, is this distinction evident. Maori *wh* equates with the simple Pukapukan *w*, Maori *h* with the Pukapukan *θ* or *w*. Maori *ha* and *he* tend to change to Pukapukan *θa* and *θe*; Maori *hi* sometimes becomes Pukapukan *θi*, more often Pukapukan *wi*. A more consistent rule of consonantal change is evident in comparing Pukapukan and Samoan, where Pukapukan *θ* becomes Samoan *s* and Pukapukan *w* becomes Samoan *f*. In Niue, Tonga, and Uvea, Pukapukan *θ* changes to *h*, Pukapukan *w* to *f*. In Hawaii, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Mangareva, Easter Island, and probably also Ontong Java, one consonant only (*h* or ') occurs in the several words where western Polynesian dialects distinguish between *s* and *f*, or between *θ* and *w*.

The most striking similarity to the Pukapukan sound *θ* occurs not in Polynesia proper, but in Fiji. Hazelwood (17, p. 1) describes for Fiji the consonant he writes *c* as "*tha*, as in that or this; not as in thick." It appears, therefore, that this sound is the voiced interdental spirant, *ð*. In some words in which this Fijian consonant occurs it corresponds to the Pukapukan *θ*[1]: *yala* (to err), *cala*; *yau* (breeze), *caucau*; *yiyi* (to split), *cici*; *yila* (to shine), *cila*; *yoka* (to spear), *coka*; *oyo* (provisions), *oco*; *yula* (to fasten), *cula*; *yuki* (to pierce), *cuki*.

In other words, the Fijian *ð* is used before or between vowels where corresponding words in Pukapukan require no consonant: *akau* (reef), *cakau*; *angi* (to blow), *cangi*; *ana* (outrigger), *cana*; *iva* (nine), *civa*; *moe* (to sleep), *moce*; *woe* (to paddle), *voce*.

Pukapukan informants were not consistent in their use of the *θ* at the beginning of certain words. Alternately, for example, they said *iliili* (to ask) and *yiliyili*. This, together with the fact that few Pukapukan words collected commence with a vowel, gives me the strong impression that formerly a *θ* preceded all vowels now commencing words. If this is true, then

[1] In the following comparisons the Pukapukan term is given first, followed by the translation in parentheses, and the Fijian term.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

194 the group of words in which Fijian *δ* appears between vowels is not properly distinguishable from the words where Fijian *δ* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ*.

197 In another category, however, Pukapukan *θ* is replaced by the Fijian *s*, said to be pronounced "as in English": *yanga* (to do), *sanga*; *yelu* (to comb), *seru*; *yeye* (foolish), *sese*; *yen* (to mix), *seu*; *yika* (netting needle), *sika*; *yinu* (oil), *sinusinu*; *yua* (water), *suasua* (wet).

Like the *δ* sound, Fijian *s* occurs in some words where no Pukapukan consonant is now used: *ala* (path), *sala*; *angaanga*[2], *sangasanga*; *olo* (to rub), *solo*.

I find no suggestion in the literature that the Fijian *δ* is ever palatalized, though this is invariable with the Pukapukan *θ*. But the semivowel *y* is another Fijian consonant used in some words where Pukapukan requires no consonant: *ate* (liver), *yate*; *atu* (row), *yatu*.

In a few Fijian words *y* corresponds to Pukapukan *θ*: *yala* (to encircle), *yala*; *yau* (to come), *yau* (to come or go); *yau* (dew), *yauyau* (fog or mist).

The sound *θ* appears in the Melanesian sound system as worked out by Ray (23,p.30). It is noted in particular for Nengone and Lifu of the Loyalty Islands and for Aneityum in the southern New Hebrides (23,pp.77,139). Because of inadequate linguistic material it is impossible to determine the relation between this Melanesian sound and the voiceless spirant of Pukapuka.

Pukapukan *w* is Fijian *v*. Other consonants seem to correspond in words common to both as follows (Pukapukan given first): k, k; k, ngg (q)?; l, l; l, ndr; m, m; n, n; ng, ng; p, mb; t, t; t, nd; v, w.

It is regrettable that paucity of phonetic material for any Fijian dialect renders it impossible to draw conclusions, but when trustworthy phonetic and ethnographic material becomes available for the cultures crudely lumped together today as Fijian, it is not unlikely that phonetic and cultural anomalies found in the otherwise prevailing Polynesian culture of Pukapuka will prove no longer to be unique but part of a western sub-culture that may be traced from its eastern boundary in Pukapuka across to, and beyond, Fiji.

POPULATION

161 The population for the years for which figures are available (7) is as
731 follows: 1906, 435; 1911, 490; 1916, 474; 1926, 526; 1935, 632.

167 The increase in population from 1906 to 1911, followed by a decrease in 1916, is at least partly explained by the fact that 52 Pukapukans were transferred to Rarotonga in September 1914, in order to relieve distress caused by the tidal wave that swept Pukapuka in January of that year. The population today shows a great increase over the population figures of 1916 and 1926. Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared

[2] Pukapukan informants held that the reduplicated form of the word *yanga* is not *yangayanga*, but *angaanga*.

171 Pukapuka and Samoa. The double-pointed throwing weapon links Pukapuka to Funafuti; oval or round religious structures seem to have their nearest parallel with those of Niutao in the Ellice Islands. Unlike Samoa, Pukapuka lacks tattooing, the arched house, the use of house decorative lashings and the plank-flanged canoe, though the use of flanges on the dugout canoe may suggest Samoan influence.

In social organization, Pukapuka presents several features that seem more Melanesian than Polynesian. This is notable in the structure of the maternal moieties, and the importance of named maternal descent groups. The common western Polynesian custom of *vasu* or *fahu* is absent in Pukapuka. Though the Pukapukan kinship system is marginal to the west, there has been a specialization in the function of at least one western kinship category (the *moyakitanga*, sacred maid), and whereas brother-sister tapu is absent, the full weight of avoidance has fallen on those of opposite sex who are related as cross or parallel cousins. This strongly suggests a similar emphasis reported for the southeast and northwest Solomon Islands (Mala and Buka). Again, the elaboration of rank within kindred associated with the west, and the elaboration of rank within the social structure associated with Samoa and Tonga, together with a chiefly language, are all lacking in the simpler, more democratic structure of Pukapukan society.

The hierarchy of Pukapukan gods is hard to trace elsewhere. The named gods and their elaboration of function seem peculiar to Pukapuka. The absence of such gods as Tangaloa, Tane, Ru, and Rongo points to a break with the deistic systems of the rest of Polynesia, Certain correspondence between the Pukapukan conception of the Underworld and that formerly prevalent in Futuna may be noted, but it is significant that a common western name for the underworld, *pulotu* or its dialectical equivalent, is unknown in Pukapuka other than as a recently introduced word.

191 Linguistically, the dialect of Pukapuka and its phonetic material seem to be unique in that it is impossible to say whether Pukapukan is more closely allied to the western or to eastern dialects. One of the two phonetic anomalies that are not found elsewhere in Polynesia appears to have its closest affinity with sounds recorded for Fiji and the New Hebrides.

171 The games of Pukapuka are widespread Polynesian games. Analysis of the string figures indicates that these show a closer affinity with the west than with the east. Because comparative string figure collections are still very inadequate, it is impossible to be more definite than this.

The myths and tales of Pukapuka mention several of the well-known Polynesian culture heroes. It is possible that the relatively large number of animal tales in Pukapuka, though few by comparison with the total number of known tales, points to a far western affiliation. At least it serves to dis-

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

194 sented in the text as *'i*. This extra sound following *h* is found in the dialect of the Tokelau Islands (9), Manihiki, and Rakahanga (13). Many natives of Pukapuka drop the glottal closure at the beginning of a word and retain only the *i* sound. To English-speaking people this sounds like *y*, as in the word year, and has led Frisbie (3), Hutchin (6), and Trotter (17) to write *y* in words that contain this sound. A comparison of words written with *y* by Trotter with cognate words of the Maori dialect (16) and the Samoan dialect (10) shows that the *y* becomes *h* or *r* in Maori and *s* or *l* in Samoan. I believe that Trotter has confused the liquid sound of the Pukapukan *l* with the *y* sound which he heard in other words. He has given *lengalenga* (green) as "yengayenga" and *lava* (multitude) as "yava". The forms *lengalenga* and *lava* are found in the Samoan dialect also. In all other words containing *y*, the *y* becomes *h* in the Maori form and *s* in the Samoan form, as shown in the following comparative list of words:

Pukapuka	Maori	Samoa	Translation
ye	———	se	not
yauariki matangi	hau	sau	gentle breeze, fresh, cool, dew
yeuyeu	heuheu	seu	to mix or scatter
yoka	hoka	so'a	to husk
yoyongi	hongi	sogi	to smell or kiss
yna	hina	sina	grey, white

The original Polynesian *h*, which Buck (13) suggests has been retained in Hawaii, and the old form *wh* of the Maori dialect (also retained in the Manihiki dialect) has been developed into a full *w* sound in Pukapuka speech. The Hawaiian word hau (*whau* in Maori) becomes *wau* in Pukapuka.

The sound of *t* also has a variant sound *ts* before the vowel *i*, as in the Tongan and several other Polynesian dialects. *K* is often given the sound of hard *g*, a characteristic often heard in Tokelau speech. The name of the Pukapuka god, Te Akuaku, was pronounced by one informant "Te Aguagu". *L* has an intermediate sound between *l* and *r*, as pronounced by many of the natives. In representing it as *l*, I may be influenced by the fact that I had previously heard only Polynesian dialects containing the true *l*. Hutchin, Frisbie, and Trotter, familiar with dialects containing *r*, evidently heard the sound of *r* and have represented it so in their writings. The sound of *v* exists in the words *vaka* (canoe) and *vai* (water) but is usually sounded as *w*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*uuhatiha*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown
156 by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture.
864 Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
201 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
576 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in
832 detail in the story of Te Malo and Totoloa (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano kne ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wakatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*lulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *taua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*koi*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ta te alu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palekimuli*.

[201]

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngayu* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

857

526 **Running races** (*welele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vaevae* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

526 186 527 Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulungo matilu*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukou*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikouri*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
578 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*mauw*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day.
202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapo*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tuukolo*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakomangalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Totoloa and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate
764 return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting
202 off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nawa*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nawa* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa wenua*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

533 Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kauia*). Formerly, when a large chanting and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*mua vaka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chant-
534 ing on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *wakonau* or *uvias* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *lulu ki te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kauu* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uui taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *muli kauu* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kauu* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

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625 is known by the way in which the *lasi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[4] e to taua' lulu ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tama ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukea mana i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa la te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotaua* fern to use as fertilizer for
village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *koiou*, *koiou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that
203 oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kulua ki te vanaga ko avatu ki to taua lulu. Ka wo loa taua ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka aumai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tiniu ka aumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngoogo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui mea ia e wakayafia i to taua motu. Ka nono taua i ai e witu po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:

623 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at
245 other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be
685 given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were
622 automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

177 The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on 484 early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful 177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one 554 paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through 167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether 829 physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

173 I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, 484 have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
939 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island
twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is
265 now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka.
A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Puka-
puka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and
Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
797 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
771 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the
stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
642 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much
affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook
Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among
the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people.
Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
797 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in
191 the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today
Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken
exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure
Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example
but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Raro-
tongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend
to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech
or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Puka-
pukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on
informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communi-
cations with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the
dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to
our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral
797 theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

764 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipole, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangakula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[766] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 32 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[888] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuanua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautu, of a man named Walakula and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangakula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangea, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alongaoa.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*mauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle 805 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina* 132 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of 221 good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina yu*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lelei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity 221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco- 312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

221 [312] and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep
315 holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel,
241 and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and
137 bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Puka-
137 puka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond
624 Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

462 102 626 577

One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 244 709

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

857 587

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 554

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata waiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
● 221 on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that
203 oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua ki te vananga ko avatu ki to taua lulu. Kawo loa taua ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka aumai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepolupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tinia ka aumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kaveu, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui mea ia e wakayatia i to taua motu. Ka nono taua i ai e witu po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:
623

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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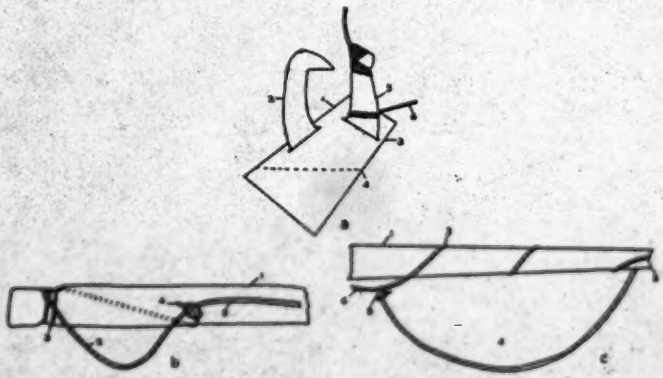
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 A man catches his *baloma* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*polo launin*) [264] which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish 501 from the hook. When the canoe is kedged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the 285 necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the 502 canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.



227 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird noosing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: 284 any dead fish bait (*moana mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from 223 bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yele manu*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*kowyele*) (C8152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted *uao*, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 *Tuku moana* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *lulu* and *tauolo* fishing: *tuku moana* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kavea*:

The first method is *lamalama kavea*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kavea*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wakapoa kavea*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *wuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and
252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
162 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka hoi lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*uusta*) is termed *wahayei manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The catcher goes during the day to a suitable pandanus tree close to other trees where the birds are wont to perch overnight. He trims the tree so that he can climb to the topmost branches without lacerating his body on the sharp spines of the pandanus leaves. Trimming away the leaves and projecting branches also makes it easier to drag the bulky bird net to the top of the tree. At dusk, he again climbs the tree. Then as the birds return from their sea feeding grounds, the catcher utters a guttural mimic cry. The bird is attracted within the radius of the net by the call, and is secured with a sweeping, downward scoop of the net. The mesh of the net is drawn in and the bird removed. It is killed by a sharp bite of the teeth on the back of the neck and thrown to the ground. Birds are caught by this method for about two hours at dusk. The birds caught are principally *ngongo*, but also *kotawa, noa, takupu, lakia, kaka, ali, akiaki, wili, manu uli, tavake toto, tavake mokomoko,* and *matiku*.

An alternate use of the net is mentioned specifically for one bird, *kaka*. The method is termed *popo ki te tae* (slapping down the net). The *kaka* bird comes ashore at night to nest in the sand on the back beaches. The catcher, carrying his net, crawls up to the bird. When close, he pushes the net forward and places the belly of the net over the bird as it nests asleep. Then he takes the bird from under the net and kills it. The emphasis is on quietness and speed so as not to alarm other birds nesting close by.

Some nonresident birds, *ali* and *lavulavu*, come to the outer beaches, not to lay, but to rest, flying low, and to feed. The catcher advances with his net toward a flock of birds, and scoops the birds into the net as they rise and fly low about him.

2. Hand catching. Birds are taken by hand (*tango manu, tango kotawa,* etc.) when it is quite dark and they have flown in from the beaches.

Before the birds have returned, the catcher climbs a suitable roosting tree, *puka*, coconut, or pandanus. He waits quietly until the birds are roosting. Then he reaches out his hands and grasps the birds. He wrings each bird's neck with a quick twist before it has time to squawk, drops it to the ground, and seizes the next. Most birds are best caught by this method when a fresh wind blows, whether or not there is a moon. The wind makes the outer ends of the coconut and pandanus branches sway so much that the birds come to roost close in to the trunk, where they are easily caught. Climbing bandages are used if the catcher has to wait for a long time in the trees. The hazards of bird catching by this method are well brought out in the conclusion of the story of Te Nana and Yi (p. 402). Birds caught by the *tango* method are: *kotawa, noa, takupu, ngongo, lakia, kaka, akiaki, manu uli, tavake mokomoko,* and *matiku*.

Catching by hand is applied in a special way to the wild grey ducks which rest temporarily in Pukapukan ponds or calm waters in their migrations southward over the atoll during November and December. The catcher places a basket (*ola*) over his head. Peering through the basket, he swims (*kakau*) with the minimum of effort, toward the place where the birds are resting, taking every precaution to make the basket look like drift material. When he comes close to the birds, he grasps them with his hands and kills them.

3. Striking. Knocking birds off branches with the hands or a stick is used especially for catching young fledglings nesting on the branches of the pandanus tree.

Two men go bird catching. One mounts the tree and catches the birds with the hand or knocks them (*hui* or *you*) to the ground with a stick. His partner stays on the ground, catches the birds as they fall, and kills them. This method is used for *lakia, kaka, ali, akiaki, manu uli,* and *tavake mokomoko*.

The method of striking down the birds with a pole is used for low-flying, nonresident birds. Two men go to the nesting places on the outer beaches. As the birds are disturbed and fly away very low, the catcher strikes them down with a long pole.

223 His partner catches the birds on the ground and kills them. Birds caught thus are *uli, wili, manu uli, tavake toto*, and *tavake mokomoko*.

Catching birds by throwing stones or sticks is common. The catcher goes to the beaches armed with throwing stones of coral, or with a number of short, heavy sticks about 2 feet long. He comes near the feeding or nesting places of the birds and attempts to kill them by throwing (*kanu*) his missiles. This method is used for *wili, manu uli, tavake toto, tavake mokomoko, kaleva, lupe*, and *matiku*.

4. Lure used for the tropic birds.

The catcher collects a handful of the young white leaves of the pandanus tree. He goes to the place where the birds are resting or feeding and waves the leaves in the air (*wukaikaika*), at the same time uttering a guttural cry, "I ka! i ka!" The waving of the lure and the cry attract the birds which come fluttering overhead. They are then netted, knocked down, or caught in the hands of the netter or his assistant.

5. Noosing and snaring.

A noose (*yele manu*, fig. 4,*b*) of the required size is attached to a pole which is thrust out along the branches to the place where the bird is nesting. The noose is placed over the neck of the roosting bird and pulled tight, strangling the bird. Then the pole is pulled in while the bird is disengaged and thrown to earth. The pole noose is reset and pushed out again for the next bird. This technique is used for *kotawa, noa, takupu, ngongo, lakia, kaka, akiaki, wili, manu uli*, and *tavake mokomoko*.

[284] A variant method is to use the noose without the pole. The noose (again called *yele manu*) is made with a square knot on a bight and held in the hand. The catcher crawls up to the bird nesting in the sand and drops the noose over the bird's neck, pulls it tight, and strangles the bird. Noosing by this method is used principally for *kaka*.

Two methods of snaring birds also involve the use of the noose principle. The bird snare (*maunga*) is described in figure 4*a,b*. A piece of beach is chosen which the birds are in the habit of frequenting. The *maunga* is placed on the ground and firmly anchored by a sennit cord passing from one end of the snare pole to a large coral stone near by. The catcher gets behind a group of birds and gently drives them in the direction of the snare. Whenever the birds stop moving, the catcher stops; when they move again, he directs them toward the nooses. The birds hop along, come to the *maunga*, which they are unable to avoid owing to the projecting wings, advance through the nooses, and are caught by the feet. The catcher comes up to kill them. Birds so caught are *kawe, tuli, kolili, polopolouenga, kiu, talakoko*, and *taiko*.

A second type of snare is the coconut-shell *maunga agaipu* (fig. 4*a*). Five or six of these are set up on a suitable beach and coconut flesh is strewn about the ground. The bird is attracted by the coconut, inserts its head into the nut to peck at the flesh and entangles its feathers in the sennit fiber nooses. The bird struggles to escape, usually overturning the coconut which falls on top of it. The bird is removed and the snare reset. This snare is used for *tuli, kolili, popopolouenga, kiu, talakoka*, and *taiko*.

6. Line catching. Birds are also caught by a method involving the use of fishline. One variant of this method is used for birds (*talaiuc* and *tala*) that skim the water close to shore looking for small fish food.

To the end of a small fishline a gorge (*au*) of fishbone is fastened. *Kaloma* bait is tied to the gorge and the line is laid along the beach at water's edge. The birds come down for the bait, the gorge sticks in their throats, and they are firmly caught. A second variation of this method, called *wukaole manu*, is used for birds that hop about feeding in the shallows and wet beaches. A piece of the abdomen of the hermit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

223 crab (*unga*) or, alternately, a bait of small periwinkle meats or centipedes (*vuli*) is tied to the ends of each of several lines which are laid across the beach, the other ends being fastened to a near-by tree or to stakes. The birds swallow the baits, are unable to disgorge them, can not fly away, and are caught. *Kawe* and *mapiku* birds are caught thus with *unga* bait, *tuli* with periwinkle or centipede bait.

7. Fowling line, generally used to catch sea birds.

A length of *uuo* line is attached at one end of a pole from 6 to 9 feet long. A piece of coral stone weighing about 2 ounces is fastened to the free end of the line. When a bird has been attracted close to the tree in which the catcher hides, or when it circles low over the beach, the line is thrown out. The weight of the stone carries the line round the bird. The line encircles the bird several times and entangles its wings. It is then drawn to the catcher. No decoy birds were used in this method of bird catching, nor was the stone weight shaped in any way. The use of line, shaped stone, and decoy bird is reported for Apemama by Woodford (19,p.294), the use of line and shaped weight for Vaitupu (19,p.294), and for Nauru (14,p.289).

House Building

342 476 The framework for small houses is erected by the owner and a few of his friends. If a big house is contemplated and speed is required, the kinship group is mobilized and the work continued until the frame is completed. The able-bodied men work on the frame while the older men work near by making the sennit for the lashings. Today the framework of most small houses is fitted together in some shady, cool place whether the actual site of the new house is unoccupied or already occupied by an old house which is to be replaced. When the frame is completed, it is taken to pieces, transported to the house site and there put together again. The roof framework is fixed together permanently at the work site and then bodily transported to the house site. In big houses, however, the frame is usually erected on the house site in the first instance. The house framework is usually built during the cooler weather just after the winds swing round to the southeast.

342 Unless the house is very small, the thatching (whether of a new or old house) is done by a working party. The sides and ends of each roof are divided into sections (*uonunga* or *tuta*) of a certain width running from eaves to ridgepole. Two to three sections are generally reckoned for the side of an average house. The pile of roof sheets for each section is termed *yinaki lau*. The type of thatching desired, whether *ato tele* or *ato yinaki*, and the distance between each successive roof sheet is specified beforehand. 342 The owner of the house arranges with as many friends as necessary, each 476 to assume responsibility for preparing the roof sheets and sennit, and for thatching one section of the house. Each man may elect to do all the work 431 himself or he may call in a group of friends to help him with his section. The work is paid for by a food division, one share being set aside for each section that has been contracted out. This share is redivided among the helpers in each section. The amount of food constituting a share depends

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A small receptacle or container of coconut leaf is sometimes made to transport young birds from the reserve islets to Wale. The containers function also as bird cages.

Receptacle C8144 (*pupu manu*) is made from a length of coconut midrib, 14 inches long and carrying 19 leaflets, cut from the tip end of a coconut leaf. The plaiter works with the midrib base uppermost, and starting from either end plaits the leaflets in a close check to form a cone 20 inches long, base diameter 4 inches (fig. 16). The base is finished with a three-ply braid, and the two free ends of the braid are knotted together. When a bird is placed inside the cone, the base is fastened together by interlacing a leaflet from side to side through and under the base braiding. If the receptacle is used to transport flowers or plants from the islets, the cone-shaped container is plaited round the objects.

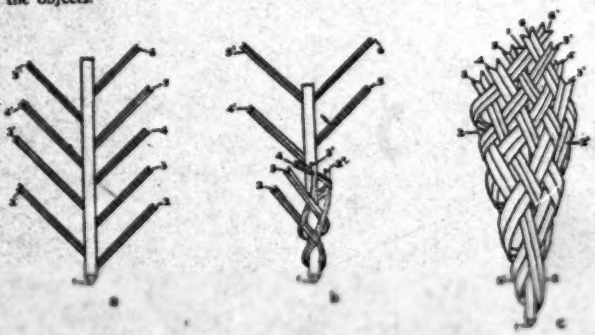

FIGURE 16.—Commencement of cone-shaped receptacle (*pupu manu*). *a*, section of midrib (1), carrying nine leaflets (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′): broad base of midrib uppermost. *b*, commencement of plaiting: leaflet 2′ carries across from left to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, carried across to left; leaflet 3′ carries to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, 4; process continues, alternately bending left side leaflets to right, right side leaflets to left, plaiting leaflets in check. *c*, result after several plaiting strokes: leaflet 2′ has engaged leaflets 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and has passed around under cone; similarly, leaflet 2 has engaged leaflets 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′ and passed to other side of cone; other leaflets, those from left side functioning as dextrals, those from right side as sinistrals, plaited together in open leaf check; only six leaflets on each side figured, but process continued with all leaflets on midrib base; when cone is large enough, free ends of leaflets braided in three-ply braid, and two ends of braid knotted together, forming fixation edge for mouth of receptacle.

Platters (*laulau*) on which food is served are characterized by a natural concavity formed by the dull side of the coconut leaflets when plaited or folded together. All pudding platters for the talo dish called *olo* have the braided finishing edge; all fish platters have the overhand knot finish; all platters for the talo dish called *loloi* have the non-braided, double-knot finish. All platters are approximately 18 inches wide and 9 to 12 inches deep.

Platter C8081, *laulau ave olo*, is used for serving the talo pudding (*olo*). The platter has the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement. It is plaited in open

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*fua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The commencement end (*kamatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¾ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3,*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*kaunga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *kaunga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yala* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*kaunga yala*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅜ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uoo* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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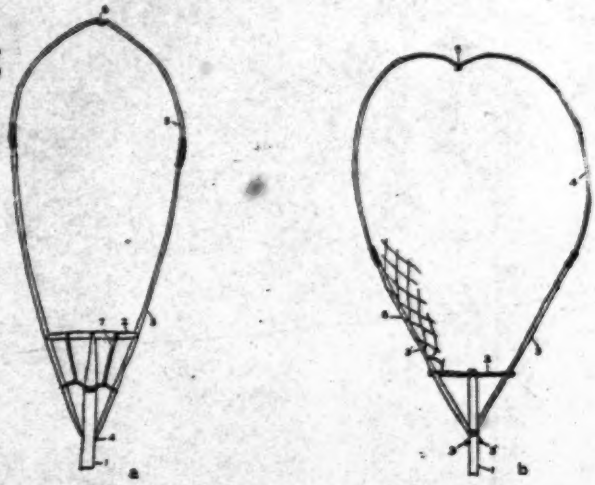

FIGURE 45.—Flying-fish and bird nets. *a*, framework of flying-fish net (*tar malolo*) (CB067): 1, handle (*kautar*) of *puapua* wood, 7 feet 2 inches long, greatest diameter 1½ inches, diameter at crosbar ¾ inch; head of handle slotted (*utupo*) to hold crosbar (*teke*) of unbeaten wood (2) which is 10½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; crosbar slotted at each end to receive rods (*uwepuwenga*) of pandanus wood (3) 3 feet long and ¾ inch in diameter at ends where they fit against handle (4); other ends of rods are ½ inch in diameter and are joined to lighter rods (*matai*) (5) of *lakau yili* by scarf joins; each *matai* is 20 inches long and ¾ inch in diameter; the other two ends of two *matai* are notched, brought closely together (6) and joined by continuous transverse turns of cord; lashing of crosbar to handle strengthened by suspensory lashings (7). The lashing of stout rods (*uwepuwenga*) to handle, shown in figure 46, *a*, *b*, *c*; lashing of head of handle to crosbar and of ends of crosbar to stout rods is in common alternating curves pattern; lashing of stout rods to lighter rods is by transverse turns around scarf join, commencement ends and finishing ends being buried. The suspensory lashing consists of transverse turns around handle and across to stout rods on either side, then transverse turns around cross lashing and crosbar; cross turns and suspensory turns are seized to main lashing taut. Net is 18 inches deep, with greatest width at mouth 19 inches. *b*, bird net (*uwete*) (CB143): 1, handle of *puapua* wood 10 feet long, 1¾ inches at widest diameter, and 1 inch in diameter at head; 2, crosbar of *ngangie* wood is 11½ inches long, ½ inch in diameter; 3, 3', stout rods of pandanus wood, 2 feet 6 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; 4, lighter rods of *lakau yili* wood, 3 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at join with stout rods, ¼ inch in diameter at distal point (5) of frame; in attaching frame to handle, crosbar (2) is first lashed to upper side of handle; both stout rods (3, 3') laid over upper sides of crosbar and under handle, two ends of rods projecting slightly beyond handle, 3' to right, 3 to left; lashing of rods to handle, of rods to crosbar ends, and of crosbar to head of handle are all of alternate curves pattern; crosbar first lashed to head of handle; free end of cord carried to left end of crosbar and lashes rod to crosbar; free end carried back across crosbar to opposite end of crosbar and

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223 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of
284 rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3′) by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 Netting needles (*tui* or *wawa*) and mesh gauges (*yika*) are used. Of two types of
227 needle, the *wawa* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia.
286 One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob end in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yika* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (CB131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅜ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Puka-
227 pukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method
286 described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

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227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The
[264] lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*wnata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed
223 western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*voka hiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga hui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukanu* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special feed division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

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Soul Trap

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Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.

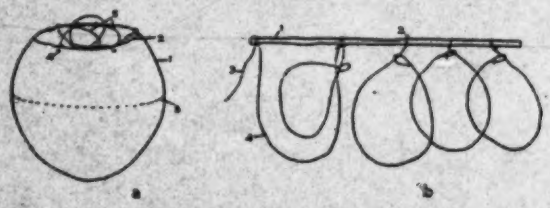

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Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *uao* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been sennit either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *uao* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ʒa*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipūpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai, taumamaya, yamuyamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
574 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
431 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on cocoanut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*nukalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

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Stakes of *puapua* or *pukama* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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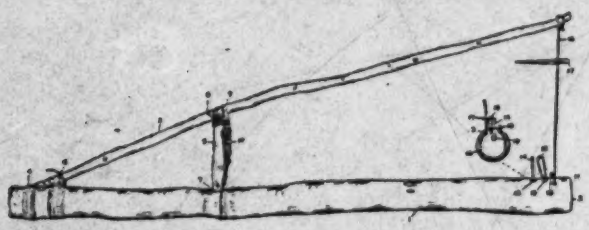

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
784

Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Paniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the *paniwi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Paniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*hawa hi te wutu*) or stone clubbing (*patu hi te wutu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamayei*, *tupoupou*, *taotao-*

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

NOOSING

226 Noosing (*yele*) is a common Pukapukan method for catching eels, sharks, swordfish, *matawula kakai*, and *pala*. No bait stick, whole fish bait, or special type of noose is used for the eels in Pukapuka, nor are sea centipedes or crayfish caught by this method, as is reported for Samoa (27, p. 421). The Pukapukan noose of three-ply twisted cord of *wao* fiber is made by passing a free end of the cord around the running section of cord and tying it around itself with an overhand knot. The noose is made about 3 feet in diameter. (See p. 188). Fishing is outside the reef:

A teaser bait (*pakupaku*) of bonito flesh is tied to a line and trolled behind the canoe to attract the fish. As the canoe trolls the teaser, the crew make their paddles resound (*tougi*) by hitting the water and beating the sides of the canoe with them. When the fish is seen, the teaser is pulled into the canoe, the noose placed on the *kauyele* stick, and the stick put into the water. Chum is thrown out to attract the fish toward the noose. The stick is withdrawn and more chum thrown into the water on the farther side of the noose. The noose is thus between two chums and is maneuvered so that even a wary (*keilopa*) fish comes up on the starboard side of the canoe. When the fish moves through the noose to reach the second chum, the noose is pulled tight around its tail. The fish is hauled to the canoe and clubbed before being lifted in. This method of noosing fish corresponds to similar methods described for Samoa (27, p. 421) and Vaitupu (19, pp. 56-60). In Pukapuka however there is nothing corresponding to the hurling of insulting remarks (*tapatapa*) to the fish to make them indiscreet, as Kennedy reports for Vaitupu.

TURTLES

225 Three varieties of turtle are common in Pukapukan waters: *matawao*, the largest green turtle; *wonu*, the ordinary green turtle; and *wonu kea*, the hawk's-bill turtle. When turtles are sighted from the shore, the news is called out through the village and the people ask, "E talau? E taepu?" (Is it big? Is it small?). There are three methods by which turtles may be captured:

1. *Puke wonu*, overtaking or seizing a turtle. A man swims out to sea in the season for turtles. He may swim several miles before he sights the animal. Coming up to a turtle, he gets on its back and gouges out its eyes with his thumbs, at the same time forcing the head of the animal upwards with hand pressure. As long as this pressure is continued, the turtle will keep to the surface and will not sound. Alternately the fisherman catches the foreflippers of the turtle with his arms and holds them up; this also prevents the turtle from sounding. If the fisherman is expert, he steers the turtle over the reef to the beach; otherwise he holds the animal until a canoe arrives from shore. An expert who is a good swimmer, strong and skillful, can bring a turtle ashore unaided. When turtles to be caught by this method are seen from a canoe, the first command is for absolute silence, for the turtle sounds immediately noise is heard. One of the crew slips into the water, swims up to the animal, and grips it as just described. His companions stretch apart the foreflippers, tie them to a stout stick, and lift the animal into the canoe.

2. *Yele wonu*, noosing. A man swims out to sea, often with a canoe outrigger as a float, while he waits to sight a turtle. When he sees one, he takes a line with a running noose in the end and dives and slips the noose over the foreflipper. The noose is pulled

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip 825 is viselike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

225 3. *Wuli wonu*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening 825 rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who 262 caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualanga*) and the major internal organs (*ngakau matua*). It was tapu for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan levies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*weke makatu loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*weke makatu poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*punga*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*mauke*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ula*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ula* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ula* with his hands (*lalao ula* or *tango ula*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lomolomu*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *halomu* bait, and plenty of chum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 286 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yuka* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep. [264]

223 The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 223 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Pukapuka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 [171] The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

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Stakes of *puapua* or *pukoma* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

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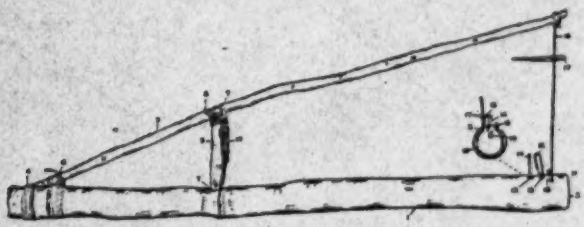

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285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.
The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayake. Wekake loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua leo. Wo loa la te wenua ia ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Puka-
526 pukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing, when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
226 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*limo mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo mainge* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *mauake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phenomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by
787 thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A
324 vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree
[847] or when a meteor (*mata wai kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*nuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te wale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 421 731 621

In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed *ui wenua*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

VILLAGE PROPERTY

REEFS

423 621 226

The barrier reef (*te ayanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*lakuiai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

476 431 784

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake announced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*laui*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takupu* birds (tern).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
133 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a fre-
685 quent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-
eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side.
621 Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing
reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards
(p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
226 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
431 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called
te loto, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava*
621 fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom.
The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times,
generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties
from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual mat-
ter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The
catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds
its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond
is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal
361 and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown
on the map (fig.1,*b*). 1

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
621 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tulisyanga and Alata-
361 kupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A
526 weapon (*kaio*) of *tutua* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men
facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
the high chief (*aliki uelo*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tana and requested
776 1. [See p.15, category 11b—analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*uale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te winga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

262 In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lasi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
644 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*uukatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that
203 oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo nai lufuu ki te vasenga ko avatu ki te taua lulu. Ka wo lua taua ki te neteu. Ko taua mea ka taunai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau aa mea a te tinia ka aunai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kaveu, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te laipea, e ya te ongo, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wai mea ia e wakayatia i te taua motu. Ka nono taua i ai e wiku po, wonnunai lua taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. These are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:

623 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at
245 other times to set birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous
685 to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were
622 automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
521 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that
123 their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
685 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
421 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law
361 of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule-Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
221 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day
245 to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pulu pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*si lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitaue, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te muli uvaua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata uvaua*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *kotonu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

[581] 533 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaava* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 245 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared 422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts 226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

512 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic
221 routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding
[285] day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

476 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house build-
226 ing, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determin-
285 ing factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women,
241 the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and
268 coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building
625 of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

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Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enuenu pe te poi[6]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E kua yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[6] The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pivoi* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ika*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala. . ." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*. . .); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *wenua*; 2, lagoon, *alo*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tuwatawa*; 4, reef shelf, *uluulu akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayanga*; 5, surface water, *kilitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *wuiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *puongangutu*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yolo-ongangutu* (also called *nenu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, *akula*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupele*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*tanganga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tanganga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

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226/482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kalava*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing.

Tukutuku or wakayeke: to pay out a line.
Wuwuti: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or langa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakamatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or momono: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua wowine*
626 (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te maunu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery
777 while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods
782 for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the
776 gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred
778 clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malokitelangi, near the western reef channel
226 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-
782 hook. The gift (*uukatetea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

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226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:

784 Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Paniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the *paniwi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Paniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*hamu hi te wutu*) or stone clubbing (*patu hi te wutu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamayui*, *tufonfou*, *tautao-*

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226 *ama* fish, and especially *uu moemoe* which never move at the approach of a fisherman or a canoe.

Flipping is employed for *hatu* and *hatutua* fish, usually by children. A piece of *uupa* crab meat is tied to a coconut husk with a strip of fiber. The husk is held in one hand and lowered into the water. When the fish bites, the husk is flipped from the water with the fish on it. Another technique is to tie crab meat to a length of coconut fiber and jerk the fiber from the water when the fish has the bait in its mouth.

The wooden fish club (p. 189) is used to kill large deep-sea fish as they are hauled into the canoe. It is also used as an adjunct in seine netting, all types of reef fishing, and torch fishing. One who finds fish stranded in shallows of the lagoon or beach may club them to death with a wooden club (*patu ki te lakau*). Fish commonly killed in this way are *vete, manini,* squid, and angler fish.

GROPING, SPEARING, TORCH FISHING

Groping (*tulituli*) for reef fish is done by men, women, and children, mainly during the full moon and spring tides. Fish spearing (*yoka ki te tao*), formerly done with a wooden spear (*tao ika*) or with a rough spear made by pointing a stick of *puapua* (*tao puapua*), has been largely superseded today by the introduced method of catapulting a light, pointed iron rod. Torch fishing (*lamalama*) is done on dark nights by two men, or a man and wife, or a young man and woman.

1. Groping. Each person takes with him a basket (*ola*) and a fish spear (*tao ika*) or a piece of sharpened *ngangie* wood about 3 feet long (*yukiyuki*). He gropes about with his hands in the branching heads of the antelope coral, in crevices, reef channels, and pools of the reef shelf (*ulualuakau*). When he comes to a deep crevice, he gently pushes his stick towards the hole to make the fish come forward and bite. If he sees that the fish is not dangerous, he grasps and kills it with a bite behind the head; if it is not safe, he spears it or leaves it alone. Groping at high tide, the fisherman submerges and swims under water to explore deeper holes.

Artificial rock piles (*au matu*) are built for basket groping (*tata ki te ola*). Piles of stones are placed in appropriate parts of the lagoon, about 35 yards from the shore in shallow water. A large slab of coral conglomerate is supported by four smaller stones, and the whole covered by other stones. The pile is left for about two weeks, when two fishermen return with a cone-shaped fishing basket and a coconut-leaf mat (*polopolo*). They place the basket (*ola*) close to the pile and surround both basket and rock pile with the mat. One man knocks aside the smaller stones and larger slab and drives the fish into the basket. They close the basket and replace the stones before proceeding to the next *au matu*.

A basket is also used for the ordinary method of groping under coral heads. One fisherman holds it near a crevice while the other beats the water or pokes into the hole to drive out the fish. Children are adepts in the use of this method; their mothers or sisters make them small baskets for catching the smallest reef fish. Fish caught by the groping method are: *manini* (about three times each year, when very young), *ecu, malibi, taiao, hatiuu,* all the parrot fishes, *lami, pakeva, peua, lalauwta, lai, umu, palangi, malava, hayaya, ma, maito, ngatala, tangau, tunaelanga, matanga, mamu, malau, hokili, hili, mualanga, piau, uvhe, wiiwiti, yayala, palauli, piopio, matacle, lali, papa,* and *yilou.*

2. Fish spearing. Save for one or two fish, spearing is carried out in the shallows

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226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pula, ali, pateletele, ulua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, taotaoama;* the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *witiwiti, poyalo, palu uli, piopio, mataele, lali,* and *fapa.* The various rays are speared with a *tao,* to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama akau*),
572 three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground,
416 dull side (*tua,* back) down, the smooth side (*mulivakevake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *wakapulapula.*

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *haloma, ie, maono, uualiki, mayi, kanae, uloulo, kotimu,* parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi wakapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *pa wutu iko* or *tawenga*; the method of using it, *tali tawenga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tae yeeka*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ola wuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred
[621 422] to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

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226 caught with the stone weir are: *unaliki, talao, lupo, pakeva, lalauutu, lai, ume, palangi, malova, hayuye, ma, maito, ava, hiokiotai, atule, yoyalo, palu uli, piopio, matacle, lali,* and *papa.*

227 Coconut-leaf weirs (*pa lama launiu*), less permanent than stone weirs, may be easily moved about the lagoon shallows according to the running of the fish:

To make a weir, dried coconut midribs are split longitudinally. Three or more half-leaves are placed on top of each other, and the leaflets gathered together and tied with *kalava* coconut fibers. An appropriate section of lagoon or fish pond is chosen and stakes are driven into the bottom in pairs. The space between the two stakes of each pair is about 18 inches, and the series of pairs are about 6 feet apart. A sufficient number of pairs is set up to give the required length to the wings of the weir, the base toward the beach and the exit toward the reef. The bundles of coconut midribs are laid between the pairs of stakes to make the walls about 18 inches high. Some weirs (*matau*) have a permanent stone mouth to which the leaf-walls are linked.

226 The mouth of the simple leaf weir or of the composite stone-and-leaf weir is blocked with a scoop net or basket. Men inside the weir advance toward the closed exit, pounding the surface of the water with coconut midrib butts to drive the fish to the exit where they are caught. The fish caught in these weirs are the same as those caught in stone weirs.

Movable coconut-leaf sweeps (*pa lama launiu* or *kupenga lama launiu*) are used in the lagoon:

Bundles of dried half coconut leaves are fastened together to make a long sweep about 18 inches high and 20 to 30 fathoms long. The sweep is carried to the lagoon and used to surround (*liva*) a lagoon pool where the water is about knee deep. The wings are drawn together (*uwuuti* or *laulau*) and the fish clubbed or speared. Alternately the sweep is dragged over shallow water to the beach. Small fish are swept onto the beach or caught in the interstices of the midrib sections. The sweep is shaken out on the beach to dislodge the fish. Fish caught by this method are: *kaloma, vete, memea, ie, uvoa, hotimu, lupo,* and *atule.*

Semi-permanent fish runways (*alai lama*) made of *pa lama launiu* set between rows of stakes are used in the Yato fish pool at the causeway. These runways accustom the fish to go toward places where the fishermen set nets or lines when the tapu is raised from the pond and it is open for fishing. Rougher runways are made by placing bundles of coconut leaves in the water and weighting them down with heavy stones.

NETTING

A net full of fish is *puto iko.* The use of nets in fishing is limited to the hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*), seine net (*kupenga*), arched net with line (*tata tiuitiui*), long-handled dip net (*tae malolo*), and the flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*). (See pp. 208-209).

[227] 1. The hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) is shaped like the *tae malolo* but is much larger, having a larger mouth and longer handle. I did not see one in use. It is employed as a scoop net to block up the seaward faces of short reef channels (*ti*) or of long reef

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226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*paeke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*kupenga*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*kaloma*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk inward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yali kupenga*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tata tiuritiuri*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (*27*, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malolo* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A sennit cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net. 221 To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of sennit. The surface of the net is baited with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*wolowolo*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malolo* net is increased as it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

4. The scoop net (*tae malolo*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*timu ongo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fishermen in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*wua vaka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are 226 named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yeke ono*) the crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the cap-502 tain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae muli*); the *wuliuuli* ("mate"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae muli* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ola no te tae ava*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae ava*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o loma* or *te tata yua*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ola no te ulu* or *te tatawi*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*wuliuuli*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae wua* or *tae ulu*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*lolo te vaka*) as it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

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226 The canoes of the fishing fleet line up outside of and parallel to the reef. The leading canoe (*iki*) turns toward the reef, pointing bow-on to the reef. The torcher in this canoe raises his torch so that it bursts into flame (*wekayila te lama*). All the other canoes in succession turn bow-on to the reef and raise their torches. The fishermen make booming noises by beating the washstrakes of their canoes with their hands, and produce loud sibilant sounds by sucking in the breath quickly through pursed lips. These two sounds, together with the glare of the torches, attract the fish to the surface. They skim through the air and are caught by the netters, who net on the starboard side of the canoe. As soon as the shoal of fish has been caught or frightened away, the torches are lowered and allowed to smoulder. The canoes turn parallel to the reef again and paddle farther along. The last canoe in the line now races up from behind the fleet and takes its place at the head of the fleet (*wukalaka te vaka muli ki mua*). Each canoe in turn leads (*iki*) the fleet until all canoes have had their turn as leaders of the line. When the last canoe has reached the lead, it turns toward the reef and raises its torch. All the canoes follow suit, and the whole process is repeated. During an evening's fishing along the western reef, the canoes work down the reef from Wale until they are opposite Motu Kotawa or Motu Ko. A canoe which has an expert netter may catch about 200 fish during an evening's sport.

Fish caught by the scoop net on these occasions are: *ie pa, yipa, aku, malolo, ngalio, kupakupa, mueke, matauli, uli, wo,* and *witiwiti.* All these fish, save *ie,* of which the schools are so big that the fish is easy to catch, and *aku,* which is a very big fish, are counted as scoring fish in village flying-fish competitions. The height of the flying-fish season is from August to December.

ROD ANGLING

Angling, a common Pukapukan method of fishing, is of three types: beach angling, reef angling, or stationary canoe angling inside or outside the reef. The type of rod and hook used depends on the fish to be caught.

1. In beach angling the fisherman usually uses the *matila kaloma* rod and small *yeki* hook. He stands on the beach or in the beach shallows and casts his hook into the shallow waters. Women, as well as men, are skillful beach anglers. Small fish are caught by this method. All members of the *kaloma* and *vete* family are caught with a *yeki* hook, with bait of red *unga* crab and chum of *kaipea* crab. These fish are caught in daytime throughout the year. They are especially abundant at the new moon, during the southern solstice, and after a thunder storm. Other fish caught are: *manini, papata, kata, katuli, lupa,* and *uli.* The bait and chum are those used for *kaloma.*

2. Reef angling includes angling from the reef shelf where the hook is cast on the outside of the reef, angling on the reef shelf itself, angling on the inside of the shelf where the hook is cast into the deep water of the lagoon, angling from coral heads inside the lagoon, and angling from the lagoon. In lagoon angling (*wakalukuluku*) the fisherman stands in water up to his neck. Holding the rod with one hand, he submerges his head to look for fish and then casts the hook in the direction of the fish.

[227] The rod used in these methods is the *matila patuki,* which is about the same in size as the *matila akuaku* (p. 187). The type of hook varies for the kind of fish to be caught. Fish caught and hooks and bait used are:

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Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Maono and pola	Yeki	Abdomen of unga crab (pala unga)
Patuki, lenga, kaka, and pakou	Yeki	Crab or kaloma fish
Eve and umaliki	Yeki or tope (depending on size)	Crab, ie fish, or kaloma
Talao, moye, and tutupaku	Tope or composite pearl-shell hook	Crab, ie, or kaloma
Uwoa, aliki, kanai, and kawa	Tope	Crab and kaipea crab chum
Pakeva, peva, and lalawutu	Tope or composite pearl-shell hook	Live or dead kaloma
Komuli (caught only at night; lai fished incidentally to komuli)	Composite pearl-shell hook (pa komuli)	Live kaloma
Yoke, moi, and ayole	Tope or composite hook	Crab
Ume, palangi, malava (best caught during evening rising of Antares in June or July), kayuye, ma, and maito	Yeki with especially wide space between point and shank	Unga crab, kaloma, or ovum of Tridacna shell fish, and kaloma chum (sun-dried black portion of Tridacna best for catching ma)
Tupoupou, taotaoama, and tawonu	Small tope	Live kaloma
Ngatala, tangau, tunaelenga, and mutonga (best caught in early morning or early evening)	Tope	Live or dead kaloma
Malau, malau loa, and kikiyamoa (especially moonlight nights)	Tope or composite hook (pa malau)	Unga crab or kaloma (especially on moonlight nights)
Ava and kiokiotai	Tope	Black unga crab meat or seaweed (limu)
Kokili, kili, umulenga, yimu, weke, atu (small bonito only), yipa, malolo, witiwiti, atule, matapula, paniwi, yoyala, palu uli, piopio, matacle, lali, papa, wapuku, and kaka	Yeki or tope	Unga crab or kaloma and chum (where used) of unga crab meat

3. Stationary canoe angling, with the canoe anchored inside or outside the reef, is the method used for catching the following fish:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Akuaku and ie	Fishbone gorge (au)	Dead kaloma fish
Atu, yipa, and malolo	Yeki	Unga crab bait and chum
Witiwiti	Tope	Unga
Kopelu (when near the surface)	Short rod and line, small yeki hook	Bait and chum of chewed drinking nut flesh
Rock groupers	Tope	Crab or kaloma

4. Reef angling with a lure, but without baited hook, from the outer edge of the reef shelf into the breakers on the outside of the reef is *yi yeyen*. An unbaited composite hook is used, sometimes also today a feather fly of pigeon, tern, or tropic bird.

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226 The few fish that may be caught in this way include: *pakeva*, *peva*, *laiawutu*, *komuli*, *malau*, small *aku*, and *agangono* (bonito), *matapula*, and *paniwi*.

FLOAT FISHING

Line fishing from beach or stationary canoe, the line lying horizontally on the top of the water and the hook supported by a float, is termed *wakamoe* fishing. The line is usually of two-ply twisted sennit (*uka*), and the float (*vakai*) is of *wakanovo* wood.

1. In beach *wakamoe* fishing the fisherman either casts the line from the beach or wades out about 20 yards into shallow water and then casts the line. The float is watched, and when it begins to bob up and down, both line and float are hauled in. The hook is rebaited, the line recoiled, and cast with an underhand throw. Fish caught by this method are:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Mayi, uwea, aliki and kanae (best fished during full moon at spring tide, in early morning or early evening)	Small tope	Red unga crab and chum of kaipea crab
Kawa (best fished during full moon at spring tide, in early morning or early evening)	Tope or kawilo hook of turtle shell	Black unga crab
Mai and ayole	Small tope	Unga
Pupoupou, taotaoama, and tawonu	Small tope	Kaloma
Small taiva, tangau, tumaelenga, munu, and malau	Small tope	Kaloma and unga
Large ava and kiokiotai	Very round tope	Black unga meat or seaweed
Fresh-water eel (tuna wenua)	Tui wua	Bird intestine
Tamule	Tope	Live or dead kaloma
Vikoa	Tope	Octopus flesh

2. Canoe *wakamoe* fishing is done inside or outside the reef, the hook being supported by the *vakai* float. The fish caught by this method are:

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Aku tangata and aku pa	Barbed hook (matau wakavae)	Crab or kaloma
Pakeva, lui (best fished in early night or before dawn in new or full moon)	Tope wanga and heavy line	Live kaloma, needle fish, or flying fish (lui brought to surface with live kaloma chum)
Peva	Barbed hook	Live kaloma bait and chum
Malatea (in lagoon waters up to 10 fathoms, 300-400 yards from beach, at high tide in new or full moon)	Wooden hook (kau)	Live tupa crab, kaipea crab, or octopus flesh
Laiawutu	Wooden Rawetua hook	Flying fish, chummed to surface by refuse from bait

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226/227 A float (*mahai*) used for catching flying fish from a stationary canoe was described by informants:

The float consists of a section of *mahauau* wood about 9 inches long and 3 inches in cross section. To each end of the float is fastened a line ranging in length from 18 inches to 6 feet. The two lines on the same float are of unequal lengths to avoid tangling when fish are hooked. Each line has a *yeki* hook which is baited with *unga* crab, *kaloma*, or flying-fish meat. Several floats (*mahai*) are allowed to float unattached around the canoe. When a float begins to bob, the fisherman paddles to it, disengages his fish and resets the float. Chum of *unga* crab meat is used to attract the fish to the float. The only fish caught by this method are members of the flying-fish family: *yipa*, *malolo*, *malolo puna akau*, and *maloleyua* (large-bellied balloon *malolo* fish which is not eaten and only caught incidentally).

STILL-CANOE FISHING

226 Still-canoe fishing with a vertically descending line and dead bait is termed *tauala*; similar fishing with live bait is called *lulu*. When the *tauala* system is used with a *yeki* hook for small fish, the method is called *yekiyeki*. In both types of fishing not more than 50 fathoms of line are paid out and the canoe is anchored inside or outside the lagoon.

[502] Outside the reef the canoe is kedged onto the reef. The anchor line (*hawatau*) is buoyed up from reef to canoe with dry coconut husks. A quarter husk is split longitudinally for about 6 inches and the line wedged into this split. The natural spring of the husk serves to keep the line fast. About 12 husk buoys (*pulu langalangai*) are used for each 100 yards of anchor line. Several canoes fishing together are lined up in single file. The first canoe is kedged to the reef, and each of the other canoes is attached by about 10 yards of anchor line to the one in front. Canoes are kedged to the reef only in an offshore wind. Canoes anchored inside the lagoon are usually kedged with two anchors (any large stone serves as anchor), one at the bow, the other at the stern. In both *tauala* and *lulu* fishing the canoe is faced to windward, and the line is dropped in the lee of the canoe. Both types of fishing depend for success on an ability to see the fish biting the hook. To make the leeward surface of the water calm and devoid of surface rippling, the fisherman chews coconut flesh, which he spits on the sea. The oil in the flesh spreads over the water and effectively calms it. Today a waterglass is often used instead of chewed flesh. Some fishermen prefer to fish the smaller lagoon fish when the sky is overcast and likely to rain, using composite shell hooks. Where *Tridacna* is used as chum, the backs of the opened shell are rubbed together, making a grating noise (*hulukulu*) to attract fish; the two half-shells with meat attached are thrown into the water near the canoe. Fish caught by the *tauala* method are:

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Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Eve, malki, talao	Yeki or tope	Kaloma, ie, or crab
Uloulo	Tope or small composite hook	Crab or kaloma
Parrot-fish	Yeki	Tridacna, crab, or seaweed
Pakeva, peva, lai, and lalawutu	Tope or composite hook	Dead kaloma
Une, palangi, malava, kayuye, ma, and maito	Yeki	Crab, kaloma, or Tridacna
Malali and lalawi	Tope	Unga and kaloma
Malatea and eels	Wooden hooks	Tridacna, octopus, or sea urchin (vana)
Wuakula, laluau, tiwitiwi, tatatai, lumumi, yama, tititeyau, taiva, kokili, kili, mulenga, yinu, atule, rock groupers, wapuat, and pakeva	Plain or barbed tope	Crab or kaloma (grouper papa best caught with bait of flying fish or octopus)
Sharks (occasionally when troubling albacore fishing; not eaten)	Large wooden hooks	Any dead bait

The method of attaching dead bait (*mamu mate*) to any type of single-piece fishhook is shown in figure 4, *a*. Live bait used in *lulu* fishing is any small fish. The point of the hook is passed through the back of the fish or the fish is tied to the hook shank by the bait string (*takele mamu*) so that it wriggles about in the water. *Kaloma* bait is preferred in *lulu* fishing for the fish also caught by the *tauala* system, except for *alua* and *lai*, which bite best with live *malole* bait on a wooden hook. *Komuli* is fished only at night with a composite hook. *Lai* is fished only at night in the full and new moon, with *tope* hook. For *lulu* fishing the bait is caught before the planned expedition and kept alive in a submerged basket tied to the cross booms at the side of the canoe, within easy reach of the fisherman. The mouth of the basket is securely fastened to prevent the escape of the bait fish.

227 A special method of attaching sinker to line is employed in *lulu* fishing for *kalai* and *pala* fish:

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The hook (*mukuolo*) is barbed. A secondary snood (*matai*) of two- or three-ply twisted *uso* fiber about 7 feet long joins the hook to the fishline of sennit. Unlike sennit which hardens in water, *uso* line becomes soft and slips easily from the sinker when wetted. Live bait of *kaloma* or *atule* is fastened by the tail to the shank of the hook. Hook and bait are laid on the surface of a smooth coral stone sinker, and chum placed on top is covered by a *puapua* leaf so that it will not scatter until the requisite depth is reached. The *matai* snood is passed around the sinker away from the barb of the hook, making two or three transverse turns to secure both hook and bait. The *matai* is then caught in a bight with the left hand and passed around the sinker once in the opposite direction, passing over the right thumb that holds the first transverse turns in place. The bight and the running part of the *matai* are tied together in a single overhand knot; sometimes a single slip noose is made on top of this overhand knot. Hook and sinker are paid out until the required depth is reached, when a sharp jerk on the line releases the sinker which falls away, leaving the hook, bait, and chum at a favorable depth.

226 Many men go outside the reef two or three times each week to catch *kakai*, the fish usually caught in fishing competitions. *Kakai* fishing is the favorite deep-sea fishing of the Pukapukan today:

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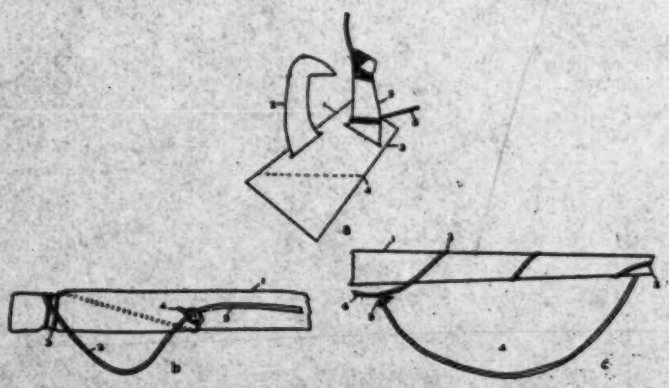
226 [264] 501 285 502 A man catches his *balama* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola launiu*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is kedged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.



227 284 223 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird noosing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*mauna mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yele mauu*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*kawyele*) (C8152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¾ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted *uao*, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 *Tuiu mauna* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *lulu* and *tauulo* fishing: *tuiu mauna* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

226 the use of a special composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of four or more hooks fixed by spreaders to a single line. Two types of *taumakomako* are described elsewhere (p. 188). The hooks of both types are baited with dead *malolo* or other dead bait.

The *taumakomako* is lowered over the side of the canoe and line paid out until it is felt that the sinker has touched bottom; it is then heaved up a few feet. When the first fish is felt, the line is hauled in a little. This is repeated until all hooks have caught fish, when the whole apparatus is pulled to the surface. A strong fisherman is required to pull up the apparatus, weighted down with fish, from a depth of 200 fathoms to the surface with sufficient speed to avoid losing the fish to sharks. I did not see a *taumakomako* in use; it is said to be used occasionally by expert fishermen. The deep water fish caught by the *tuku moana* method are: *palu mumu, palu uutu, palu ovv, palu puniui, palu matapula, palu malou, palu una, palu tavatavu, palu ulua, palu komuli, palu kakai*, and *palu kaituata*. The giant *kakai* (*matauula*), which is so large that no fish-line is strong enough to hold it, is always nooseed. An account of *tuku moana* fishing with a detailed explanation of the hooking and pulling in of fish is given in the story of Maui (1).

RUVETTUS FISHING

The method of fishing for *Ruvettus* (*palu kilitala* or *palu toeyi*) with a wooden hook (*kau*) is termed *yi palu*. It has been practiced in Pukapuka from very early times. An ancestor, Yaki, is remembered as the man who first fished *Ruvettus*.

224 The hook is attached to the line of sennit by the secondary snood (*mutai*) with
284 an ordinary double overhand knot. The sennit line may be 300 fathoms long, though the usual fishing depth is about 200 fathoms. Two methods are adopted for attaching the sinker (*mutu yi palu*) to the wooden hook. In the first method the sinker line, a strip of pandanus leaf (*uso tua kie* or *uso lauuilu*), is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose and to the bend of the wooden hook by a similar slip noose (overhand knot on a standing line). When the fish worries at the bait it bites through or snaps the frail pandanus, and the sinker falls away from the hook. In the second method the sinker line of pandanus is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose, but the free end of the sinker line is laid on the bend of the hook, and two turns of the line are taken around the bend of the hook and over the free end. When the sinker touches the bottom, the bottom takes the weight of the sinker, the two turns around the hook loosen, and the sinker falls free. The second method is used only by the expert. The non-expert, unable to judge accurately by touch when the sinker has touched the bottom, would pay out too much line, foul his hook on the bottom, and lose it.

Special bait attachment is used for the wooden hook. A fillet of *malolo* fish is laid on the point limb of the hook and tied halfway down the point limb with several transverse turns and an overhand knot. The remaining part of the fillet is laid back along the point limb so that it covers part of the functional point. The fastening of fillet to limb is with a strip of coconut midrib fiber (*kalova*). This is used in preference to the ordinary bait string (*takele mauuu*) of *uso* cord, because the sharp teeth of the *Ruvettus*, which can bite through the *uso* and destroy the *takele mauuu*, are not sharp enough to destroy tough coconut fiber. The lashing of the point of the wooden hook to the point limb is protected from the teeth of the *Ruvettus* by a covering of sharkskin wrapped over the lashing and tied above and below with coconut midrib fiber. The bait fillet is fastened to the hook on top of the sharkskin protective wrapping. No chum is used for *Ruvettus*.

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226 *Pulu* fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is hedged to the reef by about 200 fathoms of line. The hooked *Ruwettus* is speared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *haiakato*, *kapoo*, the giant *malau*, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapoo* and *Ruwettus* are considered sweet eating fish, though *kapoo* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*tahi*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*tahi ia*, *tahi ahuahu*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*au*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*tahitahi*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to trail behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*mattila*) over the stern of the canoe (*tahi*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except bonito, *pala*, *hamoi*, and *ahala*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *ulua* with live *malolo* bait and wooden hook; *tata* and *lai* with live or dead *haloma* bait; *tawatawa* with live *malolo* bait; *atala* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with any bait; *pahewa* with a *tapa mango* hook and live bait of needle fish, *haloma*, or *malolo*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *alaala*, the parrot fish, *pahewa*, *pewa*, *lalamata*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *malau*, the rock groupers, *pahewa*, *lai*, *tata*, and *uwua* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*yi atu*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*atu*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*liunga atu*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

226 776 782 At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Malohiafangi*, protector

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226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*notonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *atu*. The *notonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked talo to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *atu* one year automatically became the group for noosing *pale* fish the next year. All fish
226 noosed were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
868 *notonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, were taught the elements of *atu* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau matua*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *notonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *notonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
763 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six
431 bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*yasa*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wahayasa*, and the gift itself was *yasa*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *wutonga*.

Atu fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ulu-mana-o-te-tokalua, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*wahatetea*) to the god Malokitelangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo elo* (stinking *ngongo* birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with *atu* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*tuse*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulunga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kourikouri*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined
578 by this body 50 talo puddings (*masua*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day.
202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*taukolo*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakamaupalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was 20 times perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Totolos and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate
764 return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

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NOOSING

226/254 Noosing (*yele*) is a common Pukapukan method for catching eels, sharks, swordfish, *matawala hakai*, and *pala*. No bait stick, whole fish bait, or special type of noose is used for the eels in Pukapuka, nor are sea centipedes or crayfish caught by this method, as is reported for Samoa (27, p. 421). The Pukapukan noose of three-ply twisted cord of *uao* fiber is made by passing a free end of the cord around the running section of cord and tying it around itself with an overhand knot. The noose is made about 3 feet in diameter. (See p. 188). Fishing is outside the reef:

A teaser bait (*pakapaka*) of bonito flesh is tied to a line and trolled behind the canoe to attract the fish. As the canoe trolls the teaser, the crew make their paddles resound (*tangi*) by hitting the water and beating the sides of the canoe with them. When the fish is seen, the teaser is pulled into the canoe, the noose placed on the *hauyele* stick, and the stick put into the water. Chum is thrown out to attract the fish toward the noose. The stick is withdrawn and more chum thrown into the water on the farther side of the noose. The noose is thus between two chums and is maneuvered so that even a wary (*hallapa*) fish comes up on the starboard side of the canoe. When the fish moves through the noose to reach the second chum, the noose is pulled tight around its tail. The fish is hauled to the canoe and clubbed before being lifted in. This method of noosing fish corresponds to similar methods described for Samoa (27, p. 421) and Vaitupu (19, pp. 56-60). In Pukapuka however there is nothing corresponding to the hurling of insulting remarks (*tapatapa*) to the fish to make them indiscreet, as Kennedy reports for Vaitupu.

TURTLES

225 Three varieties of turtle are common in Pukapukan waters: *matawao*, the largest green turtle; *wona*, the ordinary green turtle; and *wona hau*, the hawk's-bill turtle. When turtles are sighted from the shore, the news is called out through the village and the people ask, "E talau? E taepu?" (Is it big? Is it small?). There are three methods by which turtles may be captured:

1. *Puke wona*, overtaking or seizing a turtle. A man swims out to sea in the season for turtles. He may swim several miles before he sights the animal. Coming up to a turtle, he gets on its back and gouges out its eyes with his thumbs, at the same time forcing the head of the animal upwards with hard pressure. As long as this pressure is continued, the turtle will keep to the surface and will not sound. Alternately the fisherman catches the foreflippers of the turtle with his arms and holds them up; this also prevents the turtle from sounding. If the fisherman is expert, he steers the turtle over the reef to the beach; otherwise he holds the animal until a canoe arrives from shore. An expert who is a good swimmer, strong and skillful, can bring a turtle ashore unaided. When turtles to be caught by this method are seen from a canoe, the first command is for absolute silence, for the turtle sounds immediately noise is heard. One of the crew slips into the water, swims up to the animal, and grips it as just described. His companions stretch apart the foreflippers, tie them to a stout stick, and lift the animal into the canoe.

2. *Yele wona*, noosing. A man swims out to sea, often with a canoe outrigger as a float, while he waits to sight a turtle. When he sees one, he takes a line with a running noose in the end and dives and slips the noose over the foreflipper. The noose is pulled

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is viselike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

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3. *Wali wowu*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225 820

Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualanga*) and the major internal organs (*ngahou matua*). It was tapu for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

225 262

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan levies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*weke makave loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*weke makave poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*punga*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*mweke*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ulo*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ulo* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ulo* with his hands (*lalao ulo* or *tuupo ulo*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lamalama*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *halomu* bait, and plenty of chum.

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*halo payua* or *manin payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*halo*). The other end (*halohalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [883] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float. 226

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *halo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *halohalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*napenape*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *halohalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngakipeyua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*ayua ai*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped 321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi hala*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of 126 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising 262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *wetuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *tuna* (a

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sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalameo*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalameo*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou, louili kula, louili uli, louili akau*, and *louili taupulepule*, which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ugako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipea are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kavu* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tana te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kavu* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kavu* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lavaya kavu*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kavu* were not reserved (*uakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

226 Three methods are employed to catch *haveu*:

The first method is *lomolomo haveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka haveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wakapoo haveu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *wuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and 252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

203 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were 237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the 422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards. 621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from 223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast 262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *waka hai lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a 231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16) and 223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

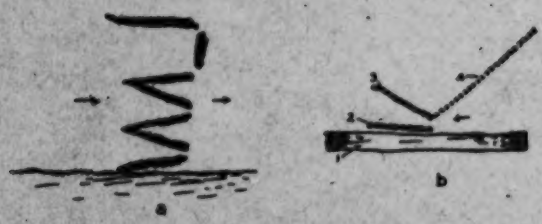
223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*wnata*) is termed *wakayei manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116-- analysis.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Wells

312 332 535 Deep wells dug close to the beach were always faced with coral slabs. Shallow wells, 1 or 2 feet deep, were not faced unless they were in constant use. Slabs at the bottom of the well were stood on edge and forced into the sand; the sand was dug out inside these upright slabs and the bottom of the well paved with coral gravel. Above water level, the sides of the well were faced with horizontal slabs set one above the other. The edge of the well at ground level was faced with especially large blocks of stone to give a firm foothold to the drawer of water and to ensure that the top of the well would not cave in.



226 Figure 20.—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village: walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish swept into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*ala iku*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

Stone fishweirs are found in the reef shallows opposite the northwest beach of Wale, between the beach and the reef passage. One weir is about 100 yards from the beach and consists of stones piled in line to make an enlarged W-shape; the second weir is close to the beach and consists of stones forming a W-shaped trap contiguous with a second trap in the shape of a large square-bottomed U (fig.20,*a*). The weirs face north and south; the exits are at the northern end, that is, at the points of the W and at the two sides of the bottom of the U. The ebbing tide sweeps through the weirs on its way out over the reef and carries the fish along into the weirs blocked with hand scoop nets.

A combination stone and coconut-sweep weir (fig. 20,*b*) is built in the small lagoon indentation cut off from the main lagoon by the causeway that joins the two sections of Yato village. The fisherman seated on the causeway is able to block the exit of the weir with a scoop net.

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322 holes drilled through each flange (fig. 27, *c*, *g*). No lashing shows on the outside of the hull. This lashing method may be applied to plank canoes
501 of all sizes from the simple *tatai* canoe to the largest canoe.
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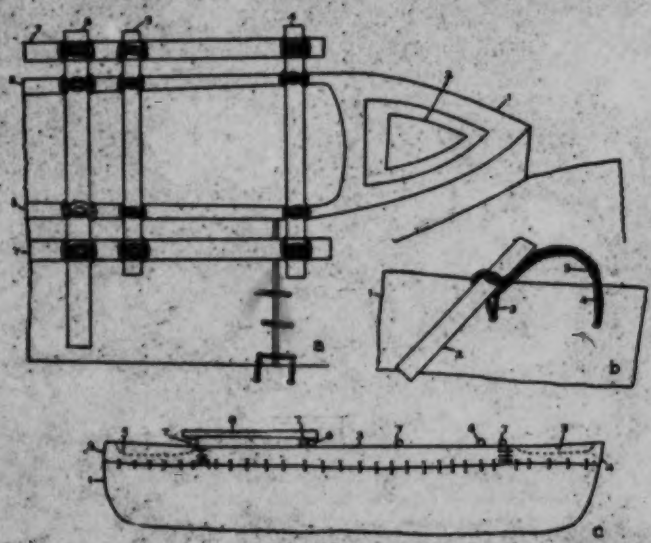

FIGURE 30.—Plank canoe. *a*, arrangement of lifting bars at stern of canoe: 1, raised bait deck (*wakatawae mona*); 2, bait receptacle (*tubu pukupuku*); 3, washstrakes of canoe; 4, cross lifting bar (*manu hi muli*); 5, second cross bar (*manu a lua*); 6, cross boom supporting outrigger float; 7, longitudinal members (*palepale langayu*) lashed to cross members; lashings all of alternating curves pattern. *b*, lifting loops of sennit (*twinga ihi*): 1, section of washstrake; 2, cross boom; 3, lashing of boom to strake; 4, four turns of sennit made through hole in strake and around lashing of boom to strake; 5, seizing of these four turns, buried commencement and finish. *c*, *tatai* canoe: 1, one-piece hull; 2, stern cover (*papani hi muli*); 3, washstrake; 4, bow cover (*papani hi mua*); 5, dotted lines show lowered bait decks in covers; 6, cross booms to outrigger float; 7, short lifting bars; 8, short longitudinal spars (*palepale langayu*) forming lifting supports for stern of canoe.

501 The *tui aulali* canoe has definite advantages for reef work over the
[226] through and through lashed canoe because of the absence on the outside of
322 the hull of lashings to be cut by sharp coral heads. It has this disadvantage, however, that the water seeps in through the hull joins and rots the wood about the joins of the hull sections. This seepage cannot be prevented by caulking as with the *vaka tui tuta* lashing. If a canoe is used much, the wood

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood be-
322 comes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *vaka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *vaka tui tuta* lasts about seven
[283] years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*taulua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

> The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*kaukau*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were termed *tokai*. A platform (*papanga taulua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*wale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than
502 on the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reenforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

To change the direction of any canoe is *uuli* or *uuuuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*ki katea*) or to port (*ki ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La ama!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tawi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan canoe are few:

322

> In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This sprit is termed *toko*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*nuhomounga no te toko*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further
502 stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*kalavu*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unshipping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*kalali* or *yolo*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*uwe*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*mata*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau uwe*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact
[226 with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*hoo tangi te uwe*), used to attract fish
536] to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*tua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ale tua*) is reserved today for short sports and for making the paddle resound, the front (*alonale* or *nuhevake*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toko*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko hug the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

501 The bailer (*tuta*, fig. 26,*g*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with
415 carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and
171 continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

501 The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater
322 canoe shown in figure 25.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 for judging this amount, but said that they judged by the eye. Kennedy discovered from
922 a study of canoes of Vaitupu that the "limiting amount by which the forward end of the float is set to starboard is about one hand's breadth from a line through the after end of the float parallel with the hull" (19, p. 94); this amount agrees closely with the Pukapukan average for this starboard set, though there seems to be little correlation between the size of the canoe and the amount of starboard set considered necessary. The required balance weight of the float seems to be obtained almost entirely by lengthening the float, for the width and depth of the float do not vary greatly save for the larger canoes. The length of the float in relation to the overall length of the canoe indicates that the Pukapukan builders unconsciously judged the float length by some such rule as Kennedy (19, p. 79) gives for Vaitupu where the outrigger is given a length such that the forward end will be laterally opposite the feet of the bow paddler and the after end opposite the feet of the rearmost paddler. Again, Pukapukan builders could give no rule for judging the proper length of the outrigger float save an eye judgment.

Table 3. Canoe Measurements

501

Type	1 Overall Length	2 Beam (Gunwales)	3 Beam (Hull)	4 Depth (Centre Canoe)	5 Length, Forward Cross Beam	6 Forward Cross Beam, Hull to Outrigger	7 Rear Cross Beam, Hull to Outrigger	8 Length, Longitudinal Stick	9 Length, Outrigger Float	10 Width, Depth, Outrigger Section	11 Length, Stern Piece (Tip to Gunwale Join)	12 Length, Bow Piece (Tip to Gunwale Join)
Single dugout (large)	16'	14"	14"	16"	7' 5"	6' 3"	6' 7"	9' 10"	12'	5½"×4½"	—	—
Tatai tolatai one-man canoe	10' 6"	10"	8"	17"	5' 5"	4' 7"	4' 9"	6' 4"	7' 8"	5"×3"	—	—
Tatai tokalua two-man canoe	19'	11"	9"	16"	6' 6"	5' 7"	5' 10"	9'	13' 3"	6"×4"	4' 3"	3' 9"
Yeke tolu 3-seater	16' 6"	11"	7"	15½"	5' 6"	4' 10"	5'	9' 6"	12'	5"×3½"	3' 6"	3' 7"
Yeke wa 4-seater	21' 11"	14"	11"	18"	6' 6"	4' 8"	5' 1"	10' 4"	16' 4"	5½"×4"	3' 11"	3' 4"
Yeke ono 6-seater	35' 6"	15"	11"	20"	8' 1"	5' 10"	5' 10"	18'	22' 6"	7"×6"	5' 2"	6' 7"
Yeke iva 9-seater	51'	22"	14"	27"	8' 8"	7' 8"	8' 7"	27' 6"	32' 8"	7"×7"	—	—

FISHING EQUIPMENT

227 Besides fishnets (p. 208) and hooks (p. 191), fishing equipment includes lines, fishing rods, composite fishing apparatus, clubs, fish spears, and hook containers.

Fishlines

226 Lines of *uso* fiber are used on composite pearl-shell fishhooks where quality rather than length of line is important. Three-ply braided sennit

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226 lines are used for deep-sea fishing where both length and strength are desirable. These are made in three lengths, each from 50 to 75 fathoms long. The three lengths, called respectively *kawa lalo, kawa loto, kawa lungo* (sennit bottom, middle, top), are tied together with prominent knots. In paying out his line the fisherman feels the knots as the line runs through his hands to gauge the depth at which he is fishing, and is then able to fish at the depth at which he believes the particular fish bite best. Anchor lines of thick three-ply sennit braid are in continual use for deep-sea fishing. For tiny fish such as *lupo* a line of single pieces of coconut fiber is used with a gorge of pandanus spine.

227 284 One such line (C8043) wound round a wooden holder consists of 34 lengths of coconut fiber, each about 10 inches long, knotted together; the line is finished with one length of very fine two-ply twisted *uso* and a snood of the finest single ply twisted *uso*, total length being 32 feet.

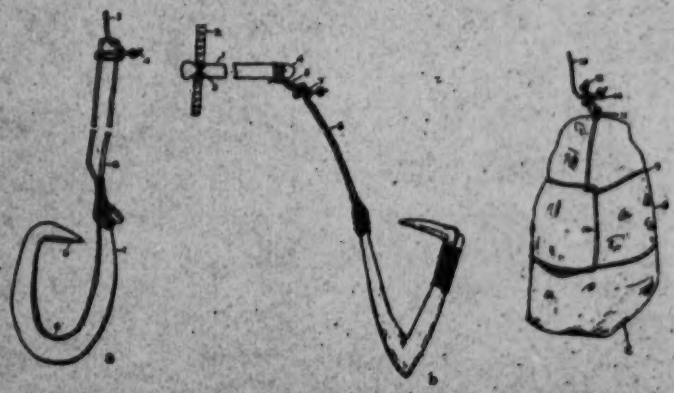

FIGURE 33.—Fishing equipment. *a*, attachment of double snood to fishline (shown diagrammatically): looped double snood (2) lashed to shank of coconut-shell fishhook (1) with descending figure-of-eight turns; end of fishline (3) knotted (4); free end passes around loop and back on far side of loop, then over near side, through top of loop and pulls tight. Coconut-shell hook (*tope ngaipu*) (C8196) 3¾ inches high, 1¾ inches in greatest width with point-shank clearance of ¾ inch; bend ⅜ inch wide, 1/16 inch thick; inner edges of point (5), bend (6), and shank (1) beveled slightly. *b*, composite fishing apparatus (*tumakomako*) (C8190): spreader stick (1) attached to secondary snood (2); snood lashed with diagonal turns (3) of fine *uso*; at distal end of stick (4), short piece of *uso* (5) doubled and lashed to stick with transverse turns; snood (6) of hook is knotted to doubled *uso* (7); wooden hook (*kau*) small with scarf join accentuated. *c*, sinker for apparatus: sinker (8) block of coral (*punga*); one end of anchor line (9) makes two transverse turns around sinker, other end (10) caught by turns; at top, two free ends fasten with double overhand knot (11), then looped, and ends fastened again with overhand knot (12); sinker line proper (13) from fishing apparatus knotted in loop (14).

227 Secondary snoods (*matai*) are made of twisted *uso*. They are either
284 single or double. Single snoods are fastened to fishline by knotting. Double snoods seem to be a feature of coconut-shell fishhooks. The attachment of these snoods to the fishline is shown in figure 33.*a*.

Many lines used in fishing from the beach (*uukamoe* system) are wound on a wooden holder (*muli pokai*), their hooks supported by floats.

Rods

226 For *kaloma* fishing, reef and lagoon angling, and trolling with a composite
284 pearl-shell hook, the fishing line is attached to a rod (*matila*). The total length of fishline attached to the rod is several feet longer than the amount of line necessary for a cast.

The fisherman judges the length necessary for a cast and makes at this point a clove hitch round the distal end of the rod. The free end of the attachment line he carries down the rod, making a single transverse turn with a single overhand knot round the rod at equal intervals. Toward the proximal end of the rod, he makes several transverse turns round the rod and fastens the free end of the line to the standing line with an overhand knot. For carrying to and from the fishing ground, the casting line with hook attached is laid along the rod, a transverse turn fixed with a single overhand knot is made round the rod toward the proximal end, and the free end of the casting line carried up the rod again; the hook is caught in one of the transverse turns made round the rod by the attachment line.

227 The *kaloma* rod, *matila kaloma* (Cl137), is made of *puapua* wood, 4 feet 6 inches
284 long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅓ inch diameter at distal end. The line is very fine two-ply twisted *uso* (about the thickness of no. 50 cotton thread). The casting line is about 4 feet 6 inches long, the attachment line 14 inches long.

A larger fish rod for needle fish (*matila yi ahuaku*) and reef fish is also made of *puapua* wood (Cl098); it is 8 feet 9½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅓ inch in diameter at the distal end. The line is fine two-ply twisted *uso* (about the thickness of coarse thread). The casting line is 12 feet long, the attachment line 5 feet long.

The attachment of bonito hook line to the bonito trolling rod (*matila atu*) is by a clove hitch to the distal end of the rod. Where more than one hook is attached to the same rod, the several clove hitches are fastened round the rod below each other (fig. 34.*a*). The bonito line, of thick three-ply twisted *uso*, is about 20 feet long and is attached to the rod at a point about 10 to 12 feet from the hook, depending on the length of casting line that the fisherman desires. The free end of the line is wound round the rod with oblique downward spiral transverse turns and tied about the middle of the rod with an overhand knot. The free ends of several attached hooks wound thus round the rod produce a pleasing pattern lashing on the rod.

The bonito rod is fitted into a wooden handle (*tukau*) which has an upper grooved part into which the proximal end of the rod fits, a raised flat projection (*malae tukau*) covered with netting, and a handgrip (*muli tukau*) at the end. The shape of the handle and the method of lashing the rod are shown in figure 34.*b*. The completed lashing resembles the completed Samoan lashing of bonito rod to handle (27, p. 503) though the technique of lashing differs slightly.

The netting covering the flat projection above the handgrip is made by the ordinary netting technique and is fastened round the handle by transverse cords that pass through the marginal meshes above and below the projection. When lines and hooks are attached to the rod, the casting line is carried down the rod and the hooks caught through the

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netting meshes. For use, an appropriate hook is selected, disengaged from the netting meshes and allowed to hang free from the distal end of the rod. If fish do not bite this hook, it is replaced in the net and another hook disengaged. With six or more hooks attached to the rod at one time, the fisherman is able with maximum speed and minimum trouble to select the hook which the fish prefer to bite.

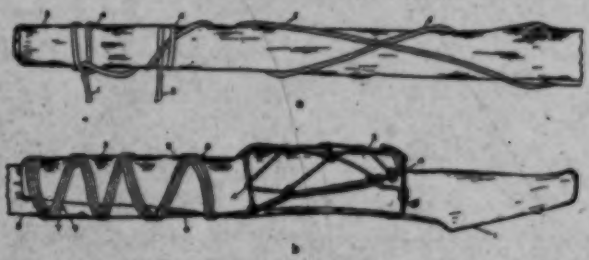

FIGURE 34.—Bonito rod. *a*, attachment of casting line: 1, 2, casting lines attach two hooks to distal end of rod (3); 4, clove hitches made around end of rod; casting lines hang free; attachment lines (5) wound spirally around rod and fastened halfway down rod. *b*, attachment to handle (*tukou*), side view: 1, handle of *pukanova* wood with handgrip (*muli tukou*); 2, raised flat projection (*malae tukou*); 3, hollowed out upper part; raised projection covered with netting (*epu*) fastened to handle by cords passing through marginal meshes (4); rod (5) pushed into hollowed upper part, chocked if necessary with small wedges of wood (6); lashing of three-ply braided sennit commences with buried end (7) at upper end of handle, then wound around handle and rod descending spirally, then up handle and rod ascending spirally; continues alternate spirals, descending and ascending, for three turns each way (8), and finishes with buried end (9).

Nooses

Noosing apparatus consists of a line of three-ply twisted *uno* about 18 feet long and a stick (*kou*) by which the noose is brought near the fish.

The stick (CB152) is of *puapua* wood, 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅜ inch in diameter at the distal end (fig. 4*c*). The distal end is notched to provide a running groove for the line on which a running noose (*matapili*) is made with a slip noose (*mayi*). Line and handle together are termed *kouyels*.

Composite Fishing Apparatus

For deep-sea hand line fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef (*tukumoana* system), a composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of a number of hooks attached to one line is used.

Of two types of *taumakomako* in use, one (CE190) has a secondary snood (*matai kauu*) of three-ply sennit 6 feet 8 inches long. At a point 2 feet from the proximal end of this snood a *ngangie* spreader stick, 5¾ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, is lashed. The proximal end of the stick is grooved circumferentially and the snood fastened to the stick by four oblique transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted *uno*, followed by three circumferential turns between stick and snood, the finishing end being buried

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227 in three transverse turns round the snood (fig. 33*b*). Five spreader sticks 9 inches apart
are attached to the snood in this way, being lashed so that the distal ends of the sticks
project alternately to the left and to the right of the snood. The distal end of each
284 spreader stick is also grooved circumferentially, and a length of twisted *waa*, 1¾ inches
long, is doubled and the free ends fastened to the spreader stick groove by transverse
turns of fine *waa*. To this double spreader stick snood, the fishhook snood proper is
fastened by the method of knotting illustrated in figure 33*b*. Five fishhooks are attached
to the five spreader sticks. By making these sticks project alternately to left and to
right, the danger of tangling the hooks in use is avoided.

Informants mentioned another type of *taunakomako* formerly in use. It consisted of two crossed spreader sticks of *ngangie* wood, each stick about 18 inches long, with a cross section diameter of about 1½ inches. To the ends of each spreader a snood was seized. The four snoods ranged in length from 2½ to 6 feet so that four fish caught on wooden hooks knotted to each snood would not tangle the snood lines. At the intersection of the spreaders, a sinker line (*haunatau tuku maeue*), 12 inches long, was fastened to suspend the sinker (*maeue*) of *punga* coral. Also at the intersection of the spreaders was knotted a secondary snood (*matai*) 12 feet long. To the *matai* was fastened sennit fishline about 200 fathoms long.

Sinkers

For fishing at moderate depths of 50 or 75 fathoms, sinkers (*maeue*) consist of any coral stones of suitable weight picked up on the beach. Be-
[726] cause these sinkers are disengaged from the line and fall to the bottom when the hook has reached the required depth it is pointless to use any but rough stones. In *tukumoana* fishing, one sinker weighing about 9 pounds is used repeatedly. Even for this the Pukapukan fisherman has apparently felt no incentive to make well-shaped or bored sinkers. He chooses as a sinker stone a block of coral that is roughly rectangular or cone-shaped. If the surface is not rough enough to hold the sinker line without slipping, it is chipped slightly to form two transverse grooves into which the sinker line fits. This line is attached to the sinker by transverse turns and knotted to the secondary snood (see figure 33*c*).

Fish Club

227 Fish clubs (*patu iko*) are made of *ngangie* wood; their size and weight depend on the fish which it is proposed to kill with them. A small club is used for *patuki* and other reef fish caught in reef angling or canoe fishing.

This club (C8169) is shaped like a small taro pounder with a blunt proximal end. It is 16 inches long, 2 inches in diameter at the distal end, 1 inch in diameter at the proximal end. The distal end is slightly convex. The club weighs 1¾ pounds. Larger clubs weighing up to 5 pounds are used for larger deep-sea fish. Today a section of iron bar is often used as a fish club.

Hook Containers

[415] When not in use, small, valuable single and composite pearl-shell hooks are kept in the house stored in the double satchel (*tukuma pu*) described elsewhere (p. 134). Hooks and small fishing gear when taken into a canoe are kept for safety in a coconut-shell container (*pupu*).

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227 of the book. The hooks are made from black- or gold-lipped pearl shell and provided with snoods of *uso* cord. They may be classified by shape into
254 three types: a U-shaped hook, a circular hook that is usually barbed, and a slanted U-shaped hook that may be barbed.

FIGURE 38.—Shell fishhooks. *a*, pearl-shell hook (*yobi haloma*) (CB158): hook ⅝ inch high, ⅜ inch wide, and 1/16 inch thick; point (1) short, making point-shank clearance comparatively wide; inner and outer surfaces of point limb (2), bend (3), and shank (4) beveled; shank knob (5) flush with proximal end of shank; snood of finest two-ply twisted *uso* (6) fastened to shank by three transverse turns with free end of snood line which effectively holds snood fast to shank; finishing end (7) tucked under turns and held tight; bait string (not shown) of *uso* fiber wound around bend of hook. *b*, barbless, slanted U-hook (*bai uso*) of gold-lipped shell (CB224): hook 1 inch high, ⅝ inch wide; edges beveled, but owing to irregular shape of shell, point directed away from medial longitudinal line of shank; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); wide point-shank clearance; snood (3) of *uso* cord fastened to shank by lashing meant to be descending figure-of-eight turns, but very irregular (4) owing to fact that worker suffered from bad eyesight. *c*, pearl-shell hook (*wahaolo yi kahal*) for albacore (CB164): hook 2 inches high, 1¼ inches wide; edges beveled; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); barb (3) runs from point at acute angle, barb-point edge straight, beveled slightly; wide point-shank clearance; snood (4) of three-ply *uso* cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; finishing end of lashing seizes snood for length of ½ inch at 5.

[226 / 177] **U-shaped hooks.** Small U-shaped hooks (*yobi*) are used for beach angling and for catching the smaller lagoon fish by other fishing methods.

An example of the *yobi* hook (fig. 38, *a*) is minute and almost as wide as it is high. It was used for catching *haloma* fish before European pins came into use. It is a beautifully made hook and shows craftsmanship of high order. The term *yobi* is applied to hooks of this general shape up to about 1 or 1½ inches high when the name *tope* comes into use. *Tope* hooks are U-shaped, but tend to be higher than they are wide. The name is also applied to hooks of other material such as turtle shell or coconut shell which have this general shape. The type *tope* hook of pearl shell is shown in figure 39, *a*. Other *tope* hooks in the Bishop Museum collection range in height from 1½ to 1¾ inches and in greatest outside width from 1 inch to 1½ inches. They are made of gold- or black-lipped shell; descending or ascending figure-of-eight lashings attach the snood of two- or three-ply *uso* cord to the shank of the hook. They are provided with bait strings.

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227 **Circular hooks.** Circular pearl-shell hooks (*matau* and *wakotoa*) are
284 made with a barb (*wakatala*). Most of these hooks are as wide as they are high, but the size of the barb varies considerably (fig.39,*b*). In most hooks, the functional point is level with the lowest transverse turn of the snood lashing, directly opposite a point about 3/16 inch below the proximal end of the shank.

In one hook examined in the field, however, the inner curve of the hook was almost a perfect circle, the functional point being on a level with the top of the snood lashing and the proximal end of the shank. Another unusual feature observed on an old hook of this type was a pronounced terminal knob at the proximal end of the shank, separate from, and other than, the customary shank knob which was also cut on the outside of the shank.

FIGURE 39—One-piece shell hooks. *a*, U-shaped hook (*tapa*): greatest length 2 inches, greatest width 1½ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; *b*, circular hook (*matau* or *wakotoa*): greatest length 1½ inches, greatest width 1⅛ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; barb (*wakatala*) markedly concave and beveled; snood thick two-ply sinet cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns. 1, shank; 2, shank knob; 3, head; 4, point limb; 5, point; 6, snood; 7, snood lashings; 8, barb. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 4.)

226 There can be no doubt that the barbed hook is native to Pukapuka and
176 antedates European influence. The first man to make the barbed hook is said to have been Te Upe, a man of Loto who lived in the reign of Maina, twelve generations ago. His name is mentioned in connection with barbed hooks in an old chant "Ulu taku tangi". Beasley (4, p. 34, pls. XLIX A and XLIX B) figures six hooks of this type apparently collected by Gill prior to 1877. Beasley attributes the hooks to "Pukapuka, Paumotu group", an evident mistake. The figured hooks range in height from 1½ to 2⅛ inches.

227 **Slanted-U hooks.** Slanted U-shaped hooks, large enough to be called *wakaolo* or *wakotoa* and used for albacore fishing, have barbs. Small hooks of this type without barbs are called *twi uwa* (fig.38,*b*) and are used to catch the smaller reef fish.

These hooks are much higher than they are wide. The point limb is short compared with the length of the shank and the functional point bends only slightly from the plane of the point limb. The barb runs from the point at a very acute angle making a large point-shank clearance (fig. 38,*b*, *c*).

Despite a superficial similarity in shape of the hook shown in figure 38,*c* to European fishhooks, informants were positive that this type of barbed fishhook was native

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uwa*, the *uwa* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uwa*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
171 explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
613 and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
616 (each called for this purpose *uwhatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting
in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group,
petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts
over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety
division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time
more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is
merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns,
represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of impor-
tance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
244 intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth
and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course,
the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided
among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning
is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that
they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose
majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered.
That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is
charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relation-
ship ties based on maternal descent.

618 period, organization was in terms of either sons or yelongo units. Village membership
616 is the rule for team organization today, so that Lato village competes with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
297 village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (wife) in Yato. In an inter-village contest
621 he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the
578 village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the
226 man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
621 elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malawa*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yelongo*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.
574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
616 for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage membership of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (1931.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
498 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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[56] 331 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

331 526 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, talo, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *mulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

331 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

[56] 326 [324] Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next graduated to the *tangaga* fishing group. Some informants said that the boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tangaga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tangaga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tangaga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tangaga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tangaga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matua* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangaga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangaga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau tuakayoui*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale kaitau*) for each sex. The *uale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*paipai te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *palaka* and *lau kotoau* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*tauta*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *uaka uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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726 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when
613 it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[775] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*po vale*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*subavai*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamyei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukōu* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

726 Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yama-
613 unga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a
226 talo swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale [262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and
613 was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the
226 sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest,
793 the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*poyua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
788 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua,ule kaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi maniuo	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *awanga*, *wale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a
[776] simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Leweke, the god of clams, was

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178 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
182 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

178 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kawa*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakavae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

178 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

178 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
793 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

526 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*wainganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*wainganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*wainganga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*wakayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *wainganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *wainganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *wainganga kakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lawi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During [534] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

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226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetée penu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *avu* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

226 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the talo dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kamai*, and *manga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

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On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

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Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakoi* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

226 577 461

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*wainganga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

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539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan [226] man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten [226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, " I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food shage away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped pungu.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
377 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pula, ali, pateletele, uhu* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, tootoosoma;* the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *uiriuiri, yoyulo, pulu uli, piopio, matoele, lali,* and *papa.* The various rays are speared with a *tao,* to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama akau*), 372 three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, 416 dull side (*tua,* back) down, the smooth side (*mulivakevake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *uukapulepule.*

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *haloma, ie, moono, unaliki, mayi, kanae, uloulo, kotimu,* parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi uukapulepule*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *pa uutu iku* or *tawenga*; the method of using it, *tali tawenga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tae yaeke*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ola uuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish [621 enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish. 422]

Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 caught with the stone weir are: *unaliki, taloo, lupo, pakeru, lalowutu, lai, ume, palangi, malovu, hayaye, ma, maito, ovu, hiokiotai, atule, yayala, palu uli, piopio, matacle, lali,* and *pupu*.

227 Coconut-leaf weirs (*pa lama launiu*), less permanent than stone weirs, may be easily moved about the lagoon shallows according to the running of the fish:

To make a weir, dried coconut midribs are split longitudinally. Three or more half-leaves are placed on top of each other, and the leaflets gathered together and tied with *halavu* coconut fibers. An appropriate section of lagoon or fish pond is chosen and stakes are driven into the bottom in pairs. The space between the two stakes of each pair is about 18 inches, and the series of pairs are about 6 feet apart. A sufficient number of pairs is set up to give the required length to the wings of the weir, the base toward the beach and the exit toward the reef. The bundles of coconut midribs are laid between the pairs of stakes to make the walls about 18 inches high. Some weirs (*matau*) have a permanent stone mouth to which the leaf-walls are linked.

226 The mouth of the simple leaf weir or of the composite stone-and-leaf weir is blocked with a scoop net or basket. Men inside the weir advance toward the closed exit, pounding the surface of the water with coconut midrib butts to drive the fish to the exit where they are caught. The fish caught in these weirs are the same as those caught in stone weirs.

Movable coconut-leaf sweeps (*pa lama launiu* or *kupenga lama launiu*) are used in the lagoon:

Bundles of dried half coconut leaves are fastened together to make a long sweep about 18 inches high and 20 to 30 fathoms long. The sweep is carried to the lagoon and used to surround (*liru*) a lagoon pool where the water is about knee deep. The wings are drawn together (*wuwuti* or *laulau*) and the fish clubbed or speared. Alternately the sweep is dragged over shallow water to the beach. Small fish are swept onto the beach or caught in the interstices of the midrib sections. The sweep is shaken out on the beach to dislodge the fish. Fish caught by this method are: *kaloma, vete, momoo, ie, uuoa, hotimu, lupo,* and *atule*.

Semi-permanent fish runways (*alai lama*) made of *pa lama launiu* set between rows of stakes are used in the Yato fish pool at the causeway. These runways accustom the fish to go toward places where the fishermen set nets or lines when the tapu is raised from the pond and it is open for fishing. Rougher runways are made by placing bundles of coconut leaves in the water and weighting them down with heavy stones.

NETTING

A net full of fish is *puto ika*. The use of nets in fishing is limited to the hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*), seine net (*kupenga*), arched net with line (*tata tiwitiwi*), long-handled dip net (*tae malolo*), and the flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*). (See pp. 208-209).

[227] 1. The hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) is shaped like the *tae malolo* but is much larger, having a larger mouth and longer handle. I did not see one in use. It is employed as a scoop net to block up the seaward faces of short reef channels (*yi*) or of long reef

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226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*yuvke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*kupenga*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*kalowa*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk inward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yali kupenga*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tata tuvitivi*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (*27*, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malolo* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A sennit cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net.
226 To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of sennit. The surface of the net is baited with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*wolowolo*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malolo* net is increased as it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

4. The scoop net (*tae malolo*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*timu ongo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fishermen in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*uwa vaka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are
226 named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yuke ono*) the
502 crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the captain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae muli*); the *wulimuli* ("mate"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae muli* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ola no te tae ewi*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae ewi*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o lama* or *te tata yua*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ola no te ulu* or *te totowi*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*wulimuli*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae uwa* or *tae ulu*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*lolo te vaka*) as it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

l:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukan

226 The canoes of the fishing fleet line up outside of and parallel to the reef. The leading canoe (*iki*) turns toward the reef, pointing bow-on to the reef. The torcher in this canoe raises his torch so that it bursts into flame (*wakayila te lama*). All the other canoes in succession turn bow-on to the reef and raise their torches. The fishermen make booming noises by beating the washstrakes of their canoes with their hands, and produce loud sibilant sounds by sucking in the breath quickly through pursed lips. These two sounds, together with the glare of the torches, attract the fish to the surface. They skim through the air and are caught by the netters, who net on the starboard side of the canoe. As soon as the shoal of fish has been caught or frightened away, the torches are lowered and allowed to smoulder. The canoes turn parallel to the reef again and paddle farther along. The last canoe in the line now races up from behind the fleet and takes its place at the head of the fleet (*wakalaka te vaka muli ki mua*). Each canoe in turn leads (*iki*) the fleet until all canoes have had their turn as leaders of the line. When the last canoe has reached the lead, it turns toward the reef and raises its torch. All the canoes follow suit, and the whole process is repeated. During an evening's fishing along the western reef, the canoes work down the reef from Wale until they are opposite Motu Kotawa or Motu Ko. A canoe which has an expert netter may catch about 200 fish during an evening's sport.

Fish caught by the scoop net on these occasions are: *ie pa, yipa, aku, malolo, ngalio, hupakupa, maeke, matauli, uli, uo,* and *vitiviti.* All these fish, save *ie,* of which the schools are so big that the fish is easy to catch, and *aku,* which is a very big fish, are counted as scoring fish in village flying-fish competitions. The height of the flying-fish season is from August to December.

ROD ANGLING

Angling, a common Pukapukan method of fishing, is of three types: beach angling, reef angling, or stationary canoe angling inside or outside the reef. The type of rod and hook used depends on the fish to be caught.

1. In beach angling the fisherman usually uses the *matila haloma* rod and small *yeki* hook. He stands on the beach or in the beach shallows and casts his hook into the shallow waters. Women, as well as men, are skillful beach anglers. Small fish are caught by this method. All members of the *haloma* and *vete* family are caught with a *yeki* hook, with bait of red *unga* crab and chum of *kaipea* crab. These fish are caught in daytime throughout the year. They are especially abundant at the new moon, during the southern solstice, and after a thunder storm. Other fish caught are; *manini, papata, hata, hatuli, lupo,* and *uli.* The bait and chum are those used for *haloma.*

2. Reef angling includes angling from the reef shelf where the hook is cast on the outside of the reef, angling on the reef shelf itself, angling on the inside of the shelf where the hook is cast into the deep water of the lagoon, angling from coral heads inside the lagoon, and angling from the lagoon. In lagoon angling (*wakalukuluku*) the fisherman stands in water up to his neck. Holding the rod with one hand, he submerges his head to look for fish and then casts the hook in the direction of the fish.

[227] The rod used in these methods is the *matila patuki,* which is about the same in size as the *matila akuaku* (p. 187). The type of hook varies for the kind of fish to be caught. Fish caught and hooks and bait used are:

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226 A float (*mahai*) used for catching flying fish from a stationary canoe was
227 described by informants:

The float consists of a section of *mahasasa* wood about 9 inches long and 3 inches in cross section. To each end of the float is fastened a line ranging in length from 18 inches to 6 feet. The two lines on the same float are of unequal lengths to avoid tangling when fish are hooked. Each line has a *yeki* hook which is baited with *saga* crab, *halowa*, or flying-fish meat. Several floats (*mahai*) are allowed to float unattached around the canoe. When a float begins to bob, the fisherman paddles to it, disengages his fish and resets the float. Chum of *saga* crab meat is used to attract the fish to the float. The only fish caught by this method are members of the flying-fish family: *yiya*, *malolo*, *malolo pana ahua*, and *malolo yaw* (large-bellied balloon *malolo* fish which is not eaten and only caught incidentally).

STILL-CANOE FISHING

226 Still-canoe fishing with a vertically descending line and dead bait is termed *tasalo*; similar fishing with live bait is called *lulu*. When the *tasalo* system is used with a *yeki* hook for small fish, the method is called *yekiyeki*. In both types of fishing not more than 50 fathoms of line are paid out and the canoe is anchored inside or outside the lagoon.

[502] Outside the reef the canoe is kedged onto the reef. The anchor line (*kamatau*) is buoyed up from reef to canoe with dry coconut husks. A quarter husk is split longitudinally for about 6 inches and the line wedged into this split. The natural spring of the husk serves to keep the line fast. About 12 husk buoys (*pulu langalanga*) are used for each 100 yards of anchor line. Several canoes fishing together are lined up in single file. The first canoe is kedged to the reef, and each of the other canoes is attached by about 10 yards of anchor line to the one in front. Canoes anchored inside the lagoon are usually kedged with two anchors (any large stone serves as anchor), one at the bow, the other at the stern. In both *tasalo* and *lulu* fishing the canoe is faced to windward, and the line is dropped in the lee of the canoe. Both types of fishing depend for success on an ability to see the fish biting the hook. To make the leeward surface of the water calm and devoid of surface rippling, the fisherman chews coconut flesh, which he spits on the sea. The oil in the flesh spreads over the water and effectively calms it. Today a waterglass is often used instead of chewed flesh. Some fishermen prefer to fish the smaller lagoon fish when the sky is overcast and likely to rain, using composite shell hooks. Where *Tridacna* is used as chum, the backs of the opened shell are rubbed together, making a grating noise (*kakakala*) to attract fish; the two half-shells with meat attached are thrown into the water near the canoe. Fish caught by the *tasalo* method are:

2.26

Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Eve, *ouaiki*, *talao*	Yeki or tope	Kaloma, *ie*, or crab
Ulouka	Tope or small composite hook	Crab or kaloma
Parrot fish	Yeki	Tridacna, crab, or seaweed
Pakeva, *peva*, *lai*, and *lalawata*	Tope or composite hook	Dead kaloma
Uma, *palangi*, *malava*, *kayuye*, *ma*, and *mako*	Yeki	Crab, kaloma, or Tridacna
Malali and *lalawi*	Tope	Unga and kaloma
Malatea and *oala*	Wooden hooks	Tridacna, octopus, or sea urchin (*vana*)
Wauhoia, *lalaua*, *tiwitiwi*, *talaua*, *lauauaui*, *yaua*, *tititaeyiau*, *taiva*, *hakili*, *kili-ouaiouga*, *yiaua*, *atula*, rock groupers, *waputia*, and *pakeva*	Plain or barbed tope	Crab or kaloma (grouper *papa* best caught with bait of flying fish or octopus)
Sharks (occasionally when troubling albacore fishing; not eaten)	Large wooden hooks	Any dead bait

The method of attaching dead bait (*mauua wate*) to any type of single-piece fishhook is shown in figure 4, *a*. Live bait used in *lulu* fishing is any small fish. The point of the hook is passed through the back of the fish or the fish is tied to the hook shank by the bait string (*takele mauua*) so that it wriggles about in the water. *Kaloma* bait is preferred in *lulu* fishing for the fish also caught by the *tauale* system, except for *ulua* and *lai*, which bite best with live *mulolo* bait on a wooden hook. *Kawali* is fished only at night with a composite hook. *Lai* is fished only at night in the full and new moon, with *tope* hook. For *lulu* fishing the bait is caught before the planned expedition and kept alive in a submerged basket tied to the cross booms at the side of the canoe, within easy reach of the fisherman. The mouth of the basket is securely fastened to prevent the escape of the bait fish.

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A special method of attaching sinker to line is employed in *lulu* fishing for *kakai* and *pala* fish:

The hook (*wahaolo*) is barbed. A secondary snood (*mutai*) of two- or three-ply twisted *uao* fiber about 7 feet long joins the hook to the fishline of *aouit*. Unlike aouit which hardens in water, *uao* line becomes soft and slips easily from the sinker when jerked. Live bait of *kaloma* or *atula* is fastened by the tail to the shank of the hook. Hook and bait are laid on the surface of a smooth coral stone sinker, and chum placed on top is covered by a *puapua* leaf so that it will not scatter until the requisite depth is reached. The *mutai* snood is passed around the sinker away from the barb of the hook, making two or three transverse turns to secure both hook and bait. The *mutai* is then caught in a bight with the left hand and passed around the sinker once in the opposite direction, passing over the right thumb that holds the first transverse turns in place. The bight and the running part of the *mutai* are tied together in a single overhand knot; sometimes a single slip noose is made on top of this overhand knot. Hook and sinker are paid out until the required depth is reached, when a sharp jerk on the line releases the sinker which falls away, leaving the hook, bait, and chum at a favorable depth.

2.26

Many men go outside the reef two or three times each week to catch *kakai*, the fish usually caught in fishing competitions. *Kakai* fishing is the favorite deep-sea fishing of the Pukapukan today:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 A man catches his *kaloma* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola launiu*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is kedged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.

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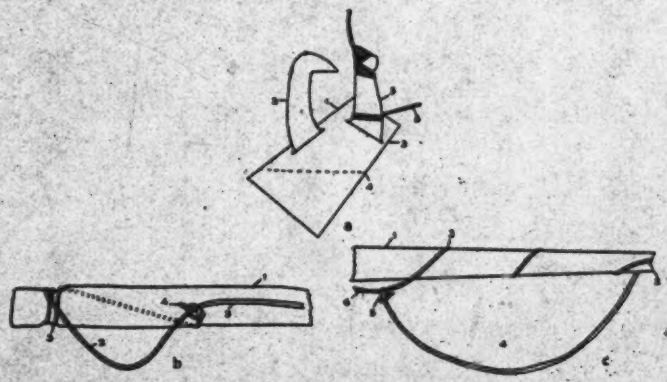

227 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird noosing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*moana mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yele mauu*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*hauyele*) (C8152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted *uuo*, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

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226 *Tuku moana* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *lulu* and *tauulo* fishing: *tuku moana* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*kalo payua* or *maniu-payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*kalo*). The other end (*kalokalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [883] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing to-
226 gether. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *kalo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *kalokalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*napenape*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *kalokalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngalipayua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*wua ui*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped
321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi kula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of
126 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising
262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *wetuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *tuna* (a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done
322 with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood. The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a
177 piece of *kana* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *ui*. Other bivalve shells of about the
321 same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *ui* with an added adjective, as in *ui pakayau alango*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the tentacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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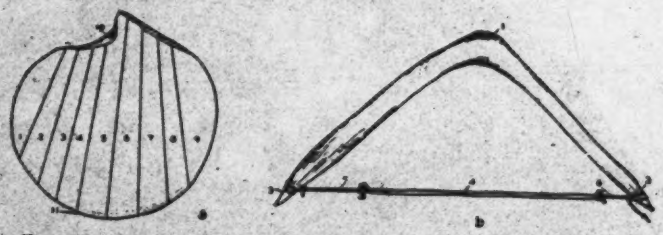

Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11): preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tawa*; 2, *patawa*; 3, *pa ki te uua*; 4, *wyololoto*; 5, 6, 7, *wyoloto*; 8, *iyunotu*; 9, *okowa*. *b*, shell file (*kumana*) of shark skin (C8037): 1, frame, small branch of *wahanava* wood with limbs 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of limbs pointed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9⅝ inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of limbs three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*itu ui*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (fig. 23, *a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito points.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 322 for judging this amount, but said that they judged by the eye. Kennedy discovered from a study of canoes of Vaitupu that the "limiting amount by which the forward end of the float is set to starboard is about one hand's breadth from a line through the after end of the float parallel with the hull" (19, p. 94); this amount agrees closely with the Pukapukan average for this starboard set, though there seems to be little correlation between the size of the canoe and the amount of starboard set considered necessary. The required balance weight of the float seems to be obtained almost entirely by lengthening the float, for the width and depth of the float do not vary greatly save for the larger canoes. The length of the float in relation to the overall length of the canoe indicates that the Pukapukan builders unconsciously judged the float length by some such rule as Kennedy (19, p. 79) gives for Vaitupu where the outrigger is given a length such that the forward end will be laterally opposite the feet of the bow paddler and the after end opposite the feet of the rearmost paddler. Again, Pukapukan builders could give no rule for judging the proper length of the outrigger float save an eye judgment.

Table 3. Canoe Measurements

501

Type	1 Overall Length	2 Beam (Gunwales)	3 Beam (Hull)	4 Depth (Center-Canoe)	5 Length, Forward Canoe Body	6 Forward Canoe Body, Hull to Outrigger	7 Rear Canoe Body, Hull to Outrigger	8 Length, Longitudinal Spar	9 Length, Outrigger Float	10 Width, Depth, Outrigger Section	11 Length, Stern Piece (Tip to Gunwale Joint)	12 Length, Bow Piece (Tip to Gunwale Joint)
Single dugout (large)	16'	14"	14"	16"	7' 5"	6' 3"	6' 7"	9' 10"	12'	5½"×4½"	—	—
Tatai tokatai one-man canoe	10' 6"	10"	8"	17"	5' 5"	4' 7"	4' 9"	6' 4"	7' 8"	5"×3"	—	—
Tatai tokalua two-man canoe	19'	11"	9"	16"	6' 6"	5' 7"	5' 10"	9'	13' 3"	6"×4"	4' 3"	3' 9"
Yeke tolu 3-seater	16' 6"	11"	7"	15½"	5' 6"	4' 10"	5'	9' 6"	12'	5"×3½"	3' 6"	3' 7"
Yeke wa 4-seater	21' 11"	14"	11"	18"	6' 6"	4' 8"	5' 1"	10' 4"	16' 4"	5½"×4"	3' 11"	3' 4"
Yeke ono 6-seater	35' 6"	15"	11"	20"	8' 1"	5' 10"	5' 10"	18'	22' 6"	7"×6"	5' 2"	6' 7"
Yeke iva 9-seater	51'	22"	14"	27"	8' 8"	7' 8"	8' 2"	27' 6"	32' 8"	7"×7"	—	—

FISHING EQUIPMENT

227 Besides fishnets (p. 208) and hooks (p. 191), fishing equipment includes lines, fishing rods, composite fishing apparatus, clubs, fish spears, and hook containers.

Fishlines

226 Lines of *uao* fiber are used on composite pearl-shell fishhooks where quality rather than length of line is important. Three-ply braided sennit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 lines are used for deep-sea fishing where both length and strength are desirable. These are made in three lengths, each from 50 to 75 fathoms long. The three lengths, called respectively *kawa lalo, kawa loto, kawa lunga* (sennit bottom, middle, top), are tied together with prominent knots. In paying out his line the fisherman feels the knots as the line runs through his hands to gauge the depth at which he is fishing, and is then able to fish at the depth at which he believes the particular fish bite best. Anchor lines of thick three-ply sennit braid are in continual use for deep-sea fishing. For tiny fish such as *lupo* a line of single pieces of coconut fiber is used with a gorge of pandanus spine.

227 284 One such line (C8043) wound round a wooden holder consists of 34 lengths of coconut fiber, each about 10 inches long, knotted together; the line is finished with one length of very fine two-ply twisted *uuo* and a snood of the finest single ply twisted *uuo*, total length being 32 feet.

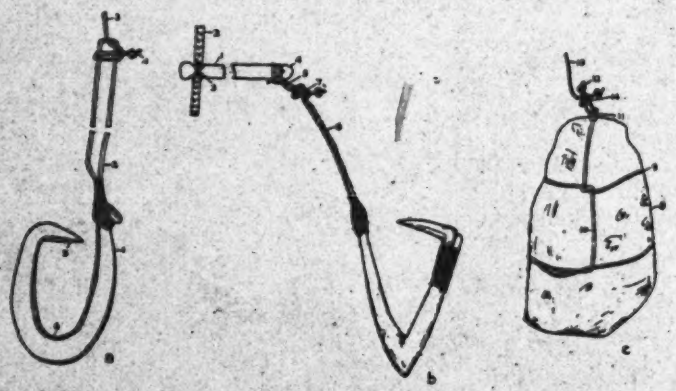

FIGURE 33.—Fishing equipment. *a*, attachment of double snood to fishline (shown diagramatically): looped double snood (2) lashed to shank of coconut-shell fishhook (1) with descending figure-of-eight turns; end of fishline (3) knotted (4); free end passes around loop and back on far side of loop, then over near side, through top of loop and pulls tight. Coconut-shell hook (*tope ngaipu*) (C8186) 3⅜ inches high, 1⅜ inches in greatest width with point-shank clearance of ¾ inch; bend ⅜ inch wide, 1/16 inch thick; inner edges of point (5), bend (6), and shank (1) beveled slightly. *b*, composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) (C8190): spreader stick (1) attached to secondary snood (2); snood lashed with diagonal turns (3) of fine *uuo*; at distal end of stick (4), short piece of *uuo* (5) doubled and lashed to stick with transverse turns; snood (6) of hook is knotted to doubled *uuo* (7); wooden hook (*kau*) small with scarf join accentuated. *c*, sinker for apparatus: sinker (8) block of coral (*punga*); one end of anchor line (9) makes two transverse turns around sinker, other end (10) caught by turns; at top, two free ends fasten with double overhand knot (11), then looped, and ends fastened again with overhand knot (12); sinker line proper (13) from fishing apparatus knotted in loop (14).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 pukapukans

227/284 Secondary snoods (*matai*) are made of twisted *wao*. They are either single or double. Single snoods are fastened to fishline by knotting. Double snoods seem to be a feature of coconut-shell fishhooks. The attachment of these snoods to the fishline is shown in figure 33,*a*.

Many lines used in fishing from the beach (*wakamoe* system) are wound on a wooden holder (*muli pokai*), their hooks supported by floats.

Rods

226/284 For *kaloma* fishing, reef and lagoon angling, and trolling with a composite pearl-shell hook, the fishing line is attached to a rod (*matila*). The total length of fishline attached to the rod is several feet longer than the amount of line necessary for a cast.

The fisherman judges the length necessary for a cast and makes at this point a clove hitch round the distal end of the rod. The free end of the attachment line he carries down the rod, making a single transverse turn with a single overhand knot round the rod at equal intervals. Toward the proximal end of the rod, he makes several transverse turns round the rod and fastens the free end of the line to the standing line with an overhand knot. For carrying to and from the fishing ground, the casting line with hook attached is laid along the rod, a transverse turn fixed with a single overhand knot is made round the rod toward the proximal end, and the free end of the casting line carried up the rod again; the hook is caught in one of the transverse turns made round the rod by the attachment line.

227/284 The *kaloma* rod, *matila kaloma* (C8137), is made of *puapua* wood, 4 feet 6 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅝ inch diameter at distal end. The line is very fine two-ply twisted *wao* (about the thickness of no. 50 cotton thread). The casting line is about 4 feet 6 inches long, the attachment line 14 inches long.

A larger fish rod for needle fish (*matila yi akuaku*) and reef fish is also made of *puapua* wood (C8098); it is 8 feet 9½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅝ inch in diameter at the distal end. The line is fine two-ply twisted *wao* (about the thickness of coarse thread). The casting line is 12 feet long, the attachment line 5 feet long.

The attachment of bonito hook line to the bonito trolling rod (*matila atu*) is by a clove hitch to the distal end of the rod. Where more than one hook is attached to the same rod, the several clove hitches are fastened round the rod below each other (fig. 34,*a*). The bonito line, of thick three-ply twisted *wao*, is about 20 feet long and is attached to the rod at a point about 10 to 12 feet from the hook, depending on the length of casting line that the fisherman desires. The free end of the line is wound round the rod with oblique downward spiral transverse turns and tied about the middle of the rod with an overhand knot. The free ends of several attached hooks wound thus round the rod produce a pleasing pattern lashing on the rod.

The bonito rod is fitted into a wooden handle (*tukou*) which has an upper grooved part into which the proximal end of the rod fits, a raised flat projection (*malae tukau*) covered with netting, and a handgrip (*muli tukau*) at the end. The shape of the handle and the method of lashing the rod are shown in figure 34,*b*. The completed lashing resembles the completed Samoan lashing of bonito rod to handle (27, p. 503) though the technique of lashing differs slightly.

The netting covering the flat projection above the handgrip is made by the ordinary netting technique and is fastened round the handle by transverse cords that pass through the marginal meshes above and below the projection. When lines and hooks are attached to the rod, the casting line is carried down the rod and the hooks caught through the

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netting meshes. For use, an appropriate hook is selected, disengaged from the netting meshes and allowed to hang free from the distal end of the rod. If fish do not bite this hook, it is replaced in the net and another hook disengaged. With six or more hooks attached to the rod at one time, the fisherman is able with maximum speed and minimum trouble to select the hook which the fish prefer to bite.

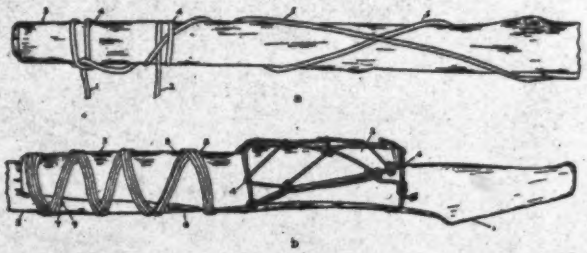

FIGURE 34.—Bonito rod. *a*, attachment of casting line: 1, 2, casting lines attach two hooks to distal end of rod (3); 4, clove hitches made around end of rod; casting lines hang free; attachment lines (5) wound spirally around rod and fastened halfway down rod. *b*, attachment to handle (*tukau*), side view: 1, handle of *wakamava* wood with handgrip (*muli tukau*); 2, raised flat projection (*malae tukau*); 3, hollowed out upper part; raised projection covered with netting (*epa*) fastened to handle by cords passing through marginal meshes (4); rod (5) pushed into hollowed upper part, chocked if necessary with small wedges of wood (6); lashing of three-ply braided sennit commences with buried end (7) at upper end of handle, then wound around handle and rod descending spirally, then up handle and rod ascending spirally; continues alternate spirals, descending and ascending, for three turns each way (8), and finishes with buried end (9).

NOOSES

Noosing apparatus consists of a line of three-ply twisted *uao* about 18 feet long and a stick (*kau*) by which the noose is brought near the fish.

The stick (C8152) is of *puapua* wood, 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅜ inch in diameter at the distal end (fig. 4,*c*). The distal end is notched to provide a running groove for the line on which a running noose (*matapili*) is made with a slip noose (*mayi*). Line and handle together are termed *kauyele*.

COMPOSITE FISHING APPARATUS

For deep-sea hand line fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef (*tukumoana* system), a composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of a number of hooks attached to one line is used.

Of two types of *taumakomako* in use, one (C8190) has a secondary snood (*matui kauu*) of three-ply sennit 6 feet 8 inches long. At a point 2 feet from the proximal end of this snood a *ngangie* spreader stick, 5¾ inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter, is lashed. The proximal end of the stick is grooved circumferentially and the snood fastened to the stick by four oblique transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted *uao*, followed by three circumferential turns between stick and snood, the finishing end being buried

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 in three transverse turns round the snood (fig. 33.*b*). Five spreader sticks 9 inches apart
284 are attached to the snood in this way, being lashed so that the distal ends of the sticks project alternately to the left and to the right of the snood. The distal end of each spreader stick is also grooved circumferentially, and a length of twisted *uwo*, 1¾ inches long, is doubled and the free ends fastened to the spreader stick groove by transverse turns of fine *uwo*. To this double spreader stick snood, the fishhook snood proper is fastened by the method of knotting illustrated in figure 33.*b*. Five fishhooks are attached to the five spreader sticks. By making these sticks project alternately to left and to right, the danger of tangling the hooks in use is avoided.

Informants mentioned another type of *taumakomako* formerly in use. It consisted of two crossed spreader sticks of *ngangie* wood, each stick about 18 inches long, with a cross section diameter of about 1½ inches. To the ends of each spreader a snood was seized. The four snoods ranged in length from 2½ to 6 feet so that four fish caught on wooden hooks knotted to each snood would not tangle the snood lines. At the intersection of the spreaders, a sinker line (*kowatau tuku maene*), 12 inches long, was fastened to suspend the sinker (*maene*) of *punga* coral. Also at the intersection of the spreaders was knotted a secondary snood (*matai*) 12 feet long. To the *matai* was fastened sennit fishline about 200 fathoms long.

Sinkers

For fishing at moderate depths of 50 or 75 fathoms, sinkers (*maene*) consist of any coral stones of suitable weight picked up on the beach. Be-
[226] cause these sinkers are disengaged from the line and fall to the bottom when the hook has reached the required depth it is pointless to use any but rough stones. In *tukumoana* fishing, one sinker weighing about 9 pounds is used repeatedly. Even for this the Pukapukan fisherman has apparently felt no incentive to make well-shaped or bored sinkers. He chooses as a sinker stone a block of coral that is roughly rectangular or cone-shaped. If the surface is not rough enough to hold the sinker line without slipping, it is chipped slightly to form two transverse grooves into which the sinker line fits. This line is attached to the sinker by transverse turns and knotted to the secondary snood (see figure 33.*c*).

Fish Club

227 Fish clubs (*patu iko*) are made of *ngangie* wood; their size and weight depend on the fish which it is proposed to kill with them. A small club is used for *patuki* and other reef fish caught in reef angling or canoe fishing.

This club (C8163) is shaped like a small talo pounder with a blunt proximal end. It is 16 inches long, 2 inches in diameter at the distal end, 1 inch in diameter at the proximal end. The distal end is slightly convex. The club weighs 1¼ pounds. Larger clubs weighing up to 5 pounds are used for larger deep-sea fish. Today a section of iron bar is often used as a fish club.

Hook Containers

[415] When not in use, small, valuable single and composite pearl-shell hooks are kept in the house stored in the double satchel (*tuluma pa*) described elsewhere (p. 134). Hooks and small fishing gear when taken into a canoe are kept for safety in a coconut-shell container (*pupu*).

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An example of this type of container (C8093) is a smoothly polished coconut shell, the eye end of which has been cut off to make a container 4 inches high, 2¾ inches in diameter at the mouth. The mouth is covered with another half coconut shell (*pupuni*), which fits tightly over the container.

Fishbone gorges used in fishing needle fish are kept when not in use by sticking them into a gorge cushion (*pupu au*) which consists of a small cylindrical section of shaped coconut husk. The gorge cushion may itself be kept in the coconut container by the fisherman out in his canoe.

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FIGURE 35.—Fishing equipment. *a*, fish spear (*tao iko*) (C8125): 1, shaft of *puapua* wood 10 feet 3 inches long, diameter at proximal end (*mulimuli*) ¾ inch, widest diameter of haft 1¼ inches; 2, 3, barb (*uabatala*) of *ngangie* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 3, point (*mata*) of barb 2 inches long, cut in ½ inch; sharpened stem of barb forced (5) into pithy core of *puapua* wood for 3 or more inches and held tight with 73 turns of two-ply twisted sennit (4); commencing and finishing ends buried; at point (5), observable projection above lashing of haft. Second fish spear, examined in field, was one-piece point and haft of *ngangie* wood, 8 feet long; barb 6½ inches long; proximal end finished with small terminal knob. *b*, gorge of pandanus spine (*matatala*) (C8043): 1, 2, two spines (thorns) stripped from pandanus leaf and placed together so that barbs project on either side; spines joined together by snood (3) of finest *uao* fiber with two pairs of half hitches (4, 5); 6, free end of snood serves as bait tying string (*takele mauna*); length of gorge ½ inch, width $\frac{1}{16}$ inch.

FISH SPEAR

Most fish spears in use today are thin iron rods or wooden shafts with iron points. Formerly both shaft and barbed point were of wood. A typical spear is shown in figure 35*a*.

GORGES

Two types of gorge (*au*) are in common use: one of fishbone is used for catching the needle fish; the other, of pandanus spine, is used for the tiny *lupo* fish.

The fishbone gorge is a bone of the *talao* fish about 1 inch long. The snood of fine two-ply twisted *uao* (*alaala*) is fastened to the hook below the head by four half hitches (*uu yelenga*). The free end of the snood serves as a bait string (*takele mauna*).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 A bait of *haloma* flesh is wrapped round the bone and the bait fastened with several turns of the bait string. When not in use, the gorge is pushed into the gorge cushion.

The gorge of pandanus spine (*matatala wala*) is described in figure 35,*b*.

Hooks

Pukapukan fishhooks are made of wood, coconut shell, pearl shell, and turtle shell. The generic name for a wooden hook is *kau*; for a shell hook, *patala* or *matau*; for a composite hook, *pa*. Single-piece hooks are further named according to their size and shape. The hook is conveniently divided into shank, bend, point limb, and point. The Pukapukan equivalents for these and other terms are shank or point limb, *kaukau*; outside of the bend, *muli*; inner curve of bend, *liu*; point, *mata*; barb, *wakatala*; shank knob, *leke*; terminal or proximal end of shank above knob, *tileo*.

227 284 In use, each hook has a snood (*taka*) lashed to the proximal end of the shank. The end of the three-ply twisted or braided snood is unravelled and laid against the inner side of the shank knob with the end of the braided section resting against the proximal end of the shank. One ply is placed to the right; the other two plies, which are treated as a single element, to the left. The first ply is passed transversely round the shank to the right, under the knob on the outer side, then round to the inner side again to pass diagonally upward to the snood where the free end of the ply is laid against the braided portion of the snood. The other two unravelled plies pass to the left, transversely round the shank, under the knob but on top of the already wrapped first ply, round to the inner side of the shank to pass diagonally up to lie against the braided portion of the snood.

The lashing of snood wrapping to shank is done with braided sennit or *uao* cord. The lashing pattern is figure-of-eight turns in which crossings are on the inner side of the shank and the loops are alternately above and below the shank knob. The figure-of-eight turns are either ascending or descending (*li alonga*) according to the choice of the worker. The Pukapukan lashing technique corresponds to that described for Manihiki (29, pp. 171-172, figs. 84, 85). In the ascending pattern lashing, the commencement end is buried and the free finishing end makes seizing turns round the snood to bind the unravelled ends of the snood securely to the length of the snood. The finishing end is buried under several of the transverse seizing turns. In the descending pattern lashing, the commencement end may be buried under seizing turns round snood and free snood ends before the figure-of-eight turns are commenced; the finishing end is buried beneath the last two descending turns. Alternately, the lashing commencement may be buried below the free ends of the snood, but after the lashing turns are completed, the free end of the lashing cord is carried up to the snood and the seizing turns made before the finishing end is buried. A third variation occurs when the wrapped unravelled snood plies are too short to lie against the snood; in this case, the commencement is below the snood, the finishing end is buried beneath the last two turns, and there is no need for seizing turns round snood.

The use of bait strings (*takele mauna*) is a common feature of most hooks. If the buried end of the lashing cord is long enough, it is not cut off flush with the finishing turns, but is allowed to hang free. If the free end of the lashing cord is not long enough to serve as a bait string, an additional piece of fine cord is fastened to the bend of the hook with a slip knot. In use, the bait is laid on the hook and several turns are taken round bait and hook with the bait string.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

WOODEN HOOKS

227 Wooden hooks vary greatly in size according to the fish they are designed to catch. Small wooden hooks are used interchangeably with the single-piece pearl-shell hook (*tope*) for catching in deep water the smaller reef groupers. Large wooden hooks are used to catch *Ruvettus* and other large deep-sea fish. All wooden hooks are termed *kau*; the largest V-shaped hook is sometimes distinguished by the name *yemo*, the largest U-shaped hook by the name *yowe*.

Wooden hooks are of two shapes, the U-shape and the V-shape. All the hooks are made from *ngangie* wood; most of them from forked branches, [245] some of the U-shaped ones from branches that have been artificially bent and made to grow in this position. The hooks are two-piece, the point being fitted to the point limb with a lashed scarf join. The upper end of the shank is narrowed and provided with a shank knob to support the lashing of snood to shank.

227 284 In larger hooks used for *Ruvettus* and other deep-sea fish, the lashing of point to point limb may be in two or three separate sections. This occurs in five of the eight deep-sea fishhooks available for study. The remaining three hooks are freshly lashed, probably by inexpert fishermen who knew that the hooks, intended for a museum collection, would never be used for fishing. The middle of three lashings is put on the smaller hooks about 1 inch below the bend of the functional point, 2 or more inches below this point on larger hooks. After the transverse turns completing this lashing have been made, the lashing is covered by tough fish scales (*unowi*) of the *molatea* fish which project above and below the lashing. The ends that project below are caught with the transverse turns of the lowest lashing, those that project above are caught with the turns of the topmost lashing. The fish-scale covering protects the middle lashing from being destroyed by the biting teeth of a hooked fish. Because it is usual to protect only this middle lashing, one may assume that a hooked *Ruvettus*, for example, is expected to swallow a hook to the point where his jaws close on this middle lashing, not on the lowest or topmost lashing. The free end of the lowest lashing is carried up over the fish scale covering to commence the topmost lashing; even if this longitudinal thread is severed, the topmost lashing can not become unravelled because the free end is effectively buried in the descending turns. (See lashing in figure 37*c*.)

The clearance between the point and the shank limb varies greatly among the hooks. In small wooden hooks the clearance ranges from ⅜ to ¾ inch, in the larger hooks from 1¼ to 3¼ inches. Kennedy states that the required clearance is equivalent to the thickness of the edgewise thumb with the point against the middle of the nail (19, p. 17). Four out of 12 hooks have approximately this clearance, four small hooks have less than this clearance (about ⅜ inch), four large hooks have a much greater clearance (up to 3¼ inches). Leaving aside the four smallest hooks used to catch smaller deep-sea fish, I presume that four of the remaining eight wooden hooks used for large deep-sea fish were probably made for ordinary fishermen, the other four for expert fishermen who prefer the hook with the wide clearance. Both types of hook, those with wide and those with narrow clearance, were in common use.

In several of the hooks the point is directed away from the mesial longitudinal [322] line of the shank limb. Presumably the explanation for this in the Pukapukan hooks is the same as that given by Kennedy for Ellice Islands hooks (19, p. 16), that is, the manner in which the scarf surface was cut on the point limb, previously with an adz, today with knife or saw.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227/284 Of six V-shaped wooden hooks available for study, four are small hooks attached to the *taumakomako* apparatus used to catch small deep-water fish. (See figure 33, *b*.) These hooks are about 2¼ inches high (from the outside bottom of the bend to the top point of the shank) and 1¼ inches in greatest width (from outside of point limb to outside of shank limb). The clearance between functional point and shank limb is about ⅜ inch. In two hooks, the shank leaves the point at an angle of 40 degrees; in the other two, at an angle of 45 degrees. In all four hooks, the snood is three-ply twisted *uuo* cord which is attached to the shank by descending figure-of-eight lashings of fine *uuo* cord. The free end of this lashing is carried up to the snood and seizes it with several transverse turns. The single lashing of point to point limb is by transverse turns with buried commencement and finishing ends. The lashing of a larger hook is shown in figure 36.

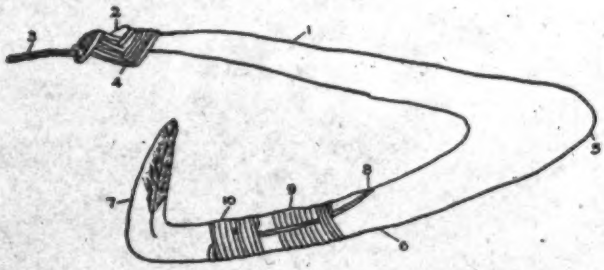

FIGURE 36.—Wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (C6526): hook 5 inches high, 2⅜ inches in greatest width, and ⅜ inch clearance between point and shank; diameter of shank (1) above bend ½ inch, thickness of bend (5) from outside bottom of curve to inner curve 1⅜ inches; angle of shank limb with point limb 50 degrees; snood (3) of three-ply sennit braid attached to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns (4) around shank knob (2); point limb (6) and point (7) scarfed (8) and fastened with two separate lashings; lower lashing (9) made first with simple transverse turns, free end being carried up to commence second upper lashing (10); functional point (7) transversely convex on top, beveled underneath, and projects slightly downward. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 7.)

227 A larger V-shaped hook (termed *yemo*) with a rounded and downward curving point is shown in figure 37,*a*.

Between the V-shaped and the U-shaped hook may be distinguished an intermediate type of which there is one specimen for study (fig. 37,*b*). This is an old hook which has been relashed. Owing to a natural twist in the shank limb, the top of the shank is twisted out of the mesial longitudinal plane running through the bend and point. It is this twist and not that of the point which makes the point appear to be directed away from the mesial longitudinal line of the shank limb.

Of five U-shaped hooks, four appear to have been made from artificially bent wood, one from a forked branch that had a natural inner curve to the bend. The naturally curved hook is shown in figure 37,*c*.

Of the three other U-shaped hooks, the smallest is 4⅜ inches high, 3 inches in greatest width, ¾ inch between point and shank; the second hook is 8¼ inches high, 4¾ inches wide, 1¾ inches between point and shank; the third hook (termed *yeuve*) is 12½ inches high, 8 inches wide, and 3¾ inches between point and shank.

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SINGLE-PIECE HOOKS

Pearl-shell Hooks

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Single-piece pearl-shell hooks are made in many sizes to catch all varieties of lagoon fish and most of the smaller deep-sea fish. The hooks are named according to their size and shape. For accurate classification, the name of the fish which the hook is made to catch is usually added to the type name

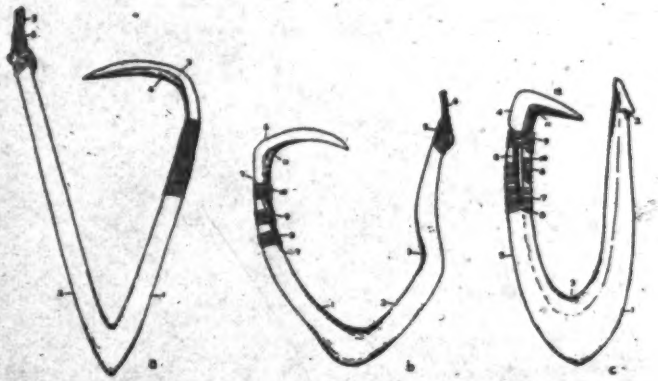

FIGURE 37.—Wooden fishhooks. *a*, large V-shaped hook (*yemo*) of *ngangie* wood (C8092): hook 13⅛ inches high, 7 inches in greatest width, point-shank clearance 2¾ inches; diameter of point limb (1) and shank (2) above bend, ¾ inch; height from outside bottom of bend to inner curve, 1¾ inches; angle of point limb with shank limb 55 degrees; point limb and point (3) scarfed and lashed together with 30 turns of three-ply braided sennit; point flat on inner surface (4) and curves slightly downward; snood (5) of thick three-ply braided sennit attached to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; free finishing end passes upward to seize snood (6). *b*, intermediate type wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (C8126): hook 10 inches high, 6¾ inches at greatest width, point-shank clearance 2½ inches; diameters of point limb (1) and shank (2) above bend, each 1 inch; thickness of bend about 1⅛ inches; shank has inward bend (3), above which shank bends backward and away from mesial longitudinal plane; snood (4) lashed with descending figure-of-eight turns (5); point (6) and point limb (1) scarfed (7) and fastened together with three separate lashings (8, 9, 10); point slightly flat on inner curve of bend (11), then curves up and down at point. *c*, narrow U-shaped wooden hook (*kau*) of *ngangie* wood (C8212): hook 5⅛ inches high, greatest width 2½ inches, point-shank clearance ½ inch; shank (1) ¾ inch diameter above bend, ¾ inch diameter immediately below shank knob (2); bend of hook (3) 1⅛ inches high from outside bottom of curve to inner bend and 1 inch thick; point (4) lashed to point limb (5) with three separate lashings; middle lashing of six transverse turns (6) made first, lowest lashing (7) second, free end (8) carried over middle lashing to make top lashing (9); remains of fish scale protective covering of middle lashing shown (10); point flat underneath (11), beveled on either side on top (12); distal end of point projects downward.

227/254 of the hook. The hooks are made from black- or gold-lipped pearl shell and provided with snoods of *uwo* cord. They may be classified by shape into three types: a U-shaped hook, a circular hook that is usually barbed, and a slanted U-shaped hook that may be barbed.

FIGURE 38.—Shell fishhooks. *a*, pearl-shell hook (*yoki halanu*) (Cb138): hook ⅝ inch high, ⅞ inch wide, and ⅛ inch thick; point (1) short, making point-shank clearance comparatively wide; inner and outer surfaces of point limb (2), bend (3), and shank (4) beveled; shank barb (5) flush with proximal end of shank; snood of finest two-ply twisted *uwo* (6) fastened to shank by three transverse turns with free end of snood line which effectively holds snood fast to shank; finishing end (7) tucked under turns and held tight; bait string (not shown) of *uwo* fiber wound around bend of hook. *b*, barbless, slanted U-hook (*hei uwo*) of gold-lipped shell (Cb124): hook 1 inch high, ⅞ inch wide; edges beveled, but owing to irregular shape of shell, point directed away from central longitudinal line of shank; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); wide point-shank clearance; snood (3) of *uwo* cord fastened to shank by lashing meant to be descending figure-of-eight turns, but very irregular (4) owing to fact that worker suffered from bad eyesight. *c*, pearl-shell hook (*uokaale yi kahei*) for albacore (Cb164): hook 2 inches high, 1⅜ inches wide; edges beveled; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); barb (3) runs from point at acute angle, barb-point edge straight, beveled slightly; wide point-shank clearance; snood (4) of three-ply *uwo* cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; finishing end of lashing seizes snood for length of ⅝ inch at 5.

[226/177] **U-shaped hooks.** Small U-shaped hooks (*yoki*) are used for beach angling and for catching the smaller lagoon fish by other fishing methods.

An example of the *yoki* hook (fig. 38*a*) is minute and almost as wide as it is high. It was used for catching *halanu* fish before European pins came into use. It is a beautifully made hook and shows craftsmanship of high order. The term *yoki* is applied to hooks of this general shape up to about 2 or 1⅜ inches high when the name *tafe* comes into use. Tafe hooks are U-shaped, but tend to be higher than they are wide. The name is also applied to hooks of other material such as turtle shell or coconut shell which have this general shape. The type *tafe* hook of pearl shell is shown in figure 39*a*. Other *tafe* hooks in the Bishop Museum collection range in height from 1⅜ to 1⅝ inches and in greatest outside width from 1 inch to 1⅜ inches. They are made of gold- or black-lipped shell; doubling or ascending figure-of-eight lashings attach the snood of two- or three-ply *uwo* cord to the shank of the hook. They are provided with bait strings.

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227 **Circular hooks.** Circular pearl-shell hooks (*matau* and *wakavae*) are
284 made with a barb (*wakatala*). Most of these hooks are as wide as they are high, but the size of the barb varies considerably (fig.39,*b*). In most hooks, the functional point is level with the lowest transverse turn of the snood lashing, directly opposite a point about 3/16 inch below the proximal end of the shank.

In one hook examined in the field, however, the inner curve of the hook was almost a perfect circle, the functional point being on a level with the top of the snood lashing and the proximal end of the shank. Another unusual feature observed on an old hook of this type was a pronounced terminal knob at the proximal end of the shank, separate from, and other than, the customary shank knob which was also cut on the outside of the shank.

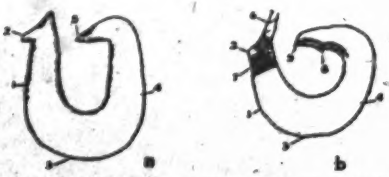

FIGURE 39.—One-piece shell hooks. *a*, U-shaped hook (*tope*): greatest length 2 inches, greatest width 1½ inches, point-shank clearance ¾ inch; *b*, circular hook (*matau* or *wakavae*): greatest length 1½ inches, greatest width 1¾ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; barb (*wakatala*) markedly concave and beveled; snood thick two-ply *niu* cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns. 1, shank; 2, shank knob; 3, bend; 4, point limb; 5, point; 6, snood; 7, snood lashings; 8, barb. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 4.)

226 There can be no doubt that the barbed hook is native to Pukapuka and
176 antedates European influence. The first man to make the barbed hook is said to have been Te Upe, a man of Loto who lived in the reign of Maina, twelve generations ago. His name is mentioned in connection with barbed hooks in an old chant "Ulu taku tangi". Beasley (4, p. 34, pls. XLIX A and XLIX B) figures six hooks of this type apparently collected by Gill prior to 1877. Beasley attributes the hooks to "Pukapuka, Paumotu group", an evident mistake. The figured hooks range in height from 1½ to 2¾ inches.

227 **Slanted-U hooks.** Slanted U-shaped hooks, large enough to be called *wakaolo* or *wakavae* and used for albacore fishing, have barbs. Small hooks of this type without barbs are called *tui wua* (fig.38,*b*) and are used to catch the smaller reef fish.

These hooks are much higher than they are wide. The point limb is short compared with the length of the shank and the functional point bends only slightly from the plane of the point limb. The barb runs from the point at a very acute angle making a large point-shank clearance (fig. 38,*b*, *c*).

Despite a superficial similarity in shape of the hook shown in figure 38,*c* to European fishhooks, informants were positive that this type of barbed fishhook was native

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 Pukapukan. Their contention is supported by the fact that Gill collected a hook of this shape before 1877. Beasley (4, p. 34) figures the hook in plate XLIX A, no. 2.

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Turtle-shell Hooks

Single-piece hooks of turtle shell are made in two shapes. One shape corresponds in all respects to the *tope*, U-shaped hook of pearl shell, and is used for the same fish as the pearl-shell *tope*. The hook of turtle shell is termed *tope una*. A characteristic hook of this type (C8223) is 2 inches high, 1½ inches wide and has a uniform thickness of ¼ inch.

A smaller turtle-shell hook termed *kawilo* is used in fishing for lagoon fish with a line from the beach. The type hook is about ⅞ inch high, ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick at the bend. The point-shank clearance is wide. Owing to the fine work necessary, the snood is attached to the shank only with three figure-of-eight turns.

Coconut-shell Hooks

Most hooks cut from coconut shell are made in the shape of the *tope* pearl-shell hook and are called *tope ngaipu*. They are used on the *taumako-mako* composite fishing apparatus and also singly in fishing for the smaller deep-sea fish outside the reef.

The hook is cut from the dry shell from the end opposite to the eyes. One side of the hook has the dark brown color of the outer surface of the coconut shell; the other side has the light brown color characteristic of the inner surface of the shell. The hooks (fig. 33*a*) have a pronounced longitudinal convexity and a slight transverse convexity on the dark brown side. The edges forming the inner curve of the hooks are beveled slightly. The hooks have double or looped snoods attached to the shank.

A small hook (C8185) is 2¼ inches high, 1½ inches in greatest width; it has a point-shank clearance of ¾ inch. The inner curve is a pronounced U-shape, with a greatest inner width of 1 inch. The looped snood is attached to the shank with descending figure-of-eight turns, the finishing end being buried beneath the last two turns.

Composite Hooks

Composite pearl-shell or pearl-shell and turtle-shell hooks (*pa*) are used for trolling and for fishing reef fish. They fall naturally into two classes, the bonito hook (*pa atu*) and the small composite hook, distinguished from the bonito hook by the addition of the name of the fish caught with them to the generic word *pa*.

Bonito Hooks

The bonito hook is a two-piece hook consisting of shank (*pa*) and point (*manga*). The point is pierced with holes (*pu*) through which it is lashed to the distal (*muli*) end of the shank, along with the hackle (*wakamaunga uwo*). The line or snood (*taka* or *wakamaunga*) is passed through the proximal hole of the point, attached to the shank by a lashing that passes

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through a hole (*pu pa*) in the thick proximal end of the shank, and seized (*puliunga*) by a lashing thread (*alaala*) passing from the proximal hole of the point to the shank head. The distal end of the shank on the underneath side is cross-hatched (*kotikoti*) to prevent the point-shank lashings from slipping, and filler sticks (*tua niu*), short pieces of coconut leaflet midrib, are pushed underneath the point-shank lashings on either side of the point base to steady the point on the shank.

The following description of the type Pukapukan bonito hook (fig.40) is summarized from an examination of 28 Pukapukan bonito hooks, 11 of these in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 17 in the field. Terminology employed for parts of the hook is that established by Buck. Lashings are described with the hook horizontal, point to the right, shank head to the left.

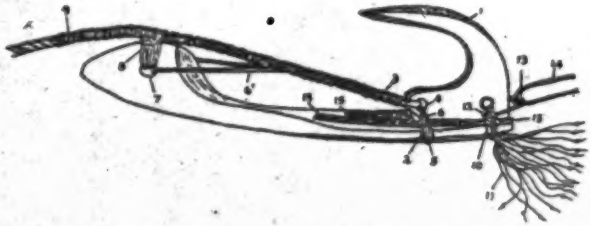

FIGURE 40.—Type Pukapukan bonito hook (C8188): point (1) of gold-lipped shell, beveled at functional point, bend, and outer angle; proximal lashing (2) and snood (3) pass through proximal hole (4); oblique lashing turns on back of shank (5); lashing thread (6), after overhand binding knot around proximal lashing, makes two turns through head hole (7) and proximal hole (4); after last turn through proximal hole, thread seizes snood (3) and its previous turns through head hole; lower threads occasionally left on for short distance and then included again in seizing of snood; toward head, lower threads (6') dropped and seizing continues to head hole; head lashing (8) consists of transverse turns around snood and through head hole, bound with circumferential turns; seizing of snood continues for about 1 inch above head hole (9); distal lashing (10) of point fixes hackle (11) with oblique transverse turns; half hitch binding (12) of distal lashing; thread passes around distal end of point; makes another binding around far side distal lashing, loop knotted (13) and cut to make secondary hackle (14); hackle (11) consists of number of fine threads of *uao*; filler sticks (15) of coconut leaflet midrib pass under both lashings on near and far sides; shank 3¾ inches long; greatest width of head ⅝ inch, height of head ⅝ inch; width at tail ⅜ inch; thickness of tail ⅛ inch; length of filler sticks 1¾ and 1½ inches; length of point base ⅞ inch; thickness of point ⅛ inch.

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The shank is made of strips of shell cut radially through the shell so as to include part of the hinge at one end. The shank length ranges from 3 to 4½ inches. The length of the hinge-head section in relation to the total length of the shank varies according to the size and thickness of the part of the shell from which the shank is cut. In the hooks examined, length of the hinge-head section of the hooks ranges from ¾ to 3 inches (fig. 41). The width of the tail end of the shanks ranges from ¼ to ⅜ inch, thickness from ⅛ to 1/16 inch.

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The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front of the shank, the rough outer surface of the shell, the back of the shank. The back is sometimes longitudinally flat, more often convex with a slight transverse convexity also. It is ground down to remove the dull rough material and to bring out a clear shiny iridescent or golden surface toward the distal end of the tail. Different surfaces are described in the ordinary color terms: *tuo melo toto*, a deep gold shank back; *tuo kena*, a light iridescent color; *tuo pula*, a pronounced rainbow iridescent color.

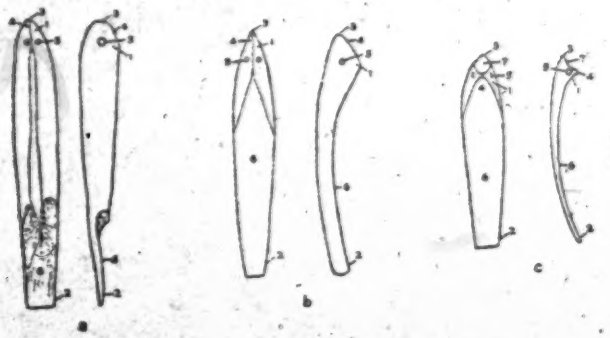

FIGURE 41.—Variation in bonito hook shanks, front and side views. *a*, long shank (C8216) with mesial ridge, slight grinding of head end, short tail section; *b*, type shank (C8187) with well-marked head, tail thicker than usual; *c*, small shank, head has short ridge caused by grinding of proximal end. 1, head; 2, tail; 3, head point; 4, mesial edge; 5, head hole; 6, front nacreous surface; 7, head point ground into concave surface.

A hole is bored transversely from side to side about midway down the thickness of the head. In one shank two such holes were bored, one at the extreme proximal end of the shank, the other nearer the maximum thickness of the head. Only the distal of the two holes carries the head snood lashing and it is evident that the proximal hole was bored by mistake too far back on the head to function properly.

The tails of the shanks are uniformly smooth on front, back, and lateral surfaces. In the opened grave (p. 164), however, Talainga saw a bonito shank that had two paired lateral projections at the tail end of a narrowing shank. He could give no information about the shape of the head of this shank, but the lateral projections are suggestive of similar projections on Melanesian hooks of the Solomon Islands. None could give any information about the shank type. All the hooks examined save one have a cross-hatching scratched on the back of the tail end of the shank.

The point of the bonito hook is shaped from shell cut from the lip edge of the pearl shell. One side shows the inner surface of the shell, the other side the black or gold outer surface which is smoothed down and sometimes polished. Eight points have been made of turtle shell, one of bone, the rest of pearl shell. In all the points the base is prolonged proximally to carry the technical bend of the hook. In 26 points, two holes are drilled through the base of the point to carry the point-shank lashings; two points only have three holes. In none of the points has the proximal hole broken through the upper edge of the point base. Characteristic point shapes are shown in figure 42.

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The snood consists of three-ply twisted *wao* cord about ⅛ inch thick and 20 or more feet long. It is attached directly to the trolling rod without the mediation of a fishline

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proper (p. 188). It is lashed to the hook with fine two-ply twisted *uao*. The hackle is made of short lengths (1 to 1½ inches) of *uao* cord; the number of separate lengths ranges from 10, if of fine cord, to 28 lengths if of fine thread. Pukapukan fishermen have never used hackles of any material other than *uao*.

FIGURE 42.—Bonito hook points (*mango*). *a*, common shape, rounded back, point almost parallel with base line; *b*, another common point, similar to *a*, but with longer point base; *c*, point with square back, acute angle at top right edge of base; *d*, short functional point and base, wide bend; *e*, point with well-rounded bend, downward projecting functional point. 1, functional point; 2, bend; 3, base; 4, distal hole (*pu hi mali*); 5, proximal hole (*pu hi uao*).

No ceremonial is associated with the lashing together of the parts of the bonito hook. Considerable variation exists in lashing methods employed. Some fishermen employ separate lashings for the proximal and distal point holes in fastening point to shank, others employ a continuous lashing. The lashing of shank head to snood is also variable; some lashings consist of simple transverse turns, others of transverse and figure-of-eight turns.

A single hole lashing commences at the proximal hole with the middle of a long piece of thread. One end of the thread is left free to make the snood seizings, the other end is used to make transverse turns through the proximal hole of the point and round the shank. On the back of the shank, these turns make oblique crossings (*uakowiwi*). On one hook only are the crossings parallel and not oblique. After six or eight transverse turns are made, they are bound on one side with the finishing end of the thread and fastened with overhand knots. On the other side, the free commencement end also binds the turns and is knotted, but the free end is passed backward and forward between the head hole and the proximal hole of the point for two or three turns and laid aside.

The snood is now laid on the front of the shank. One end of the snood is passed through the proximal hole of the point and doubled back along its length for the whole or part of the distance between point hole and head hole. The free end of the proximal hole lashing which has just made the turns between point hole and head hole is now seized round both the doubled snood and its previous turns through head hole with close turns. The point-head hole turns may be left out of the seizing for a few turns and then caught up again, or they may be continuously included in the seizing turns. In any case, toward the head, the point-head hole turns are dropped from the seizing which is continued to a point above the head hole. Most snood-head hole lashings consist of transverse turns between the hole and the snood followed by figure-of-eight turns over the snood, corresponding to the Manihiki method (29, p. 183, fig. 97).

[171]

With a separate length of thread transverse turns are made through the distal hole and round the tail of the shank, fixing the hackle in this lashing with oblique turns according to the Manihiki method (29, p. 179, fig. 91), with the exception, however, that the lashing thread, after making about ten oblique transverse turns, makes half hitch side bindings round the near side lashing of the distal hole. The free end of the thread is passed through the distal hole to the far side, again makes half hitch side bindings round the far side lashing. The free end is then brought back round the distal end of the point, passed under the near side lashing, up, back over it to make a distal point

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227/284 loop, and is finally fastened with overhand knots to this distal point loop. This loop is stretched and knotted on itself with an overhand knot. The loop is cut below the knot and each end knotted again to prevent unravelling. This method of making the secondary hackle was the one illustrated to me, but it is possible that the Samoan method (27, p. 300) is also employed.

[171] If the base of the point is narrow and the point, after lashing, appears to be loose, filler sticks, ranging from 1 to 2½ inches long, are inserted between the point base and the point-shank lashings to fill this space and tighten up the point. They are used in 17 hooks, absent in 11 hooks.

Variations on type hook. The previous description summarizes the type bonito hook. Variations, especially in lashings, are common.

Continuous lashing of the two point holes to the shank is done with a very long lashing thread. The worker measures this into three sections. Commencing with the middle section, he lashes the proximal hole with transverse, oblique turns, binds this lashing with half hitches and passes one end of the thread up to the head hole. The head hole-point turns may be simple turns passing from the near side proximal point hole to the near side head hole, through the head hole and back to the far side point hole, or they may be oblique figure-of-eight turns, passing from the near side point hole to the far side head hole, through this hole and back to the far side point hole. In either case, after finally passing through the point hole, the seizing of the head hole-point turns continues as before. When the lashing of the snood to the head is completed, the free end of the third section of lashing thread is passed along the base of the point to the distal hole and completes the distal hole lashing, hackle fixation, and secondary hackle as before. Alternately, in one hook, the free end passes through the proximal hole, to the far side, makes a half hitch side binding, then passes back to the near side distal hole between the base of the point and the front of the shank.

The turns between head hole and point in one hook are made by passing the lashing thread from the near side proximal hole of the point up to the head hole, down to the point again, round the far side proximal hole lashing at the side of the point base, up to the head hole, through this, down the near side and round the near side proximal hole lashing. This is continued for the customary three turns and the free end continues with the snood seizing. In yet another hook, the turns between head hole and point have been added after the snood was lashed to the head and instead of passing through the head hole, pass round the head snood lashing between the snood and the head of the shank. The third downward turn on the near side passes obliquely underneath the snood to the far side proximal hole and through this hole to the near side to complete the lashing.

Several hooks have a simpler lashing of snood to the head of the shank. The thread makes transverse turns through the head hole and over the snood, binding these turns with circumferential turns between the head of the shank and the snood. This lashing corresponds to the simple Manihiki technique (25, p. 183, fig. 96).

[171] Most side bindings of point lashings are made with the regular lashing thread. In one hook, however, this is done with a separate short length of thread. The commencing end of this thread is knotted round the near side distal point hole lashing, passes to the near side proximal hole lashing, makes one turn round this, is then pushed through the proximal hole to the far side, binds the far side proximal hole lashing with one turn and passes down to the far side distal hole lashing round which it is knotted.

All but three hooks have the secondary hackle. One has nothing to take the place of this hackle. The second has a thread about 3 inches long knotted an inch from one end round the near side distal hole lashing, the two ends of the thread serving as a port of secondary hackle. On the far side distal hole lashing, the finishing end of the thread lashing, after being knotted round the distal lashing, is cut off about 1½ inches from

227 the lashing and serves as a single secondary hackle for the distal side. The third hook has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing
284 and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted round this and cut off about 1½ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but has been subsequently broken.

227 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man
284 long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary hackle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and
171 head hole are added as is customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized as far as the bead with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 89,*e*), and was done presumably for the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle instead of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an interestingly lashed hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from
284 cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound transversely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is required again.

227 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant
171 features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito
114 hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194). Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves, merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (29, pp. 30-31) from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

7. [See 2; McGregor-- analyst.]

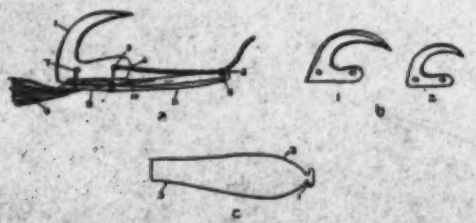
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Rakahanga, Fagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that
171 of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the
remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to
114 make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically
Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any
case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled
hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks
indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the
remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Mac-
gregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which
invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken
as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig.43,*a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *komuli* fish and are named generically *pa taki komuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malau* fish and are termed *pa malau*.



227 FIGURE 43.—Small trolling hook (*pa taki komuli*) (C8133). *a*, composite hook:
284 point (1) first lashed to shank (2) through proximal hole (3); snood (4) passed
through proximal hole and seized with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing con-
tinues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (5) around shank and
binds them with circumferential turns (6), then seizes snood for about 1 inch beyond
head; distal hole (7) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal
hole underneath shank (8) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal
hole and around shank to fix hackle (9) of *uao* fiber with oblique turns; no secondary
hackle on this hook; filler sticks (10) inserted between lashings and sides of point base.
b, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend,
and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional
point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, widest part; 3, tail.

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227 Shanks of these hooks are of uniform thickness. They do not have the raised head of the bonito shank. Instead, the head consists of a notched projection (*mulimuli*). The shank widens below the head, then narrows and flares slightly to form the tail (*yitu*; fig. 43.*c*). The greatest width of the shank in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ⅜ inch; the width of the tail in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ¼ inch; average thickness of all hooks is about ⅛ inch.

Shanks are made of both black-lipped and gold-lipped shell. The inner nacreous surface of the shell forms the front of the shank; the outer rough surface, the back of the shank. This rough surface is smoothed and polished, but the black surface is not ground away as in bonito hooks. [321]

All points are of turtle shell. Characteristic shapes are shown in figure 43.*b*. The points range from ½ to ¾ inch in base length and from $\frac{1}{16}$ to ⅛ inch in thickness. Two holes only are bored through the base; none of these was broken in the eleven hooks examined.

227 284 The lashing together of the small composite hook corresponds exactly to the method described for the larger bonito hook.

A typical lashing is shown in figure 43.*a*. Lashing of point to tail of the shank may be with a single thread for each hole or with a continuous thread. After the proximal hole is lashed with transverse turns which cross obliquely on the back of the shank, the free end of the thread seizes the snood as far as the head of the shank. In these small composite hooks, no thread is run between proximal hole and the head of the shank. The distal lashing is often bound at the side with the finishing thread to make the characteristic secondary hackle of the bonito hook.

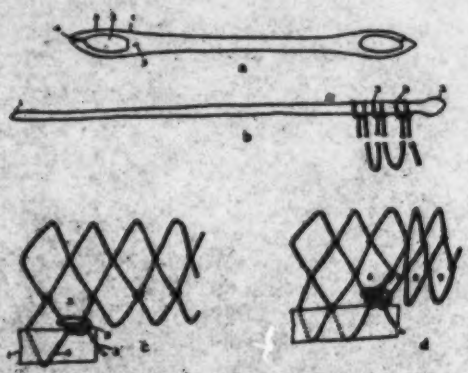
Several slight variations may be noted on this fundamental lashing pattern:

Filler sticks are not used in six out of eleven hooks; in three, the filler sticks are coconut midrib and in two the fillers are short fishbones wedged between the distal lashing and the side of the point base. In one hook, the point is lashed with a continuous thread which commences with the proximal hole. A half hitch side binding is made round the far side proximal hole lashing and the free end of the thread is passed underneath and diagonally across the back of the shank, then up to the near side distal hole to commence the lashing of this hole. In a second hook, the proximal hole lashing is completed and the lashing bound on the near side; the free end of the thread is then passed on the near side to the distal hole to make the distal hole lashing. The snood is passed through the proximal hole, but it is seized with a special lashing thread that is knotted round the far side proximal hole lashing, passes from this through the snood loop, and commences the seizing of the snood on the near side.

Secondary hackles are found on four out of eleven hooks. In two hooks the hackle is made according to the bonito hook pattern. In the remaining three hooks, it is made in slightly different fashion. In the first hook, the near side distal hole lashing is bound with the free finishing end of the lashing thread and the thread is cut about 1 inch from the distal hole. At the far side of the distal hole a thread about 2 inches long is passed through, up, back over the distal hole lashing. In one hook, the two free ends of this thread are twisted together and are knotted with the free end of the projecting finishing thread from the near side hole. In the second hook, the two free ends are tied in a double overhand knot effectively binding the far side distal lashing, and these two ends, together with the free finishing end from the near side, are knotted together to form the secondary hackle. In the third hook, both near side proximal and distal hole lashings are bound with a separate thread that is knotted round proximal side lashing, passes to distal lashing, is knotted round this, and passes again beyond the distal end of the point base where it is knotted with the double ends of a second thread that has been knotted round the far side distal hole lashing.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227/284 In one hook only does the point lashing commence with the distal hole. Transverse oblique turns fix the hackle, and the lashing is bound with the finishing end of the lashing thread, which passes round the lashing and is knotted on itself. The commencement end of the separate lashing thread for the proximal hole is knotted to the near side distal lashing and serves as a binder for this lashing. The free end passes to the proximal hole on the near side and makes four transverse oblique turns through this hole and round the shank. When these turns are completed, the free end passes up to seize the snood, lashes the snood to the head of the shank, and again seizes the snood for about 1 inch beyond the head lashing.



227/282 FIGURE 44.—Netting needles and netting technique. *a*, netting needle (*wasa*) of *ambaava* wood (Cbo8): needle 14¾ inches long; 1, expanded end ¾ inch wide; 2, central longitudinal slot (*pu*); 3, sides of slots (*nanga*); 4, slit (*wasa*) through which netting cord passes; 5, hole (*pu*) through which commencement end of netting cord knots; cord wound longitudinally between two slots. *b*, netting needle (*tai* or *yuki*) (Cb129) of coconut midrib: needle 6¾ inches long, about ¾ inch diameter; 1, blunt end; 2, terminal knob; proximal end (3) slightly notched (*nukulalava*) and three lengths of sennit cord attached by clove hitches; when loaded, needle carries 10 or more lengths of netting cord attached to proximal end. *c*, netting technique: to make mesh by ordinary technique, mesh gauge (1) is placed in position so that upper edge touches completed mesh (2); netting cord (3) brought down behind gauge and up around lower edge to form lower loop (4); needle passes through loop of mesh (2), crossing drawn taut on upper edge of gauge where it is held with left thumb while netting knot (5) is made. *d*, to narrow net, same technique followed, but two completed meshes (6, 7) brought together by superimposing 7 over 6 with netting knot made as before; in practice, meshes 6, 7, 8, 9 would be brought together by superimposing 7 over 6, 8 over 7, and 9 over 8, with netting knot made around all four gathered meshes (only two superimposed meshes are shown).

NETTING

Nets are made from two-ply twisted *uao* fiber, two-ply twisted sennit (*ulu*), and from fibers prepared from the aerial roots of the *yulu* pandanus tree. The methods of preparing these netting cords are described on page 143.1

1 [See Category 283 or 116-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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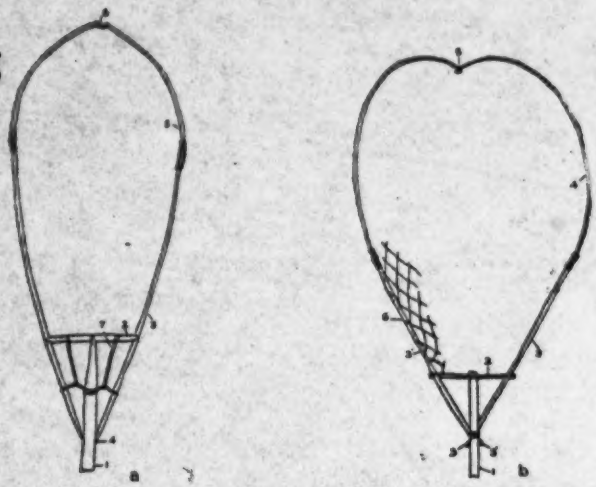

FIGURE 45.—Flying-fish and bird nets. *a*, framework of flying-fish net (*tar malolo*) (C8067): 1, handle (*kautae*) of *puapua* wood, 7 feet 2 inches long, greatest diameter 1¾ inches, diameter at crossbar ¾ inch; head of handle slotted (*ulupo*) to hold crossbar (*teka*) of *wukanavu* wood (2) which is 10½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; crossbar slotted at each end to receive rods (*wangawanga*) of pandanus wood (3) 3 feet long and ¾ inch in diameter at ends where they fit against handle (4); other ends of rods are ½ inch in diameter and are joined to lighter rods (*matai*) (5) of *lakau yili* by scarf joins; each *matai* is 20 inches long and ¾ inch in diameter; the other two ends of two *matai* are notched, brought closely together (6) and joined by continuous transverse turns of cord; lashing of crossbar to handle strengthened by suspensory lashings (7). The lashing of stout rods (*wangawanga*) to handle, shown in figure 46, *a*, *b*, *c*; lashing of head of handle to crossbar and of ends of crossbar to stout rods is in common alternating curves pattern; lashing of stout rods to lighter rods is by transverse turns around scarf join, commencement ends and finishing ends being buried. The suspensory lashing consists of transverse turns around handle and across to stout rods on either side, then transverse turns around cross lashing and crossbar; cross turns and suspensory turns are seized to make lashing taut. Net is 18 inches deep, with greatest width at mouth 19 inches. *b*, bird net (*uwata*) (C8143): 1, handle of *puapua* wood 10 feet long, 1¾ inches at widest diameter, and 1 inch in diameter at head; 2, crossbar of *ngangie* wood is 11½ inches long, ½ inch in diameter; 3, 3', stout rods of pandanus wood, 2 feet 6 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; 4, lighter rods of *lakau yili* wood, 3 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at join with stout rods, ¼ inch in diameter at distal point (5) of frame; in attaching frame to handle, crossbar (2) is first lashed to upper side of handle; both stout rods (3, 3') laid over upper sides of crossbar and under handle, two ends of rods projecting slightly beyond handle, 3' to right, 3 to left; lashing of rods to handle, of rods to crossbar ends, and of crossbar to head of handle are all of alternate curves pattern; crossbar first lashed to head of handle; free end of cord carried to left end of crossbar and lashes rod to crossbar; free end carried back across crossbar to opposite end of crossbar and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

223 284 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3') by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 227 286 Netting needles (*tui* or *wawa*) and mesh gauges (*yika*) are used. Of two types of needle, the *wawa* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia. One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob end in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yika* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (C8131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅞ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 227 286 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Pukapukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

171 method corresponds to the Samoan technique of "dropping meshes in the various rows" (27, p. 472): gathering together two or more meshes in one row to function as a single
227 mesh means that in the next row there will be fewer meshes with which to work, hence the technique is equivalent to dropping meshes from subsequent working rows.
286

TYPES OF NETS

The seine net (*kupenga*) and the large hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) have been
227 described (pp. 57-58). The flying-fish dip net (*tae malolo*) consists of a long handle, a crossbar and framework (figs. 45,*a*, 46). Its use is described on
286 page 58.
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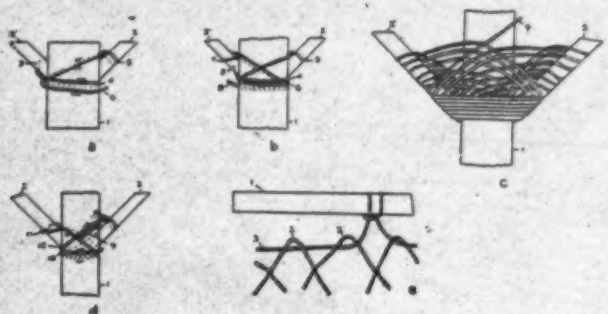

FIGURE 46.—Lashing of flying-fish net framework. *a*, commencement of lashing of stout rods (2, 2′) to handle (1): commencement end of sennit cord (3) laid on far side of left rod; cord brought around in front of handle and transversely (4) around to back, across to far side, then up diagonally across near side, passing between rod (2) and handle, across front of rod (5), then diagonally down far side of handle, passing around and across front of handle (6). *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (6) passes to back of handle, diagonally up and across to rod (2′), around front of rod (7), behind it and diagonally down and across front of handle, and around back of handle (8); this establishes lashing pattern, which is continued for about 12 or more complete diagonal turns passing to each rod. *c*, completed lashing pattern is here shown with six turns only; *d*, on top of pattern are superimposed four superior diagonal lashing turns; method of making turns shown here (inferior lashings omitted); free end of cord (9) passes diagonally down far side of handle, around to front (10), across handle, diagonally up far side (11), around rod (2′), diagonally down near side, around far side of handle again, up diagonally across near side (12) to rod (2), around this rod and diagonally down across far side of handle; lashing pattern is continued until there are two diagonal lashings up and down handle; finishing end of cord carried diagonally across near side of handle to rod (2), makes two transverse turns around rod and buries finishing end underneath these two turns; finished lashing is of neat and pleasing design. *e*, attachment of flying-fish net to frame: 1, rod of framework; 2, marginal net meshes; 3, marginal cord passes through meshes, then up to frame, making a clove hitch around rod, passing down to pick up more marginal meshes; process continued until all marginal meshes are picked up on cord, rod clove hitches 6 to 8 inches apart, free ends of cord wound round handle just below cross-lashing holding suspensory lashing of crossbar to handle; second cord passes through marginal meshes at proximal end of net and is fastened to stout rods above lashing of crossbar.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227/286 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yalu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

[284]

223 The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Pukapuka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed
223 western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukoma* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
227

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of fishooks, see pp. 27-34.]

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food shares away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kavea*:

The first method is *lamalama kavea*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kavea*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wukapoa kavea*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *wuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and
252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *waka hoi lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16) and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*tuuata*) is termed *wukayei manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 251 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kolavu*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 262 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngoipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 231 252 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*sulusula*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makitabita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngulau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal, and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), [554] reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi bayobayo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*mulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] 231 262 Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Pukapuka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 252 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg. A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

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227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-
[284] fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed
223 western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown
in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

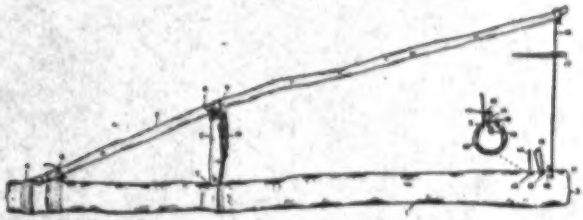
The coconut-shell bird snare (*maenga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maenga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukoma* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 231 turtles. There are about three of these enclosures in each village. When the people of Ngake go to Motu Ko for the copra-making season, they take with them their small turtles and put them in temporary enclosures erected on the lagoon frontage of the copra settlements.



227 284 FIGURE 47.—Rat trap (*tuka hiole*) (C8171): trap (1) 2 feet 7½ inches long and 2½ inches in diameter at larger end, made of a section of pandanus wood, hollowed out at one end (2) into a hole 2 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep; a springy piece of *ngangie* wood (3) 2 feet 8 inches long and ½ inch in diameter tied to pandanus wood at one end (4) and supported by upright (5) 4½ inches high and ¾ inch in diameter; lashing of spring to trap (4) consists of 7 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around end of spring and trap; free end of sennit carried 1 inch up spring to make eight figure-of-eight turns (6) around spring and trap; finishing end buried, but not cut off flush with previous turns; upright (5) rests at one end in a natural depression (7) on upper surface of trap; upper end lashed to spring with common alternate curves pattern lashing (8); suspensory brace (9) consists of 4 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around spring and trap, transverse turns being seized with 23 transverse turns (10) finished off with half hitches; on either side of middle line at open end of trap, holes large enough to allow run of two-ply twisted sennit are bored through roof of trap just inside entrance (11); a little farther in, two holes (12, 13) are bored in median line; straight stick (14) pushed down through innermost hole (12) to support bait (19); loop of sennit (15) knotted inside trap so that it projects above trap to height of bait stick; length of sennit (16) knotted around free end of spring; after testing tension, a light stick (17) is fastened by clove hitches to sennit so that it passes through noose (15) and rests its pointed end on top of bait stick (14); end of sennit (16) pushed through hole (11), passed around inner circumference of trap hole, and pushed out through another hole where it knots (18); cross section shows sennit (16) passing around inner circumference of trap (2), knotted at 18, bait stick (14) baited (19), and light stick (17) passing through loop (15) and resting on top of bait stick (14); trap set by pulling down spring and passing stick (17), attached to sennit, through loop (15) and resting its point on upper end of bait stick (14) (see cross section). In this position, as long as upper end of bait stick remains immovable spring stick cannot fly back; sennit loop within trap spreads out so that a rat entering trap must step over loop to nibble at bait which is fastened to pointed end of bait stick before trap is set. Rat nibbling bait moves bait stick which releases light stick, spring flies up and catches rat against roof of tube by tightened loop. In use, trap is propped in position by stones and sand packed around and alongside it.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 782 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck survive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 304 784 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisherman even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:

Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Paniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the *paniwi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Paniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225' 776 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the 237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*hoou hi te uuta*) or stone clubbing (*puta hi te uuta*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the bank. This method is often successful with *tamoyoi*, *tapungoa*, *tautau-*

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kaveu*:

The first method is *lamalama kaveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kaveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *uakapoa kaveu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *uuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and
252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka hoi lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*uuata*) is termed *uakayei manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116 -- analysis]

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221 and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the [312] first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly 375 brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel, 271 and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and 137 bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Puka- 137 puka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond 324 Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pu*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pu i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pu i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pu i te tukunga uua*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi alo ki tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
231 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 312).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletos, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te uinga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.
262

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lousi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the holes of the trees. Formerly the break-
644 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 517 694 203 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report [653] is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[4] e to taua[4] lulu ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tama ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukea maua i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 241 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *totou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that
203 oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua ki te vananga ko avatu ki to taua lulu. Ka wo loa taua ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka aumai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tiniu ka aumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui mea ia e wakayatia i to taua motu. Ka nono taua i ai e witu po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:

623 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at
245 other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous
685 to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were
622 automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[764] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *kawa* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kawa i te tawa lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kawa i te tawa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-kakala, Te Welo, Te Puapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
428 the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 Each section (*kawa*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
yikuanga. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
613 eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
692 lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
241 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and
268 coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building
625 of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

504 285

Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulako*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

245 539 171 773

The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

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Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

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Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

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Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

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Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

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[621]

Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
828 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adven-
753 tures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their hus-
526 bands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te
773 Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-137 fruit trees grow on the island.

262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro. 439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
221 on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
[609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

8: Beaglehole and Beaglehole--4 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
[illegible]2 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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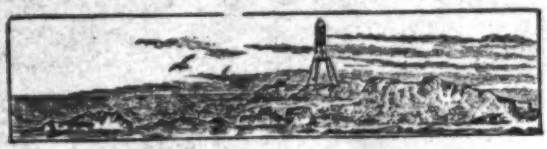

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Uro-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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flower of the *urtau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lanunui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa lolua: nuts with long husks.

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245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa liliki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pulu venu: the best nuts for making sennit.
[137]

Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa kenakena: pale green.
Niu kawa melomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyiuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukava* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kava*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

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244 replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The
482 workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*mbu ki lunga o te ulu*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving
242 lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the
731 seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

244 Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ui*) and
415 fertilizing (*wakalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages
314 of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukana* leaves, *lau kotana* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukana* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukana* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

244 In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the
192 tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Toki te tingapula: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, koa tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, koa velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, koa loa te lito o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angaulu, koa velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao atu, koa kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Koa velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Koa kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Koa kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Koa kau lima: (23d day) there are five petioles growing.
Koa wakalaungavali: (24th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Koa toaki te kau lima, koa uyi, koa tupu mai oki te lau kaua, koa ono lau talo, koa ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Koa utauto ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Koa ola loa ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Koa taku te ulu: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Koa matapu te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Oko ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Koa kivi, koa wowolo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

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103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig.1,*a*,*b*).

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out- 731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 ~ analyst.]

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625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taha*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te ainga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.
262

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*laui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
694 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

625 not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of
226 this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the
245 *pule pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that
685 stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both
673 supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only
625 major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

621 The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by
423 the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller
244 areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

773 Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumu-
livaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the num-
244 ber of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitane, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mali wenua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata wenua*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

244 It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows
in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above
412 sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midriba, *kotowa* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakowowine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kasu*) of indeterminate

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kuvu* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uma*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared 422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts 226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
378 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
847 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
775 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
072 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

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The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

857 887

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 554

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata waiwa*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

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Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*paunga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yaekili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home. [482]

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamataka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mawolawola, wakawotu, wakena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelcua, talaki, kalelea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
214 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

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244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting
262 one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
192 Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapula: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Laumea: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral cormlet or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wulurwulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*nouui*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matawyu*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *tope* nouu.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*kete lauuin*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*tabu*). She recognizes the mature (*kisi*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She pulls out (*langa*) the talo plant and slices off (*tope*) the top section, tossing the corm
412 to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*toki*) with a stick (*koyo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matalolau e, Matalomea e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*tuku ki lunga o te ulu*).

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There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

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Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ui*) and fertilizing (*wakalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

314

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukoma* leaves, *lau kotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukoma* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukoma* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

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In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Toki te tingapulu: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, koa tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, koa velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, koa loa te lito o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angulu, koa velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao atu, koa kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Koa velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Koa kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Koa kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Koa kau lima: (23d day) there are five petioles growing.
Koa wakalangavali: (24th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Koa toaki te kau lima, koa uyi, koa tupu mai oki te lau kaua, koa ono lau talo, koa ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Koa utouto ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Koa ola loa ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Koa tuku te ulu: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Koa tuuapu te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Olao ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Koa kivi, koa wawolo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vavenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaivai waiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *puniu* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by
571 the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the
431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later
431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give
[574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tasugalos* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for
195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tasugalos* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphorl-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
261 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipüpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *taumamaya*, *yamuyamu*, *lamulamu* apply to eating, wheth-
574 er by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
431 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*nukalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 412 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pala*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pala* fish (*kauvae pala*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*koyo*).

252 412 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukituki tete uuua*, C8083) is made from a section of coconut midrib (*palelauu*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tete*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*kai*). The *kai* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tele*) into sections with the *kai* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*uutu ola uuua*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*punga talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelauu*). Oven tongs (*piugoi* or *uungoi*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 412 413 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*kumete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13,*a*. A common type pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13,*b*. Pounders in use become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*yeu*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13,*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *tuna*, the *tuna* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *tuna*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
[582] sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
171 society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
(each called for this purpose *wakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
226 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting
in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group,
petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts
over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety
division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time
more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is
merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns,
represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of impor-
tance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth
and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course,
the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided
among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning
is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that
they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose
majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered.
That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is
charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relation-
ship ties based on maternal descent.

173 that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people
731 should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina
168 decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provo-
261 cation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek
621 to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the
166 rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

[244] The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

173 Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of hav-
731 ing the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than
685 the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and
674 stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*tuakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

539 Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth
173 and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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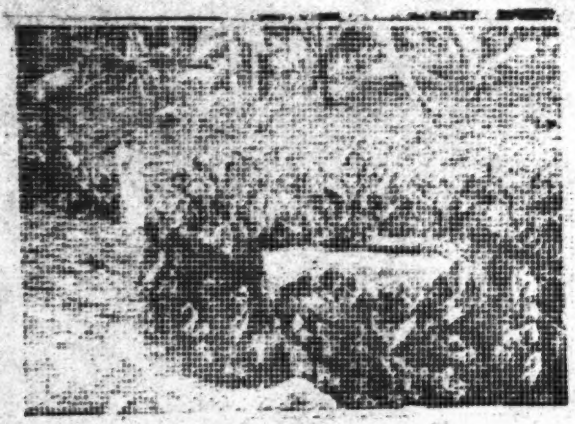
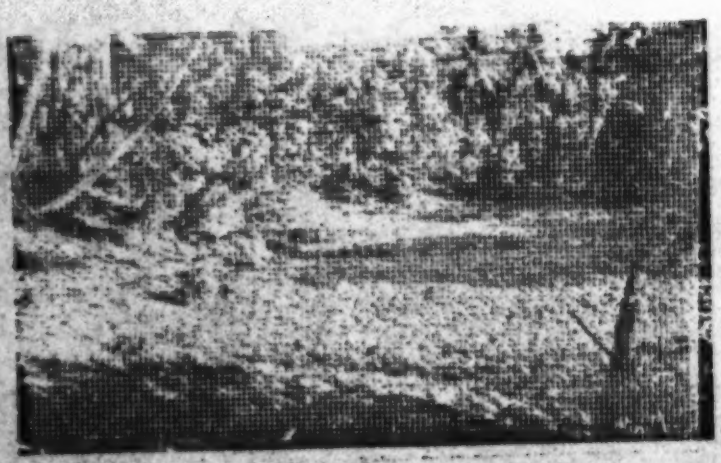


A



B

TALO GARDENS. *A*, SMALL INDIVIDUAL TALO GARDEN WITH EXCAVATION SUNK WELL BELOW THE SURROUNDING SURFACE OF THE LAND. *B*, LARGE VILLAGE-CONTROLLED TALO GARDEN IN THE RESERVE OF UTA: THE GARDEN IS REDIVIDED INTO INDIVIDUALLY CULTIVATED, SMALLER SECTIONS: EMBANKMENT AT THE LEFT IS FORMED PARTLY BY EXCAVATION AND PARTLY BY HEAPING EXCAVATED SOIL INTO A RIDGE WHICH SERVES AS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN THIS AND THE ADJOINING GARDENS.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
244, 245

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for taro cultivation and responsibility for making copra, see p. 13.]

244

A

B

PLATE 2.—Taro patches: *A*, individual taro patch in an excavation sunk below the general surface of the island; *B*, taro pit in communal garden of Te Motu; embankment formed partly by excavation and partly by heaping the excavated soil into a ridge.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the sub-soil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

103
613

Te yikuanga i Yamanaia Te yikuanga i Wanganui Te yikuanga i Te Awanga o Kui	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule
Te yikuanga i Matanamu Te yikuanga i tai o te papa	two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.
Te yikuanga i Te Au Te yikuanga i Te Limatini Te yikuanga i Walepia	three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.
Te yikuanga la ngauta Te yikuanga la tai	the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.

103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
621 by the people of Ngake:
244
te ui aeleake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te maungatu
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tawa
te ui i te ala o kaiyue
te ui o te vai matua
te ui tua yula
te ui o kamuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokalua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Loto:
Mali welo
Malo pala
Lalotai inu
Lahi we

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are
621 communally owned by Loto:
244 Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale
613 owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:
244 Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Muliwutu

Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leiloa ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nanguta, belongs to wua Kati.

Wanua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

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[illegible] Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
[illegible] 1. belongs to po Yamaunga
[illegible] 2. belongs to po Yayi
[illegible] 3. belongs to po Yalongo.

Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango

Ui Matanga, belongs to wakavae Matanga of Yato

Ui Motu Kotawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)

Te ui a Lelui, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui a Wala, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui Puatu, belongs to members of keinanga Kava belonging in Yato

Te ui a yaukawa, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Pukapuka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu

Te ui unuli alo belong to wakavae Walepia
te ui tamlangi

243 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds
244 on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te kulaanga tupele,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui unuli awaiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui loimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Yako	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Pulaula,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui langatuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui [illegible] tavaka	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Pania, Yato
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Taiayeu, Ngake
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te [illegible]	belongs to Matautu, Loto
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Hakelae	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui takalau	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kulusa	belongs to Kulusa, Loto
Te ui o Te Layo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngake
Te ui [illegible]	belongs to Puia, Ngake
Te ui langalanga	belongs to Nalupe, Ngake

524/177 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181/888 Miscellaneous.

For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621/591 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the Island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayel were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te uinga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.
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In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*laui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
694 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

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625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the
203 matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua ki te vananga ko avatu ki to taua lulu. Ka wo loa taua ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka aumai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tiniu ka aumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kaveu, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui mea ia e wakayatia i to taua motu. Ka nono taua i ai e witu po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.	Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:
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At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

625 That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

152 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that 321 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that 123 their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands 185 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was 121 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law 361 of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed
625 them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for 226 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day 245 to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pule pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitane, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te muli uvaua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata uvaua*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *kotuna* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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43 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
123 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukama* trees, and graves of
245 ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
423 the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of
423 Ngake held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[591] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*laui*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
378 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
844 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
725 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
092 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

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Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

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flower of the *uvtau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakola: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalliki: bears very small nuts.
Niu laumui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa lolou: nuts with long husks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa liliki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pulu venu: the best nuts for making sennit.

[137] Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa kenakena: pale green.
Niu kawa melomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyiuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukava* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kava*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

1: Beagleholes and Beagleholes B-5 (1934-5) 1935
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The names for the parts of a coconut tree (niu) are:

Pu niu: trunk.
Launiu: leaf and leaflets.
Kauniu: leaf midrib.
Tauniu: leaflet midrib.
Pakiawu: midrib base.
Kaiawu: fibers from leaf midrib.
Kaio: fibrous stipule.

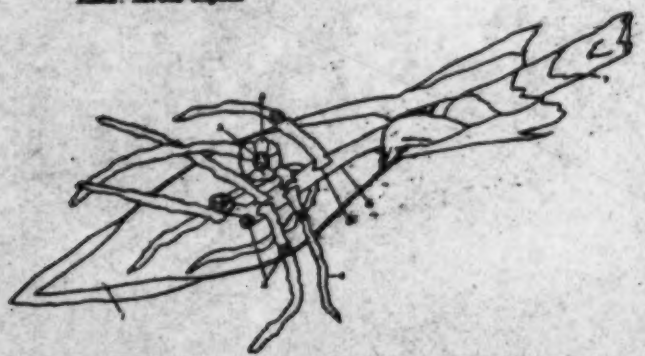

FIGURE 5.—Flower stalk and sheath of coconut tree: 1, flower sheath, *tamar*; 2, base of bract, *ate*; 3, floral bracts, *matabiliwi*; 4, flower stalk, *hualauelaur*; 5, base of flower stalk, *pu o te hualauelaur*; 6, flower stem, *hualauie*; 7, base of stem, *pu o te hualauie*.

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Names for spathe and flower stalks are given in figure 5. Informants had no ideas about the reproduction of the coconut nor could they give any names for the sexes of the flowers.

Stages in Growth

Five stages are named in the growth of the tree from the seed nut to the small tree:

Yano: the nut sends its roots (*akaaia*) into the ground, and stem and leaves grow upward.

Angapau: young stem tissues (*niko*) have shot upward to a height of about 6 inches.

Uto: sprouts have grown to a height of about 2.5 feet, and the absorbing organ of the coconut cotyledon (*uto*) has filled the entire cavity of the nut.

Lauko: the tree has taken firm root in the ground and the leaves have attained a height of 4 to 5 feet.

Yae: the leaves are growing vigorously and the young coconut tree is well established.

The 15 named stages in the growth of the fruit are:

Pun kona: the fertilized female flower of the coconut has developed into a flower bud.

Kona: the immature nut, an inch or more in length. If the kona falls from the tree, it is used in the game of juggling (*tilitili kona*).

/: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

245/524 Wuaih: the nut is a little larger than koua and has a dark green husk.

Uivakia: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

192 Moto katia: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

262 Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu melo, niu kawa kenakena, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.

Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Niu mata motomoto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (leka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Niu katea: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

[258] Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.

Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa kula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kinaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 *Takataka* nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*nofo takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the *yakali* nuts may be left unhusked (*nui koua*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make rennet. By the second storage method the *yakali* nuts are husked and a piece of *fungo* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

251 according to the quality of *takataka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one of several houses stored exclusively with *takataka* nuts.

242 192 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 481 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 857 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo,* or *takavili te niu.* Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 357 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pawpa*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*makomako*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yakili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te hayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*hayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*ano*) them from the bush to the home.

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245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*malimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamataka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
157 *momokowola, makowoia, makena, kala, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelena, talaki, kalalea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiskia, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
771 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
224 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw
when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*uala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo
puddings (*olo uala* and *likoliko uala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice
of baked keys (*makano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by
adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening
agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a
stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is
said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lowwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking
as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf
midrib; *bili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on
the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo
beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in
five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A
251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet
deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of
252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and
finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten
raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct
complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is
owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village
621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
adults with great delight. The cane is *pono*; the rings around the cane, *tu*.
245 The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu
Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One
262 breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield
of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle,
shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though
visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea.
Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

in scraping shell (*vatuyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *usu* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *usu* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *usu* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tusi*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *ustau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10¾ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*teke*) cut from solid block of *uakonoru* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulungo lohou*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 9½ inches high, 3¾ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*amo*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is dis-
482 carded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo taumaya*, C8038) of *ngangie* 25'8 wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other 412 end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*kalokalo si mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *sisu kalokalo*. The blade is the *nyeloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*alealo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tusi*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

415' A coconut cream wringer (*tanonga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *sisu mata* stage after burial in beach sand to maccerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *laulau ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*uwkapona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

415 Water containers (*wowongi*; fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye.
353' The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *valuyi* or *vala wowongi* (fig.12,*a*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*wossi*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*iwa*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ⅝ inch wide, and ⅜ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatango*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wokootinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ⅝ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ⅝ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3,C). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅜ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *nuo* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

WOODEN HOOKS

227 Wooden hooks vary greatly in size according to the fish they are designed to catch. Small wooden hooks are used interchangeably with the single-piece pearl-shell hook (*tope*) for catching in deep water the smaller reef groupers. Large wooden hooks are used to catch *Ruvettus* and other large deep-sea fish. All wooden hooks are termed *kau*; the largest V-shaped hook is sometimes distinguished by the name *yemo*, the largest U-shaped hook by the name *yawe*.

Wooden hooks are of two shapes, the U-shape and the V-shape. All the hooks are made from *ngangie* wood; most of them from forked branches, [245] some of the U-shaped ones from branches that have been artificially bent and made to grow in this position. The hooks are two-piece, the point being fitted to the point limb with a lashed scarf join. The upper end of the shank is narrowed and provided with a shank knob to support the lashing of snood to shank.

227 284 In larger hooks used for *Ruvettus* and other deep-sea fish, the lashing of point to point limb may be in two or three separate sections. This occurs in five of the eight deep-sea fishhooks available for study. The remaining three hooks are freshly lashed, probably by inexpert fishermen who knew that the hooks, intended for a museum collection, would never be used for fishing. The middle of three lashings is put on the smaller hooks about 1 inch below the head of the functional point, 2 or more inches below this point on larger hooks. After the transverse turns completing this lashing have been made, the lashing is covered by tough fish scales (*snowi*) of the *malaten* fish which project above and below the lashing. The ends that project below are caught with the transverse turns of the lowest lashing, those that project above are caught with the turns of the topmost lashing. The fish-scale covering protects the middle lashing from being destroyed by the biting teeth of a hooked fish. Because it is usual to protect only this middle lashing, one may assume that a hooked *Ruvettus*, for example, is expected to swallow a hook to the point where his jaws close on this middle lashing, not on the lowest or topmost lashing. The free end of the lowest lashing is carried up over the fish scale covering to commence the topmost lashing; even if this longitudinal thread is severed, the topmost lashing can not become unravelled because the free end is effectively buried in the descending turns. (See lashing in figure 37*c*.)

The clearance between the point and the shank limb varies greatly among the hooks. In small wooden hooks the clearance ranges from ⅜ to ¾ inch, in the larger hooks from 1¾ to 3¼ inches. Kennedy states that the required clearance is equivalent to the thickness of the edgewise thumb with the point against the middle of the nail (19, p. 17). Four out of 12 hooks have approximately this clearance, four small hooks have less than this clearance (about ¾ inch), four large hooks have a much greater clearance (up to 3¼ inches). Leaving aside the four smallest hooks used to catch smaller deep-sea fish, I presume that four of the remaining eight wooden hooks used for large deep-sea fish were probably made for ordinary fishermen, the other four for expert fishermen who prefer the hook with the wide clearance. Both types of hook, those with wide and those with narrow clearance, were in common use.

In several of the hooks the point is directed away from the mesial longitudinal [322] line of the shank limb. Presumably the explanation for this in the Pukapukan hooks is the same as that given by Kennedy for Ellice Islands hooks (19, p. 16), that is, the manner in which the scarf surface was cut on the point limb, previously with an adz, today with knife or saw.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the cess-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niu wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners. The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakalelei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yoki yokio	Carry above the head (?)
Yuyu matalangi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ulu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngaluei, ngaluei,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kavu*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *laukavu*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*niu wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*awanga*) of the old men's group (*tupele*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli tuania*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food tapas or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

526 height, the winner is the one who, having climbed to the height indicated, first reaches the ground. Each contestant stands before a tree with a climbing bandage on his feet. The left hand rests on the tree trunk; the right hand is clasped around the tree. At the given signal (at present, on the count of three) each man springs up the tree and climbs as fast as he can. In coming down the tree he may slide as much as possible and leap from the tree when about 8 or 9 feet from the ground.

Coconut-husking contests (*yokanga niu papaku*). Three carefully sharpened husking sticks are placed in the ground, 1½ paces apart, to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. The husking sticks are carefully placed to make an angle of about 70 degrees with the ground. On a small coconut leaf mat impaled over the stick, the village husker kneels, squatting on an unhusked nut. Sixty *yakali* nuts are placed in the center of the triangle. Each husker impales a nut on his stick. At the signal the men start to husk and continue until all the nuts are husked, including the nuts on which the men squat. The man who husks most nuts wins the contest. One man may stop the contest at any time to repair his stick if it falls over or if its point breaks or blunts. Behind each man stands his second (*tokotoko*), a man from another village, who counts his nuts at the end. In an average contest, three men husk 60 nuts in 2 minutes. After one contest, the points of the sticks are resharpened and fixed in the ground again, and another contest follows.

526 Nuts are competitively husked not only in inter-village contests but also by villagers preparing for a feast, making copra, or dividing nuts from the reserves. At the present
245 time, in making copra at the reserves, after each adult has collected his weekly quota of from 100 to 200 nuts, all the young men, accompanied by children, women, and old men move from one pile of nuts to the next, holding a husking contest at each pile. In this contest two or more men compete against each other until the pile is finished. The group spends the whole day going thus from one pile to the next. Sometimes a women's team accompanies the men to husk the nuts of the women, at times competing against the men. The mixed contests are occasions of great fun-making which reach a climax if a woman defeats a man. The women wax jubilant, and the onlookers hurl all sorts of advice and ridicule at the unlucky man, who is glad to make his escape. The news spreads like wildfire through the copra settlements. The old men are quick to make suitable witticisms, and it is long before the defeated man hears the last of his shame.

526 **Composite dart-throwing contests.** Held on an open space (*malae*) usually on the beach at low tide. An exhibition contest was given during our stay. The *malae velo* (dart-contest space), the beach in front of Loto village, was cleared of rubbish before the contest commenced; men of Yato cleared one half, men of Loto and Ngake the other half. Rubbish was thrown into the sea, and the loose coral was pushed off to the side with the butt ends of coconut midribs. This made a clear space about 75 yards long and 15 yards wide. Two throwing pits (*tosa*) were dug, one at each end of the *malae*. Each pit was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and sloped from the ground level at the rear to a depth of 1 foot in the front. The sand from the pit was piled up at the front end to form a small batter used as a throwing base (*muli tosa*).

The composite dart, *velo*, is described on page 214. The thrower takes the dart in his right hand, holding it at the *yiku* end with the thumb and middle finger, the index finger steadying the *yiku* tip. To test the hold, balance, and aim of his spear, he takes a preliminary run (*lielio*). He starts five paces behind the *tosa*, takes several quick steps forward toward it, holding the dart with the forearm vertical, the dart horizontal and level with or a little higher than the shoulder. He stops in his run and, with the fingers of the left hand, plucks (*wakangavali*) the dart at a point about 2 feet from the *yiku* end. Then he moves back to the starting point, makes another *lielio*, and again tests the dart to be sure that his trajectory is correct. The third time, he advances to the *tosa*, plants his left foot against the batter, and hurls the spear (*wakapoi te velo*). A well-thrown dart moves through the air horizontally about 10 feet above the ground, strikes the ground at an obtuse angle, and then slithers (*totolo te velo*) a long distance

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OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 262 252 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not cultivated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*makano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner [821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several 245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*. 262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as 431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A 251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of 252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village 621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *va*. 245 The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu 262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
244, 245

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for taro cultivation and responsibility for making copra, see p. 13.]

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
[illegible] the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

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245 Wuaili: the nut is a little larger than koua and has a dark green husk.
824 Uivaka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.
192 Moto katia: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.
262 Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu melo, niu kawa kenakena, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.
Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.
Niu mata motomoto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.
Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (leka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.
Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.
Niu katen: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.
Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.
Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.
[258] Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.
Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa kula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kinaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 *Takataka* nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*uale takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the yakali nuts may be left unbusked (*uei kaua*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make nennik. By the second storage method the yakali nuts are husked and a piece of *punga* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

251 according to the quality of *takataka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takataka* nuts.

245 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

192

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing
481 bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo*, or *takavili te niu*. Nuts are usually harvested by young boys,
807 occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a
537 cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

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252 11. *Wawa tunu pakapaka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*inna na pu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipüpi*.

12. *Wawa tukituki tunu. Wawa tunu pakapaka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yakali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

13. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo cormlets (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The cormlets and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

14. *Pota ulukau.* The outer skin (*kili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated *ipüpi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu*.

15. *Pota ulukau puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

16. *Tingapula.* Young talo petioles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo* is added, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked.

262 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the
252 flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukau*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tao paku pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *loloi pulaka* and *mawu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to be kept for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being rebaked day after day, though after much rebaking the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The
251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain
261 so long uneaten. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For rebaking, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yawi ki te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*takai ki te launiu*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not cultivated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*makano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*. *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lawwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A bunch (*to*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *vu*. The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai, pala,* and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Ava* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

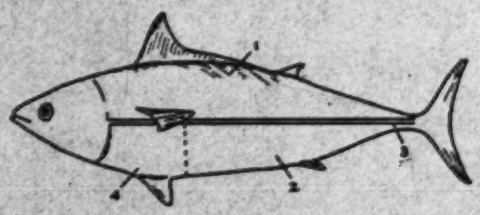

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io;* 2, bottom sides, *io alonga;* 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolowole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tunu*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*ngaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *keloma,* are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*wakala hi te la ke pakapuka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai, pala,* and *atu*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
262 a taro dish. It was taga to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valu Wetuna. It is likely that this taga against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*ovao*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and carapace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
262 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since
136 people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kalavu*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngoipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*vuluvulu*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makitakita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal,
[554] and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi kayokayo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*muliusuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg.
252 A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

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Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *wakayamoa* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inner side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *wakayamoa* type and the *wale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *wakayamoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *wakayamoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *wakayamoa* type used as storage houses (*wale takataka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *wale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *wale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the *pitaru* are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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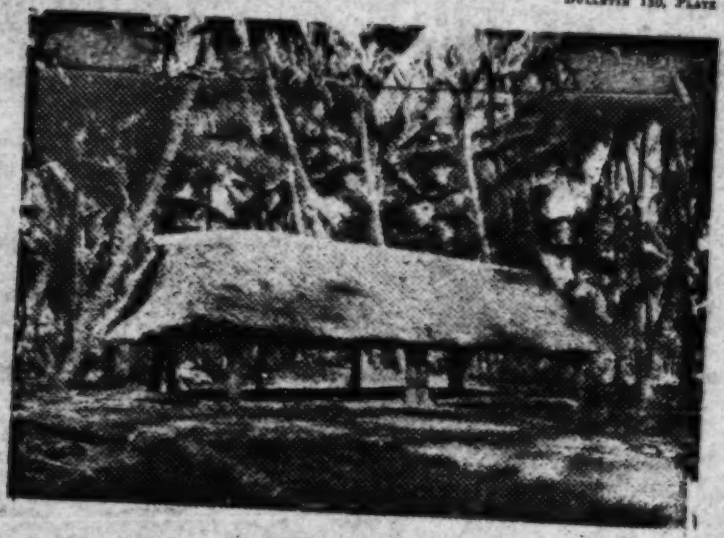

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HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE *WALE ATUA* TYPE AT THE PLACE MATALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA, USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD; ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REENFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF LOTO VILLAGE; THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kavau*:

The first method is *lamalama kavau*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kavau*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wakapoa kavau*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *wuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and
252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *waka kai lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*uwata*) is termed *wakayei uwu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.160, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
514 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
327 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
262 little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
613 return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *laukavu* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*auanga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

372 Fire (*awi*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ika awi*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kawati*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *tuika*, and to make fire thus is *mate awi*.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Putapukans

372 The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¾ inch thick at the proximal end (*malimali*), and about ¾ inch thick at the distal end (*mata*). The distal end is shaped to a nasal point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yoliyoli te lakau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

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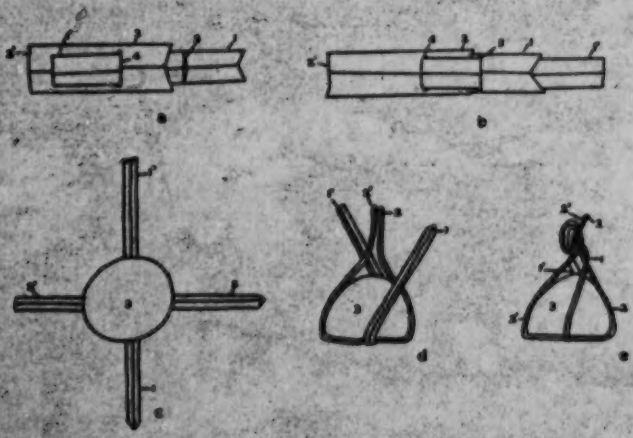

FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a-b*, *lulu* food package; *c-e*, talo (*lolai*) food package. *a*, leaflet midrib stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1′) passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (1′) folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′) crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2′) brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1′) twisted around ends (2, 2′); then ends (2, 2′) bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tauma*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*wale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
252 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *wale wahoyamoa* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
372 build, and, in the main, of the *wale toimuku* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*watu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*kala*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *kala* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*pu te imu*), coconut shells (*ngaipu*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pikipiki*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*kua matemate te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te imu*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *toa*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *puapua* leaves (*lautaloa*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *lautaloa*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *puapua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *polapola* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *polapola*. The whole oven covering is termed *tutao;* to cover the oven is *uni te imu* or *tui te tutao*. Whenever a woman
[481] comes back from the talo beds, she places a bundle of *puapua* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of talo and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the talo from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
262 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists
462 his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *wale imu* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo
261 and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on
158 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

Th. coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods
252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*ngaungau*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *mukomuko* is baked (*mukomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*miko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *katikati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu katikati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinahi*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu kalokalo* from the *niu mata:* The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *kalokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*yru*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu kalokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially
[143] for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tusu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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252 262 5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *kinaki* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu halohalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matomatomoto* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *kinaki* of *likoliko* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *kinaki* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*twai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu wakaliliki*; to grate coarsely, *vulu wahapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tusi* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tovonga*) and wrung (*kuku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Valikonga*: *yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *nonu*, or *maile* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Yinu tutu*: *yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Yinu takataka tutu*: the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*ole*) on the *punga taletale* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mawu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yawi*, sometimes given as *awi*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lulu*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*wowuo hi loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lulu*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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2. *Loloi.* Whole corms or corms cut into small pieces, according to preference, are placed in banana leaves (*ina teuti*). The package is placed on two crossed coconut leaflets, one of which is longer than the other. Two or three half coconut shells of coconut cream are poured over the corms. *Puapua* leaves are laid on top and the banana leaves folded over all. The package is fastened as shown in figure 6,*c-d* and baked in the *imu*.

3. *Tatu.* Baked *tulu* is placed in a wooden bowl and pounded with the *tuki* pounder until each corm is flattened. Each corm is then dipped, first on one side and then on the other, into *lolo* contained in a coconut shell. The corms are then placed side by side on a leaflet platter (*laulau*) and served.

4. *Ipu koti.* Large, well-shaped drinking nuts are opened at the eye (*maia*) end of the nut and the flesh removed. Each shell (*ipu*) is half filled with uncooked corms cut into small pieces, then filled with *lolo*. The opened end of the shell is covered with a half shell. The *ipu* are baked in the *imu* for about a hours. The pudding is served in the shells.

5. *Tele.* Corms are scraped into small slices with *tubituki* and *kai*. The slices are placed on banana and *puapua* leaves, *lolo* poured on top, and the package bundled and fastened as for *loloi*. It is baked in the *imu*.

6. *Olo.* The *pungapunga talatala* scraper is placed on a *puapua* leaf. Corms are grated to a creamy mixture (*olo*) by vigorous rubbing against the stone. The *olo* is placed in a bowl and pounded with the *tuki*. Fresh water (*yua*) or coconut liquid is added, and *lolo* is stirred in with the *tuki*. A new coconut-leaf basket (*kete launia*) is made and lined with *puapua* leaves. Into this container the *olo* is scooped with a coconut cup. The two sides of the basket are brought together and tied at the two ends and at the middle with a single piece of coconut leaf. The leaf is passed through from side to side at one end and tied with an overhand knot; the free end of the leaf is passed to the middle, knotted again, and passed on to the far end, where it is knotted finally. *Olo* baked overnight is *olo wakaulu*; *olo* baked for a few hours only is *olo tao uke* (*olo*, baked to open). It has not such a crisp outer layer as *olo wakaulu*.

7. *Kanaka.* Uncooked *olo* is placed over a layer of *lolo* in a wrapping of banana leaves. The package is tied as for *loloi* and baked about 3 hours. Then the talo is removed and placed in a bowl. *Lolo* is added and the *kanaka* is broken up with a stick (*lakou puapua*) to work the brown crust on top into the pudding and the *lolo* into all. The food is scooped from the bowl with a coconut cup and served on a *laulau* platter lined with *puapua* leaves.

8. *Mauu. Kanaka* is prepared up to the stage of placing in a bowl. *Lolo* in coconut cups covered with half shells is cooked on hot stones and coals and added to the talo in the following fashion. The open cup of *lolo* is placed beside the bowl. The *tuki* is dipped into the *lolo*; with a twist of the wrist the *lolo* is scooped out of the cup and transferred to the bowl, where it is rubbed over the outside of the pudding. This is then cut into small pieces with a sharp piece of coconut shell and placed on a *pulaka* leaf. The remaining *lolo* is poured into the bowl and the cut-up talo is dipped into *lolo* and placed on the leaves, and is then ready for serving as *mauu*.

9. *Poke. Olo* is placed in a bowl, *lolo* is added, and the whole is stirred with long, circular, clockwise sweeps of the *tuki*, the left hand grasping the top of the *tuki*, the right hand below. The *poke* is placed on banana leaves, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked in the *imu* for about 3 hours.

10. *Likoliko.* Uncooked *olo* is placed in shells. It is stirred with a small *puapua* stick until soft. *Lolo* is stirred in, and the *likoliko* is placed in baking shells and baked for 3 hours. The cover of each cup is then removed, the food stirred and served in the cups. This dish was the favorite food of the Pukapukan navigator and warrior, Te Nana, when he visited Yayake. Te Nana is reputed to have eaten 40 to 50 cups of *likoliko* each day.

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252 11. *Wowu tuwu pakapaka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*iwu wu pu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipiipi*.

12. *Wowu tukituki tuwu. Wowu tuwu pakapaka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yakali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

13. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo cormlets (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The cormlets and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

14. *Pota ulukou.* The outer skin (*kili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated *ipiipi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu*.

15. *Pota ulukou puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

16. *Tingapula.* Young talo petioles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo* is added, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked.

262 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the
252 flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukou*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tao paku pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *loloi pulaka* and *mawu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to be kept for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being rebaked day after day, though after much rebaking the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The
251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain
261 so long uneaten. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For rebaking, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yani hi te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*takai hi te launiu*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

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OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kisaki*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*mahano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A
251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of
252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is
249 owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village
621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
245 adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *vu*. The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu
262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai, pala,* and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Avu* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

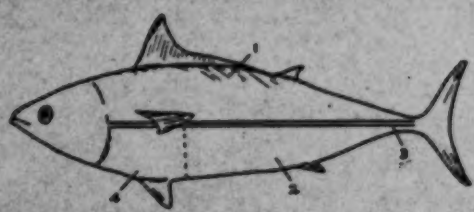

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io;* 2, bottom sides, *io alongo;* 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolewole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tunu*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*ngaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *kaloma,* are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*wakala hi te la ke pakapaka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai, pala,* and *atu*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
262 a taro dish. It was tapu to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valu Wetuna. It is likely that this tapu against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*wua*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and cara-
262 pace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
136 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

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252 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kaleva*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*vuluvulu*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makitakita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal, and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*),
[554] reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi kayokayo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*mulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pono*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg.
252 A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

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245 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is dis-
482 carded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*halokalo taumaya*, C8038) of *ngangie* wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has
25½ a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other
412 end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*halokalo ui mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *niu halokalo*. The blade is the *nyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*aloalo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tuai*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

415 A coconut cream wringer (*tawanga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *niu mata* stage after burial in beach sand to mascerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *laulau ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*wakopona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

415 Water containers (*wowongi;* fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large
303 coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *valuyi* or *valu wowongi* (fig.12,*a*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*uwoi*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

244 412 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pala*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pala* fish (*kasesa pala*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*koyo*).

252 412 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukituki tete uuuu*, C8083) is made from a section of coconut midrib (*palelauu*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tete*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*hai*). The *hai* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tele*) into sections with the *hai* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*uutu ola uuuu*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*punga talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader, used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelauu*). Oven tongs (*pingoi* or *mangoi*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 412 415 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*hunuete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13.*e*. A common type pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13.*b*. Pounders in use become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*yen*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13.*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	21"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig. 13*d*).
Pilato	6' 7"	2'	12¼"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangic wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palemaiuma	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua wosu) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Ella	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lou*) of the *uula* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lawulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
283 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

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245 Wuuli: the nut is a little larger than koua and has a dark green husk.

824 Utvaka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

192 Moto katin: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

262 Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu melo, niu kawa kenakena, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.

Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Niu mata motomoto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (kika) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Niu katea: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

[258]

Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.

Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa tuta (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kimaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 *Takataka* nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*uuli takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the *yakali* nuts may be left unhusked (*uui kawa*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make cement. By the second storage method the *yakali* nuts are husked and a piece of *punga* cord of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one bachelor on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *uala ines* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 261 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 958 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods 252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *oumapio* is chewed (*apoungau*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *ouhouuho* is baked (*ouhouuho tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*ouho*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *uuta* and *hutikati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu uuta tao* and *niu hutikati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinahi*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu hulohulo* from the *niu uuta*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *hulohulo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*yeu*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu uuta* is also made *ipu niu hulohulo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu uuta* is cooked on hot stones (*niu uuta tuou*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

[843]

252 12. *Wawa tuwu pukapuka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*iwa wa fu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipiipi.*

13. *Wawa tubitubi tuwu.* *Wawa tuwu pukapuka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yukali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

14. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo corms (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The corms and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

15. *Pota ulukou.* The outer skin (*hili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated *ipiipi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu.*

16. *Pota ulukou puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

17. *Tingapuia.* Young talo petioles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo* is added, the packet tied as for *lolai*, and baked.

262 252 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukou*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tuo puka pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *loloi pulaka* and *uuwu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to last for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being rebaked day after day, though after much rebaking the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The 251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain 261 so long unseen. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For rebaking, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yuui hi te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*tahai hi te lauuia*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

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262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai, pala,* and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Ave* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

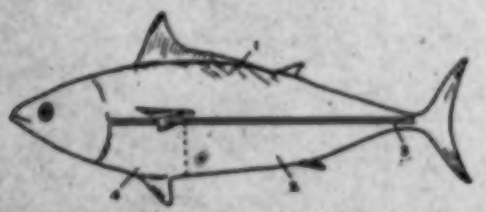

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io;* 2, bottom sides, *io alongo;* 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*wolewole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tuna*) and oven-baking (*tao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*upaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *holowa,* are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*unkala hi te ia he pukapuka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai, pala,* and *ave*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *laulau* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
262 a taro dish. It was tapu to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawonga broke this rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawonga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valy Wetuna. It is likely that this tapu against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Yina broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*ova*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and carapace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
262 136 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga*
hee. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless
continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom
the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is
closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A
man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tou*,
even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share
of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's
sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from
the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tou* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
621 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mai tuanga tou*). The food
592 share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so
must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children
to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this
exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

621 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by
602 her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who
592 also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant rela-
tive of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a
tuanga tou of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of
residence, is a *tuanga tou* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in
Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household,
the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum
share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two vil-
lages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties
with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman
makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her
old age.

The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the
591 same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by
623 change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mito* of the

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
597 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wangai*, to feed). The adopting parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually
613 involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wangai*, the child as *tama wangai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless
261 couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for talo beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wangai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wangai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*nukamama*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the talo fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*yei*), decorative kilts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and as likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or sennit of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, *sowa* dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or 261 *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *kaevu* crab meat gives her child crooked legs; eating *supa* crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *keipea* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *kaevu* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of [753] chronic skin sores on many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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Eating fish with small mouths, such as *wamini* or *kalowa*, produces a small mouth in the child. Eating the head of a fish with a large mouth, like the groupers, produces a large mouth. Eating a horned fish, like the *uwe*, unicorn fish, or the *holili*, produces a lump on the forehead of the child or a horn on its back (*tala tua*) similar to the "horn" on the back of the *holili*. Certain other fish, like the *abuabu*, needle fish, the pregnant woman may eat with safety, provided she does not touch the head or the long tail. Eating a flat fish, such as the *ali* or the *pangipangi*, varieties of flounders, makes the baby grow long and flat. Eating the head of a fish with large teeth produces a baby with two very large incisor teeth. Eating a fish that has poison barbs or fins produces two bony nodules on the ankles of the child. *Pala* (*Acanthocybium*), albacore, bonito, red mullet, and snappers are considered good for the pregnant woman, but she must be careful to eat no fish which is beginning to spoil or has soft flesh, lest the skin of the child be soft and partly rotten.

In general, coconuts are good for the pregnant mother provided they are freshly picked from the tree. Eating or drinking nuts that are a day or more old produces sore spots on the skin of the child, for there is the presupposition that there are slightly affected spots on the shell or flesh of a nut one day old. If the drinking nut is very old, the skin of the child will be similarly rotten. Eating a very large nut produces a child with an abnormally large head. Drinking misshapen coconuts, of which a part of the shell is concave, produces concavities on the skull of the baby. Eating or drinking of a nut from the center of a large cluster of nuts, where the nuts have been tightly packed together in growing, compresses tightly or crushes the baby's head.

Eating the young shoots of the talo plant produces in the male child a birthmark on the forehead, in the female child a birthmark on the *labia majora*. Eating talo corms with large protuberances on them produces warts on the head of the child. Eating a tuber with a double root produces a male child with two membranes (*kalowa*) on the scrotum, a female child with two membranes joining the *labia majora* to the anus. Eating rotten talo causes the eyes and navel of the child to be infected with disease, and gives the child a general physical weakness. Eating talo tubers that have been gnawed by a rat or *haipea* crab produces sores on the skin of the child.

Eating the bud shoots on the side of the pandanus key produces a child with two *pili uele* (cartilaginous protuberances—tragi) in front of the ear. Eating over-ripe pandanus keys produces sores on the body of the child. Eating crooked or misshapen bananas produces a male child with a very big penis or a female child with a very wide membrane between *labia majora* and anus.

Eating a bird whose wing was broken when it was caught produces a baby with weak arms; a bird whose chest was injured in the catching gives the baby a weak and diseased chest; a bird with prominent breast bones produces a pigeon breast in the child. Uninjured birds in perfect condition are suitable food.

A final class of foods that must be eaten with care is shellfish and turtle. Eating periwinkles (*alili*) produces warts (*ihonga alili*) on the top of the baby's head. *Tridacna* seems to be the only safe shellfish that the mother may indulge in. Eating the head of the turtle produces two scars on the mesial sagittal plane of the head like the marks on the head of the turtle. Eating the plastron of the turtle makes the child suffer from respiratory defects and breathe in a noisy, labored fashion after the manner of the turtle. Eating the carapace of the turtle produces a hunch-backed child. Eating turtle eggs produces a child born with a hernia. Eating the green fat of the turtle renders the child liable to be born with a perennially running nose and eyes. With the above exceptions, the flesh of the turtle is a good food for the mother to eat.

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From the list of foods that she must take care not to eat, it is evident that the ideal diet for the pregnant woman consists of the general foods of the Pukapukan diet, with the caution that they must be fresh and sound in shape. Foods that have special peculiarities of shape are undesirable because

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tanganga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tanganga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau wakayawi*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitau*) for each sex. The *wale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotawa* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *nuku wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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521 609 626 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

152 578 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 576 867 626 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewuluwulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauyu*.

152 261 626 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

732 158 826 626 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 857 156 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye uilinili* (one who does not select people).

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the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*wakayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*vananga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peluia to malo, tai ake to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua hawa*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pakipaki te lemu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lani*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uukaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me," Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.

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103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig.1,*a*,*b*).1

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just out- 731 side the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 ~ analyst]

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625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*uole palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te uinga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.
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In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*laui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
644 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

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225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is viselike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

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225 3. *Wali wowu*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

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225 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualoupa*) and the major internal organs (*ngahau niafua*). It was tapu for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

262

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan levies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*wehe makave loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*wehe makave poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*pungo*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*mushe*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ula*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ula* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ula* with his hands (*lalao ula* or *tango ula*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lomalama*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *halama* bait, and plenty of chum.

j:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*kalo payua* or *manin payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*kalo*). The other end (*kalokalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [483] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing to-
226 gether. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *kalo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *kalokalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*nopenopa*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *kalokalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngalipayua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*uua ui*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped
321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi kula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of
226 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising
262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *wetuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *vana* (a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalomea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalomea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou, louili kulo, louili uli, louili akau*, and *louili taupulepule*, which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipua are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kauwu* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tuua te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kauwu* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kauwu* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lavaya kauwu*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kauwu* were not reserved (*wakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kaveu*:

The first method is *lomalama kaveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayeka kaveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wakapoo kaveu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *wuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and
252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were
237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the
422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards.
621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from
223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast
262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *waka koi lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a
231 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16) and
223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*wuata*) is termed *wakayei manu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.190, category 116-- analysis.]

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

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Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

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245 Wuaili: the nut is a little larger than kona and has a dark green husk.
824 Uivaka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.
192 Moto katia: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.
162 Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu malo, niu kawa kanakona, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.
Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.
Niu matu motomato: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.
Niu matu: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (leka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.
Niu matu matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.
Niu katen: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu matu, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.
Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.
Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.
[258]
Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.
Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa kula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kinaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 Takataka nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*nuia takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the yakali nuts may be left unhusked (*uui kaua*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water after husking to make sennit. By the second storage method the yakali nuts are husked and a piece of *punga* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting
262 one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
192 Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapula: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Laumea: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral cormlet or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wuluwulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*wouui*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matasya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *tops wuua*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*hete lauuia*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*taku*). She recognizes the mature (*kiui*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*longa*) the talo plant and slices off (*topa*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*toki*) with a stick (*hoyo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matalomea e, Matalomea e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

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PAYMENTS

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
431 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
476 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
554 talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are
[322] fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakayinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakaualinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakayinunga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*mallinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uno*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit *malo* and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *maraw* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *maraw*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pana* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *maraw*, each woman five *maraw*, each child one *maraw*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
577 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000
431 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that
621 happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.
627

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of man and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/2 [i.e, to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

527 2. *Lawaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
262 formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lawaya*, as *lawaya kawu* (crabs), *lawaya manu* (birds). A *lawaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lawaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be [821] made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lawaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngaluenga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakomaliuga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngaluenga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *monotanga*.

[623] 5. *Kavehuv*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*maloma*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Warle, *tawuayanga*, and *puahi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *uulkimua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia uule* and *lulukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lauhuva*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Imu kai o te uua* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
574 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

527 Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 *Lauwatangi* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo*
613 *alai* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingolingo* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of flesh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *yionga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have inti-

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
574 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
527 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
262 little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
673 return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *taukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangonge* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*awanga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

372 Fire (*awi*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ika awi*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaungti*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikaika*, and to make fire thus is *mata awi*.

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252 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists
462 his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *wale inu* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo
261 and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on
758 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods
252 of eating and preparing are:
262

1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*ngoungou*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *mukomuko* is baked (*mukomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*miko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatikati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*nis mata tao* and *nis hatikati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *nis halokalo* from the *nis mata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*yen*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *nis mata* is also made *ipu nis halokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially
[843] for sick persons. The unopened *nis mata* is cooked on hot stones (*nis mata tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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252 262 5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *kinahi* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu halokalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamotomoto* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *kinahi* of *liholiko* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *kinahi* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *valu wakaliliki;* to grate coarsely, *valu wahapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tuunga*) and wrung (*kuku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Valikonga: yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale, nou, nonu,* or *maile* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Yinu tutu: yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Yinu takataka tutu:* the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*olo*) on the *purgo talatala* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*imu*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. 574 A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are 264 eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *wukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mawu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yuwi*, sometimes given as *auwi*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lulu*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*wuwoo ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with cocoont leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lulu*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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252 11. *Wawa tunu pakapaka.* Peeled corms are placed on heated oven stones (*imu na pu*, the oven that has been burned) and allowed to cook for an hour or more. They are served with *ipiipi*.

12. *Wawa tukituki tunu. Wawa tunu pakapaka* is placed in a bowl, grated *yakali* nut flesh is added, and both are pounded until well mixed. *Lolo* is added to the mixture and the food is served in shells. The dish is considered very rich and is not often made.

13. *Pikopiko.* Very small, young talo cormlets (*pikopiko*) are peeled with the fingers. The cormlets and their petioles are broken into small pieces, placed in banana and *puapua* leaves, covered with *lolo*, and baked.

14. *Pota ulukau.* The outer skin (*kili*) of talo petioles is stripped off. The petioles and young leaves are shredded into small pieces, wrapped in *puapua* leaves, and baked. The food is then placed in a bowl, grated *ipiipi* (*ota*) is sprinkled over it, and the whole pounded together. Coconut water is added and the food served in *ipu*.

15. *Pota ulukau puaka.* When available, layers of pork fat are alternated with layers of petioles and leaves, and the whole baked in leaves. Before serving, *lolo* is poured over the food to make a rich, flavorsome dish.

16. *Tingapula.* Young talo petioles are peeled, broken into small pieces, and placed on *puapua* leaves. *Lolo* is added, the packet tied as for *loloi*, and baked.

262 252 *Pulaka* is considered less tasty than talo and is only eaten when the flavor of talo becomes tiresome or when talo supplies are low. Most of the dishes made from talo are also made with *pulaka*, excepting *pikopiko*, *poke*, and *pota ulukau*. The talo dish called *lulu* becomes *tao paku pulaka* when made with *pulaka*; otherwise the names are the same, for example, *loloi pulaka* and *mawu pulaka*.

251 Uncooked talo is buried in the ground near the cook house for preservation. It will keep thus without rotting for about three weeks. Talo brought from Motu Ko in large quantities is treated in this way. Cooked talo or fish, left over from one day to the next, is preserved by baking in a fresh oven. It is placed in the oven overnight or kept in a basket tied to the cook house rafters overnight and placed in the oven on the next day. Large talo puddings have been known to be kept for a week or more without the *lolo* in them curdling (*vi*), simply through being rebaked day after day, though after much rebaking the puddings get hard and lose flavor. The 251 unusual thing about such preservation is that the puddings should remain 261 so long uneaten. This occurred however after island fishing feasts. One family got a very large share of talo from the division and then had a very bad week for fish, catching practically none. Without fish for a food complement, they could not eat the pudding and so kept on preserving it in the hope that the men of the household would soon get fish.

251 For rebaking, talo puddings are either wrapped in *pulaka*, banana, or *puapua* leaves (*yawi hi te lau pulaka ma*), or tied up in coconut leaflets (*takai hi te launiu*). The leaflet packet is preferred when a well-browned pudding is desired. Pairs of coconut leaflets are stripped from the midrib. One leaflet is twisted lengthwise round the packet, the second widthwise, and the packet fastened securely. To make them more pliable, the leaflet ends may be first heated over a fire.

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OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 262 252 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not cultivated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*makano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner [821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several 245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*. 262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as 431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A 251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of 252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village 621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *vo*. 245 The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu 262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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262 of the catch raw to stave off pangs of hunger. *Kakai, pala,* and other big
252 fish that are particularly tasty raw are usually caught on Saturday and must be saved and cooked for the Sunday feast. *Ato* (milk mullet), a small fish tasty when raw, is caught only by Yato village from its pond and is generally baked for village food divisions.

Large fish are split before cooking into four longitudinal quarters (*io*) by cutting along the longitudinal black blood canal and dividing each half into two. In the fore sections of the two bottom *io* is the choice part of the flesh called *pakoko* (fig. 7). It is fat and tasty and much preferred by pregnant women.

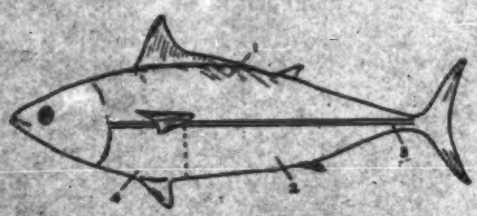

FIGURE 7.—Division of albacore fish: 1, upper sides, *io;* 2, bottom sides, *io alonga;* 3, dark-colored blood canal; 4, fat portion of flesh (*pakoko*) esteemed as special delicacy.

252 Small fish are not cleaned or scaled (*uslewole*) before cooking. Larger fish are roughly scaled by working the thumb along the skin from the tail to the head. Head, fins, and internal organs are not removed. Every part of a fish is eaten.

Only two methods are used for cooking fish: grilling (*tuna*) and oven-baking (*iao*). Fish to be eaten immediately are always grilled; fish to be eaten later in the day or on the next day are baked. For grilling large quantities of fish, a special fire is always built, even though another fire is already burning in the cook house. The grilling fire is built only of coconut shells (*ugaipu*) of the *yakali* or *uto* stage, which burn with a clear, fierce flame. The fish are laid on the glowing embers and turned from time to time until cooked. Small fish, particularly *keloma,* are spitted on a coconut leaflet midrib, about 20 fish on each midrib, with all the heads facing one way and all the tails facing the other. They are grilled thus.

251 When there is a larger supply of fish on hand than can be immediately eaten, fish
261 is preserved by sun-drying (*uskala hi io la ke pakopaka*). Fish that has been dried for several days will last indefinitely. Large fish—*kakai, pala,* and *ato*—are first split into the usual four sections and twice oven-baked. Each section is then cut into smaller pieces, placed on *lealea* food platters, and hung from house eaves to dry in the sun. During the flying-fish season when there is an abundance of fish, flying fish are partially grilled on hot stones and then sun-dried. They keep for a long time without spoiling.

252 Turtle flesh is grilled. The only correct complement for turtle in former days was
262 a taro dish. It was taga to eat coconut with turtle. A man named Yawenga broke this rule, so the story goes, and the next time he went turtle fishing he was caught by a male turtle, which sounded and drowned Yawenga and then took his body to the legendary land called Valu Wetuna. It is likely that this taga against mixing turtle flesh and coconut is associated with the displeasure of the turtle when the woman Ying broke a coconut on his head. Turtle ova (*uwa*) are eaten as well as the meat, fat, and cara-
262 pace, raw or grilled. Probably turtle eggs were not eaten formerly but were left to
136 hatch, an inference from informants' statements that it is only in recent times, since people have taken the eggs of the turtle from the nest, that turtles have been dying out.

252 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kalava*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*wumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*valuvalu*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makitakita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal, [554] and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi kayokayo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*wulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

431 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg.
252 A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

591 In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from
261 the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
621 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*uoi tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592 The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who
592 also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *wilo* of the

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643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale ya*
782 *o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *welo* berries, a headband of *welo* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki yokio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Ui", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*uwa*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te wai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:

Kia[10] wai mali wuniu	Let the clusters of nuts be full (?)
Kia wewolo te wawa	Let the talo tubers grow big
Kia tautungatunga	(Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request)
Kia matoka te ika	Let the fish be numerous
Kia pi ki te tai	Let (faces) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten)
Ke ale te wuma	Until the land stinks
Kava ye te tangata	Countless the feasts for the people

After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koa tauyala wua koe ki mua" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leowi* or *tauta*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her
[302] skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
643 choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *malau*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga mali*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*mahayuu*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[10] *Kia*, an archaic particle used in preferring requests to the god.

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

776 Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

613 Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale [262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776 Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776 Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa 821 removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 362 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu*; they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [301] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele mauu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai tana i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale pontini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

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226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae pewa*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*waloma*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *ave* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

224 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yakeomo*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-137 fruit trees grow on the island.

● 262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro. 439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-79 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lita, MitiMos's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

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A man catches his *kaiuma* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola lauvia*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is lodged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.

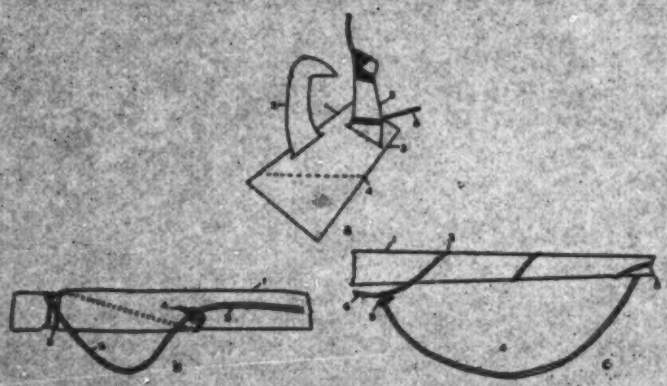

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FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird snooing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*mamea mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that fish remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yale mamea*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*hawycle*) (CB152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted *mao*, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226

Tahu mamea fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *lala* and *tauala* fishing: *tahu mamea* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pauaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*makoumuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yaskili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka matempte*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te hayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*hayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*uuo*) them from the bush to the home.

[412]

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *halekale* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamaka*) with a scraper (*halekale*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka;
137 *mawalawala, wakawotu, wakowo, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *peleua,*
taloki, halelea, uwuuwuu (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
244 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu hai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu hai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu hai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one bereache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *uala iuna* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262. Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten
261 every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on
758 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods
252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *mamalo* is chewed (*ngamagam*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*piipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *ambomuho* is baked (*ambomuho tao*) and eaten with (*piipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*mako*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinahi*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu halokalo* from the *niu mata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pua*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu halokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially
[843] for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tuna*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngaiże owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngaiże does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[521] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *uukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mauu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*veue*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukitaki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yuui*, sometimes given as *oui*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lala*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*vuuuo ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lala*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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244 was caught with the rat trap (*uaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
261 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Tama (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipipi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *taumamaya*, *yamayamu*, *lamulamu* apply to eating, wheth-
574 er by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
431 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*tukapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*uaholavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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264/578 Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

556/888/626/476/181 Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

552/434 The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

433/182 The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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579 by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and,
776 in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this
577 regard as showing the power of Tane. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waleton (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or
609 when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throw-
721 ing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

701 A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign ves-
609 sels or canoes:

726 The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kawa* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uai taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli kawa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kawa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

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As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and
264 came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself
726 set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their
609 malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

712 No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied
701 by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

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539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wemua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

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756 gleam. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamun was a priest of Te Laupapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he
191 looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiva*,
the *uete*, the *nanaio*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That
193 was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it
193 with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Wallem. Wallem was a man of Loto. Ngallyepen was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various ill-nesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *mulmulia*, the *ewe*, the *uuni hawa*, the *uo*, the *holowa*, the *atule*: when he chopped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

759 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably
757 generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tamalomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the
751 medicine as a poultice (*ngoma*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tamalomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative compound of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The *ngoma* was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tatule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconuts, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nono* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings [544] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lolo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngangu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taryiou* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taryiou* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo mao*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child
852 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kasawa*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 281 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kasawa olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kasawa tamaga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uai kowa*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
511 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

177 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukoma*) does not seem to be an old style
561 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
322 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

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285 290 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ibiikinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl.3,*A*,*a*). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan C8189 (*iii yaeyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wao* tree. *Wao*[8] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yana*) are hung from the neck.

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Wao fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wawole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the *wao* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pokoi*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vulu*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wao*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*wayiwayi*) into narrow widths (*yako*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 412 Appliances used in *wao* bark preparation are:

Scraping board C8047 (*papa vulu wao*) is a board of *puapua* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1¼ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper C8046 (*hoti*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 3¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber C8132 (*titi wao*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wao* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[8] The tree is *wao*; fiber prepared from its bark, *wao*.

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feet 6 inches are braided together at one end. Braiding commences with three strips of bark. After braiding for 2½ inches, one strip (ply) is dropped and another added. After two more twists of the braiding, a second strip is dropped and another added to take its place. The braiding continues thus, dropping one and adding another strip until 28 plies are dropped. The braiding of the final three plies is stoppered by tying the two outer plies together with the first part of a reef knot.

Sennit fiber (*laukawa*) is prepared by macerating either the green or mature husk of the coconut in salt water. The coconut named *niu pulu venu* is preferred for fiber, but any nut may be used if this is not available.

The husk is either buried in the wet sand on the beach or else placed in a basket which is submerged in shallow water. The husk is left until the interfibrous material is decayed (*papala*). One to two months is a usual time, but burial up to six months or more does not harm the fibers. On removal from the salt water, the husk is pounded (*tuki*) on the beach to separate the decayed matter from the fibers. Any wood or stone serves as an anvil and a piece of wood as a mallet. After being thoroughly beaten, the fiber is washed in the sea and dried in the sun.

Before cordage is made, the bundle of fibers (*laukawa*) is sorted (*unu*) and the short, fluffy, thin fibers (*wunga*) are thrown away. The remaining fibers (*pulu kawa*) are separated into two types: long single fibers are picked out to be made into cordage termed *una* used for especially strong fishlines and canoe lashings; the remaining fibers are divided into hanks (*amo*) of 10 to 15 fibers each, twisted at one end to hold the fibers together.

Twisting

Twisted cords are made of *uao* and coconut fibers. A fine two-ply twist of *uao* termed *aiaala* is made for the lashings of composite pearl-shell fishhooks. The operation is known as *uilo:*

The worker takes two single threads of *uao* and rolls them separately on the sole of the foot (*papa vae*) with the palm of the hand (*papa lima*). At the finish of each forward and backward rub a slight twist is given to the thread by a sideways motion of the hand. Two twisted threads are laid together and twisted into a single cord by a forward and backward movement of the hand. The plies are termed *tauvau*. Strands are added to the shortening ply by direct overlapping.

Thicker cords varying from 1 to 3 mm in diameter are made from *uao* fiber in two- or three-ply twist, and used as snoods, secondary snoods, and bonito lines.

Two-ply sennit (*uka yae*) or three-ply sennit (*uka tautolu*) is used exclusively in lashing together rafters and purlins in the house framework and for lashing roof sheets to the rafters. Separate strands (*amo*) are twisted separately on the sole of the foot and then twisted together. Strands are added by direct overlapping on the shortening ply. Two-ply *uka* is about 3 mm thick, three-ply about 5 mm.

Braiding

The material used for braided cords is invariably sennit fiber. This braiding is either three-ply for fishlines or lashing lines, or five-ply for

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213 sennit malos. Four-ply braid is not used for cordage. Braided sennit is termed *kawa*. Sennit made from the selected, long pieces of fiber is *kawa unu*; from unselected strands (*amo*), *kawa wili*. Ordinary three-ply braiding which produces a fairly long, loose braid is termed *kawa wili yaeyae* and is used for ordinary anchor line (*kawatau*) or fishline. Careful three-ply braiding, in which each twist of the plies is pulled very tight to form a close, round braid, is termed *kawa wili tuki*; when made of the long strands (*unu*), it produces especially strong braid used for strong fishlines and canoe lashings.

Braiding is always done toward the body. The commencement end of the plies is knotted and tied to a stake set in the ground before the worker or else coiled round the toe (*iko ki te mangamanga vae*). In three-ply braid, the outside plies are brought over the middle ply in succession, each ply taking in turn the middle position. A shortening or thinning ply is reenforced by direct overlapping on the specific ply affected or else by the addition of a new strand from below, the short end of which is folded back over the middle ply (fig.18,*b*). When it is temporarily abandoned, the braiding is stoppered by twisting plies together or by tying the two outer plies together with an overhand knot. Braiding is permanently finished by gradually reducing the size of the strands until they are very thin and then rolling the three plies together on the sole of the foot to produce about 3 inches of three-ply twist. Shreds of fiber (*wuluwulu*) left on the cord after braiding is finished are carefully cut off with a knife (*tako*) to give a smooth, neat appearance to the cord.

[804] Finished cord is measured by stretching it from tip to tip of outstretched arms across the chest. One such measurement is equal to a fathom (*ngawa*). When the worker has made a sufficient number of *ngawa* for his purposes, he winds the cord into a coil of fathom loops and stores it until needed. Lengths of cord for canoe lashings are made fairly short because the cord must be used uncoiled when lashing through holes in the canoe hull. Working coils for house lashings are made by winding the sennit over the back and palm of the hand. The sennit is taken from the hand, the free end is wound several times round the middle of the coil and fastened with half hitches. The commencement end is pulled from the center of the coil and the lashing started with this end. As the lashing proceeds the coil unwinds itself, but the coiling prevents the sennit from becoming tangled and hard to use.

Examples of three-ply braided cords for various purposes are:

Anchor line C8198 (*kawa tau*): three-ply braid, 6 mm thick, 11 mm wide. The plies thin down to 4 × 2 mm at the finishing end and are twisted into two plies (two plies being twisted as a single element) for 2½ inches and knotted.

Other lengths of braid used as deep-sea fishlines and anchor lines (C8197, C8199, C8196), have thicknesses of 4 × 7, 4 × 8, and 5 × 10 mm. They are all loosely braided pieces of sennit (*kawa wili yaeyae*).

Canoe lashing sennit C8103 (*kawa unu li vaka*) is a flat three-ply braid, in which each ply is composed of 13 long coconut fibers. Short plies are lengthened by direct overlapping, the slight backward projection of the short end of the added strand being trimmed off later. The finished braid is 3 mm thick, 6 mm wide; the flatness and strength of this braid make it ideal for lashing together hull parts.

283 Five-ply (*wili lima*) braiding is reserved exclusively for the making of
292 sennit malos (*kawa malo*). The braiding technique is similar to three-ply braiding save that the outer ply from either side crosses two plies instead

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*iwa*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick. The commencement end (*kamatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¼ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅜ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uuo* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

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CLOTHING

291/177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wakakawu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu tuukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalavu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C81pa conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293/283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *wulo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai wulo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or was wound round the waist (*pepelu ki te matai wulo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting. [764]

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kuka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalavu*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wakamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

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292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are
763 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
178 C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
797 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
285 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or
292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wu*).
828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
787 fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
539 antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawa ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia oua wakaeveevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

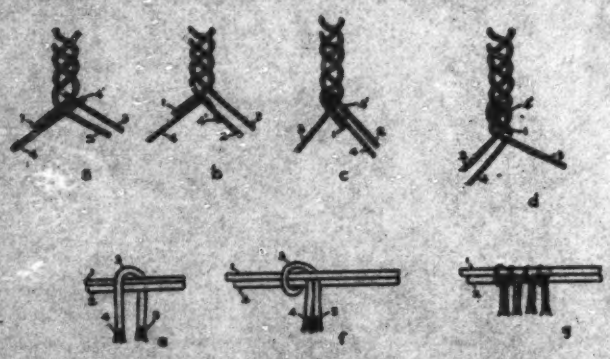
292 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yen*) worn by women. The art of making the *yen* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat C8094 (*taumata kanu*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4,*d*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ¾ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*kaukaua*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*matu mahalehaka*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*aue*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*taumata pahepahe*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Marshallese technique noted by Buck (29, p. 135, fig. 47).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood be-
322 comes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *voka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *voka tui tuta* lasts about seven
[283] years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*tsulua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*kaukau*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were termed *tabai*. A platform (*papanga tsulua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*uale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than
502 on the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reinforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

To change the direction of any canoe is *wuli* or *uuwuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*ki hatsa*) or to port (*ki ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La amai* or *La hatsa*! When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tawi ai*! (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan canoe are few:
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In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

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Fish Caught	Hook	Bait
Eve, *uulili*, *taiao*	Yeki or tope	Kaloma, ie, or crab
Ulosio	Tope or small composite hook	Crab or kaloma
Parrot fish	Yeki	Tridacna, crab, or seaweed
Pakava, *geva*, *lai*, and *laiawutu*	Tope or composite hook	Dead kaloma
Uue, *taiaagi*, *malava*, *kayaye*, *ua*, and *malto*	Yeki	Crab, kaloma, or Tridacna
Malali and laiawi	Tope	Unga and kaloma
Malatoa and eels	Wooden hooks	Tridacna, octopus, or sea urchin (vesa)
Wuahaia, *laiaua*, *tiwitiwi*, *tatatoa*, *iaaauaui*, *yama*, *tiimaipuna*, *taiva*, *kokili*, *kili*, *uuulenga*, *yiuua*, *atulu*, rock groupers, *uuglini*, and *pakava*	Plain or barbed tope	Crab or kaloma (grouper papa best caught with bait of flying fish or octopus)
Sharks (occasionally when trolling albacore fishing; not eaten)	Large wooden hooks	Any dead bait

The method of attaching dead bait (*mauua mate*) to any type of single-piece fishhook is shown in figure 4, *a*. Live bait used in *lulu* fishing is any small fish. The point of the hook is passed through the back of the fish or the fish is tied to the hook shank by the bait string (*tahele mauua*) so that it wriggles about in the water. *Kaloma* bait is preferred in *lulu* fishing for the fish also caught by the *tasalo* system, except for *atua* and *lai*, which bite best with live *malolo* bait on a wooden hook. *Komuli* is fished only at night with a composite hook. *Lai* is fished only at night in the full and new moon, with *tojo* hook. For *lulu* fishing the bait is caught before the planned expedition and kept alive in a submerged basket tied to the cross beams at the side of the canoe, within easy reach of the fisherman. The mouth of the basket is securely fastened to prevent the escape of the bait fish.

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A special method of attaching sinker to line is employed in *lulu* fishing for *kahai* and *pala* fish:

The hook (*mahaalo*) is barbed. A secondary snood (*mutai*) of two- or three-ply twisted *uue* fiber about 7 feet long joins the hook to the fishline of sennit. Unlike sennit which hardens in water, *uue* line becomes soft and slips easily from the sinker when jerked. Live bait of *kaloma* or *atule* is fastened by the tail to the shank of the hook. Hook and bait are laid on the surface of a smooth coral stone sinker, and chum placed on top is covered by a *puapua* leaf so that it will not scatter until the requisite depth is reached. The *mutai* snood is passed around the sinker away from the barb of the hook, making two or three transverse turns to secure both hook and bait. The *mutai* is then caught in a bight with the left hand and passed around the sinker once in the opposite direction, passing over the right thumb that holds the first transverse turns in place. The bight and the running part of the *mutai* are tied together in a single overhand knot; sometimes a single slip noose is made on top of this overhand knot. Hook and sinker are paid out until the required depth is reached, when a sharp jerk on the line releases the sinker which falls away, leaving the hook, bait, and chum at a favorable depth.

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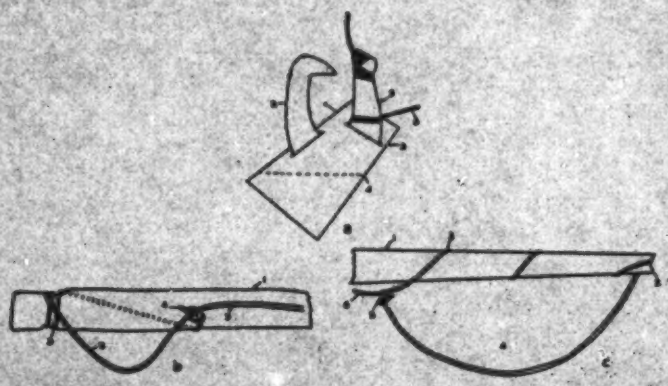
Many men go outside the reef two or three times each week to catch *kahai*, the fish usually caught in fishing competitions. *Kahai* fishing is the favorite deep-sea fishing of the Pukapukan today:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 A man catches his *kalowa* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two
[264] or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola launiu*)
501 which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against
the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous
activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish
from the hook. When the canoe is kedged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze
blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the
285 necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe
would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the
502 canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing
support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without
dragging anchor.



227 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird nooseing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached:
284 any dead fish bait (*moana mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from
223 bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that
flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side,
back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted
line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5)
of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half
hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yale moana*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter;
noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch
end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied
in square knot on hight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at
proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*kauyale*) (CB152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood
about 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¾ inch in diameter at distal
end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted sennit, wound
around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on hight
(5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 *Tuku moana* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead
bait differs in two respects from both *lulu* and *tauolo* fishing: *tuku moana*
fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 the use of a special composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of four or more hooks fixed by spreaders to a single line. Two types of *taumakomako* are described elsewhere (p. 188). The hooks of both types are baited with dead *matolo* or other dead bait.

The *taumakomako* is lowered over the side of the canoe and line paid out until it is felt that the sinker has touched bottom; it is then heaved up a few feet. When the first fish is felt, the line is hauled in a little. This is repeated until all hooks have caught fish, when the whole apparatus is pulled to the surface. A strong fisherman is required to pull up the apparatus, weighted down with fish, from a depth of 200 fathoms to the surface with sufficient speed to avoid losing the fish to sharks. I did not see a *taumakomako* in use; it is said to be used occasionally by expert fishermen. The deep water fish caught by the *tuku moana* method are: *palu moana, palu uutu, palu ava, palu pauari, palu matapula, palu malau, palu uea, palu tavatava, palu alua, palu homuli, palu hakai*, and *palu hatakata*. The giant *hakai* (*matamala*), which is so large that no fish-line is strong enough to hold it, is always noosed. An account of *tuku moana* fishing with a detailed explanation of the hooking and pulling in of fish is given in the story of Maui (1).

RUVETTUS FISHING

The method of fishing for *Ruvettus* (*palu hilitala* or *palu taeyi*) with a wooden hook (*kau*) is termed *yi palu*. It has been practiced in Pukapuka from very early times. An ancestor, Yaki, is remembered as the man who first fished *Ruvettus*.

221 The hook is attached to the line of sennit by the secondary snood (*matai*) with an ordinary double overhand knot. The sennit line may be 300 fathoms long, though the usual fishing depth is about 200 fathoms. Two methods are adopted for attaching the sinker (*uutu yi palu*) to the wooden hook. In the first method the sinker line, a strip of pandanus leaf (*uuo tuo hir* or *uuo lauulu*), is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose and to the head of the wooden hook by a similar slip noose (overhand knot on a standing line). When the fish worries at the bait it bites through or snaps the frail pandanus, and the sinker falls away from the hook. In the second method the sinker line of pandanus is fastened to the sinker by a simple slip noose, but the free end of the sinker line is laid on the head of the hook, and two turns of the line are taken around the head of the hook and over the free end. When the sinker touches the bottom, the bottom takes the weight of the sinker, the two turns around the hook loosen, and the sinker falls free. The second method is used only by the expert. The non-expert, unable to judge accurately by touch when the sinker has touched the bottom, would pay out too much line, foul his hook on the bottom, and lose it.

Special bait attachment is used for the wooden hook. A fillet of *matolo* fish is laid on the point limb of the hook and tied halfway down the point limb with several transverse turns and an overhand knot. The remaining part of the fillet is laid back along the point limb so that it covers part of the functional point. The fastening of fillet to limb is with a strip of coconut midrib fiber (*kaleau*). This is used in preference to the ordinary bait string (*takele moana*) of uuo cord, because the sharp teeth of the *Ruvettus*, which can bite through the uuo and destroy the *takele moana*, are not sharp enough to destroy tough coconut fiber. The lashing of the point of the wooden hook to the point limb is protected from the teeth of the *Ruvettus* by a covering of sharkskin wrapped over the lashing and tied above and below with coconut midrib fiber. The bait fillet is fastened to the hook on top of the sharkskin protective wrapping. No chum is used for *Ruvettus*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

NOOSING

226 254 Noosing (*yale*) is a common Pukapukan method for catching eels, sharks, swordfish, *matawale hakai*, and *pale*. No bait stick, whole fish bait, or special type of noose is used for the eels in Pukapuka, nor are sea centipedes or crayfish caught by this method, as is reported for Samoa (27, p. 421). The Pukapukan noose of three-ply twisted cord of *uso* fiber is made by passing a free end of the cord around the running section of cord and tying it around itself with an overhand knot. The noose is made about 3 feet in diameter. (See p. 188). Fishing is outside the reef:

A teaser bait (*pakapaka*) of bonito flesh is tied to a line and trolled behind the canoe to attract the fish. As the canoe trolls the teaser, the crew make their paddles resound (*tangi*) by hitting the water and beating the sides of the canoe with them. When the fish is seen, the teaser is pulled into the canoe, the noose placed on the *kawyale* stick, and the stick put into the water. Chum is thrown out to attract the fish toward the noose. The stick is withdrawn and more chum thrown into the water on the farther side of the noose. The noose is thus between two chums and is maneuvered so that even a wary (*kailopo*) fish comes up on the starboard side of the canoe. When the fish moves through the noose to reach the second chum, the noose is pulled tight around its tail. The fish is hauled to the canoe and clubbed before being lifted in. This method of noosing fish corresponds to similar methods described for Samoa (27, p. 420) and Vaitupu (19, pp. 56-60). In Pukapuka however there is nothing corresponding to the hurling of insulting remarks (*tapatapa*) to the fish to make them indiscreet, as Kennedy reports for Vaitupu.

TURTLES

225 Three varieties of turtle are common in Pukapukan waters: *matawao*, the largest green turtle; *wonu*, the ordinary green turtle; and *wonu kea*, the hawk's-bill turtle. When turtles are sighted from the shore, the news is called out through the village and the people ask, "E talau? E taepu?" (Is it big? Is it small?). There are three methods by which turtles may be captured:

1. *Puke wonu*, overtaking or seizing a turtle. A man swims out to sea in the season for turtles. He may swim several miles before he sights the animal. Coming up to a turtle, he gets on its back and gouges out its eyes with his thumbs, at the same time forcing the head of the animal upwards with hand pressure. As long as this pressure is continued, the turtle will keep to the surface and will not sound. Alternately the fisherman catches the foreflippers of the turtle with his arms and holds them up; this also prevents the turtle from sounding. If the fisherman is expert, he steers the turtle over the reef to the beach; otherwise he holds the animal until a canoe arrives from shore. An expert who is a good swimmer, strong and skillful, can bring a turtle ashore unaided. When turtles to be caught by this method are seen from a canoe, the first command is for absolute silence, for the turtle sounds immediately noise is heard. One of the crew slips into the water, swims up to the animal, and grips it as just described. His companions stretch apart the foreflippers, tie them to a stout stick, and lift the animal into the canoe.

2. *Yele wonu*, noosing. A man swims out to sea, often with a canoe outrigger as a float, while he waits to sight a turtle. When he sees one, he takes a line with a running noose in the end and dives and slips the noose over the foreflipper. The noose is pulled

223 His partner catches the birds on the ground and kills them. Birds caught thus are *uli*, *tuli*, *manu uli*, *tavake toto*, and *tavake mokomoko*.

Catching birds by throwing stones or sticks is common. The catcher goes to the beaches armed with throwing stones of coral, or with a number of short, heavy sticks about 2 feet long. He comes near the feeding or nesting places of the birds and attempts to kill them by throwing (*hamu*) his missiles. This method is used for *tuli*, *manu uli*, *tavake toto*, *tavake mokomoko*, *kaleva*, *lupe*, and *matiku*.

4. Lure used for the tropic birds.

The catcher collects a handful of the young white leaves of the pandanus tree. He goes to the place where the birds are resting or feeding and waves the leaves in the air (*wahaiteika*), at the same time uttering a guttural cry, "I ka! i ka!" The waving of the lure and the cry attract the birds which come fluttering overhead. They are then netted, knocked down, or caught in the hands of the netter or his assistant.

5. Noosing and snaring.

A noose (*yale manu*, fig. 4,*b*) of the required size is attached to a pole which is thrust out along the branches to the place where the bird is nesting. The noose is placed over the neck of the roosting bird and pulled tight, strangling the bird. Then the pole is pulled in while the bird is disengaged and thrown to earth. The pole noose is reset and pushed out again for the next bird. This technique is used for *kotawa*, *noe*, *tukupu*, *upongo*, *labio*, *koka*, *akiaki*, *uli*, *manu uli*, and *tavake mokomoko*.

[284] A variant method is to use the noose without the pole. The noose (again called *yale manu*) is made with a square knot on a bight and held in the hand. The catcher crawls up to the bird nesting in the sand and drops the noose over the bird's neck, pulls it tight, and strangles the bird. Noosing by this method is used principally for *labio*.

Two methods of snaring birds also involve the use of the noose principle. The bird snare (*maunga*) is described in figure 4*b*,*b*. A piece of beach is chosen which the birds are in the habit of frequenting. The *maunga* is placed on the ground and firmly anchored by a sennit cord passing from one end of the snare pole to a large coral stone near by. The catcher gets behind a group of birds and gently drives them in the direction of the snare. Whenever the birds stop moving, the catcher stops; when they move again, he directs them toward the nooses. The birds hop along, come to the *maunga*, which they are unable to avoid owing to the projecting wings, advance through the nooses, and are caught by the feet. The catcher comes up to kill them. Birds so caught are *kawe*, *tuli*, *kolili*, *polopolounga*, *kio*, *talakoka*, and *taiko*.

A second type of snare is the coconut-shell *maunga ngaipu* (fig. 4*b*,*a*). Five or six of these are set up on a suitable beach and coconut flesh is strewn about the ground. The bird is attracted by the coconut, inserts its head into the nut to peck at the flesh and entangles its feathers in the sennit fiber nooses. The bird struggles to escape, usually overturning the coconut which falls on top of it. The bird is removed and the snare reset. This snare is used for *tuli*, *kolili*, *polopolounga*, *kio*, *talakoka*, and *taiko*.

6. Line catching. Birds are also caught by a method involving the use of fishline. One variant of this method is used for birds (*talaiuc* and *tala*) that skim the water close to shore looking for small fish food.

To the end of a small fishline a gorge (*au*) of fishbone is fastened. *Kaloma* bait is tied to the gorge and the line is laid along the beach at water's edge. The birds come down for the bait, the gorge sticks in their throats, and they are firmly caught. A second variation of this method, called *wakaolo manu*, is used for birds that hop about feeding in the shallows and wet beaches. A piece of the abdomen of the hermit

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

372 The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¾ inch thick at the proximal end (*mulimuli*), and about ⅝ inch thick at the distal end (*mato*). The distal end is shaped to a mesial point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yoliyoli te lakau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

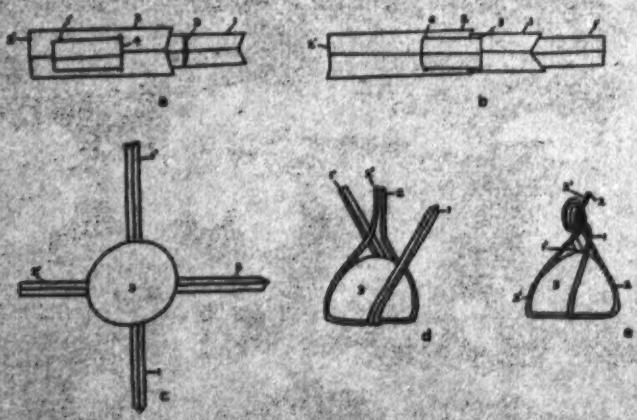


FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a-b*, *lulu* food package; *c-e*, talo (*loloi*) food package. *a*, leaflet midrib stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1′) passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (1′) folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′) crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2′) brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1′) twisted around ends (2, 2′); then ends (2, 2′) bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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sale leiwa) from the end curve purlin (which is itself lashed at each end to the side curve purlins) to the end side rafters. Four end rafters run to the left side rafter, four to the right side rafter. The end rafters are of varying length depending on their distance from the highest point of the ridgepole. Another end purlin, midway between curve purlin and ridgepole supports the end rafters on the inside. A variation may sometimes be introduced into the gable end of both the *mahayawao* and the *wale atua* house types, by using for the end purlin a piece of timber that has a slight, natural curve in the horizontal plane. The end rafters would be made of suitable length to retain the natural curve of the purlin. In small houses of the *mahayawao* type, where the end purlin was of small diameter, it was sometimes bent into an artificial curve through binding the two ends of the purlin to the ends of the two outermost side principal rafters and through graduating the length of the end rafters in such a way that when lashed to the purlin, they thrust it out in a slight horizontal curve. There are no side or end thatch rafters on the type house. The coconut roof sheets are fastened directly to the principal rafters, the midribs of the sheets functioning as thatch rafters.

Lashing

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The lashing used for all parts of the house framework is of one pattern only, that of alternating curves, termed *yinus mahawiwi*. The lashing corresponds to the curved pattern lashing described by Buck (29, p. 72, fig. 5)

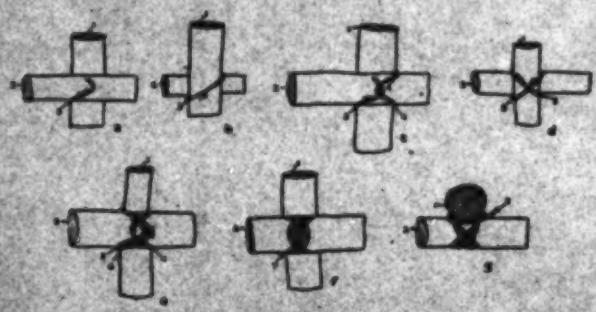

FIGURE 9.—Alternating curves lashing, used for principal parts of house framework; lashing shown for fastening together tie-beam (1) and wall plate (2). *a*, view from above: cannit braid laid on wall plate and held with thumb; free end makes curved turn on under side of wall plate (3). *b*, view from below: free end makes transverse turn across tie-beam. *c*, view from above: cannit braid (4) brought across commencement end, thumb holds crossing cords in place while braid makes curved turn across and down at wall plate (4). *d*, view from below: braid (5) makes transverse turn across and up tie-beam to curve around wall plate. *e*, view from above: braid (6) curves to right across second curve (4) and locks preceding two curves in place; thumb then removed and rough cannit does not slip. *f*, view from above: repetition of two curved turns successively applied on outer side of previous turns produces pattern (9); number of lashings varies according to elements, average number being 5 curves on either side, 10 in all. *g*, side view: crossings of turns and half of one design; braid (2) makes number of horizontal circumferential turns around lashing turns between two wooden elements; end of braid fixed by half hitches around last loops. (Diagram adapted from Buck, 29, fig. 5, p. 72.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola kawiv*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
312 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
284 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
171 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*aka*); the method of passing the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yubi*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yimki lua*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch
284 apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tolo*) some roof sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*fu pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato yimki lua* method. The *ato tolo* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yimki lua* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more supply waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yimki* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola uanaui*), is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by showering them with a lifting pole (*tuku pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola tuapola*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*tuhapua tuapola*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-26, figs. 26-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*kaihoai te tuhatuha uaki*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reinforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
154 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the midrib is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uwe kaumia* or
322 *pepale kaumia*) by passing them around an upright stick (*kakau uwe kaumia*). The
285 leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pokai kaumia*) by placing the tip end of each leaf over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are beat over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuaiola*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pale kaumia*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
390 *wakeyamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*wakaola pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*wakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*wakahawa*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *wakeyamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles, the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
[171] as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate as a Venе-

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341 tian blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
283 the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
254 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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350'
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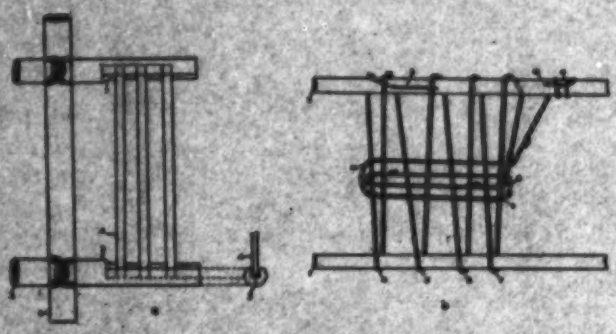

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*uaiuai*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rails fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*ipuna uaiuaiuai*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*tua matua, tua lua*), also bracing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautolu* and *ala manoali*) in model *uaie ataa* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of *aumiti* bundle laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*uaiuai*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
33B of the *uaiteyanua* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two *paatuaua* logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *paatua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10,*a*), incloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *takapu* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting horizontal slots between uprights and tying the slots together by a continuous cord of *aumiti* is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

[77]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Home Platform

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Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paapaa*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *wakayamoa* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inner side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *wakayamoa* type and the *wale sina* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *tukapau* mats or *pole* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *wakayamoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *tukapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *wakayamoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *wakayamoa* type used as storage houses (*wale takataka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *wale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *wale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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[illegible]

Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 wing built into the corner of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu lua*) was
284 level with the platform and hinged to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the furnishings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pu tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was hinged horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were hinged at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale taketake*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened
343 the hatches, untied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
417 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated
414 grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *kaki*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's
177 sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale taketake* house with two hatches in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgepoles supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (Cha86)[1]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (202p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about 20 inch length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is cut to a roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of *puatonu* wood, which are laid in the grooves, unfastened (fig.11). Two tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgepoles of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and notched at the other end, support the main ridgepole of *puatonu* wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepole rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepole and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six pairs of rafters of *puatonu* wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the cross purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,c).

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Dominion Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 On each side of the house 25 thatch rafters (*kaye*) of *puapua* wood are lashed to
344 the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the
395 ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom,
284 the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *unkaneere* wood which are lashed to the end tieboam. The two outermost end rafters run between the end tieboam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs from the end tieboam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ⅛ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ⅛ to ¼ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with cement roof sheets, the method being that described for the male unkaneere house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this male *aloa* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepoet, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepoet, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tieboam, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
535 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
542 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgepoets, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tieboams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of cement being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the cement roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 22 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepoet is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 335 Model house combining features from both the *uale wakayanos* and the *uale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgepoels, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautola*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *uie monoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoke*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoke*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 335 284 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yoku wakapolo*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of cennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yoku wakamau*; fig.10,*b*).

341 335 The variations in this model *uale atua* type house bring it close in type to the *wakayanos* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgepoels in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding—of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 513 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapolo*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *fauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *loma ngaipu*.

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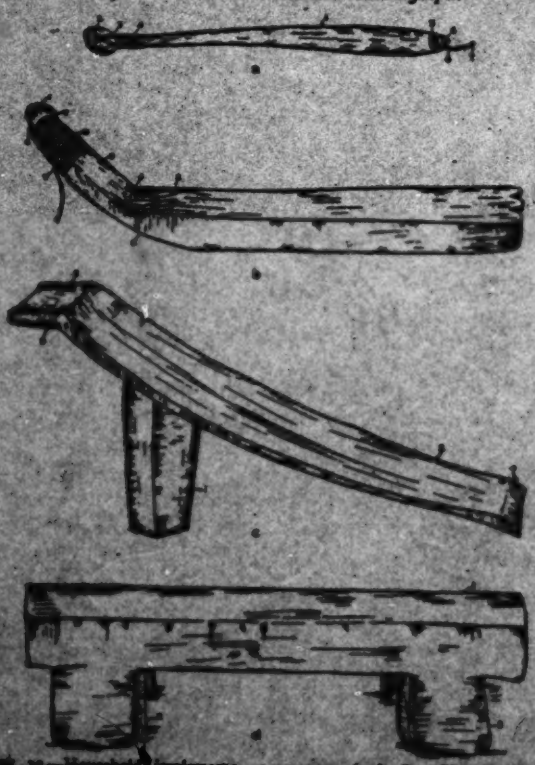

FIGURE 10.—Household implements. a, scraper (*nakeu*) (Clay) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngangia* wood (1) 13½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ⅝ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully shaped hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

in scraping shell (*vuluvi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uso* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uetiu* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10¾ inches long, 4⅝ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*tehe*) cut from solid block of *uehaueu* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 8⅝ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1⅝ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short medial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ohunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2¼ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 5⅝ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*ono*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

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and from their scarcity. The quadrangular basaltic adz figured by Macgregor (20,fig.14) was picked up on the outer beach of Wale. It is similar to Samoan type I adzes (27,p.334) and was perhaps imported from Samoa. A second basaltic adz was seen by Talainga in the old grave unintentionally opened. From Talainga's description and rough sketch this adz appears to be a triangular one, perhaps corresponding in shape to the Samoan type VII or VIII (27,p.351). It was 10 inches long, the back ground smooth, the front roughly chipped, and the poll rounded. The depth of the bevel was about 2 inches.

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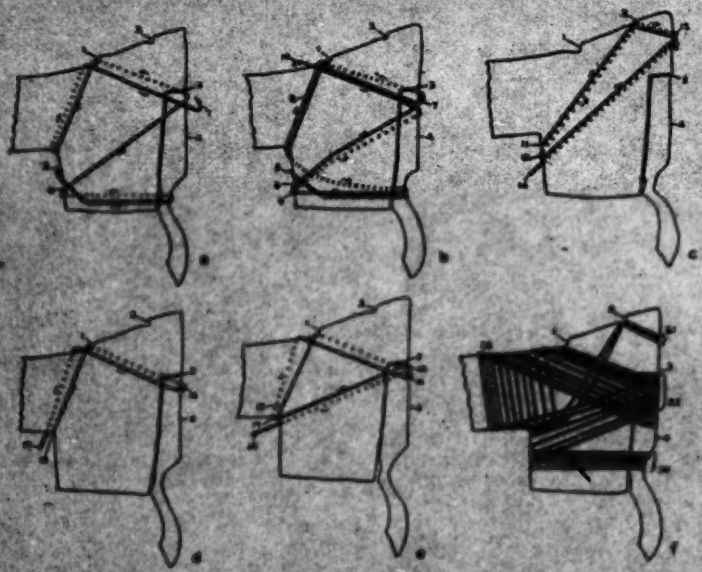

PLATE 21.—*Tridacna* shell adz (Ch'ang) with haft of unknown wood; length of haft from toe angle to slightly flared butt, 19 inches; haft round in cross section, average diameter being 1½ inches; at heel angle a prominent longitudinal ridge runs up to point of heel; above heel angle (see *a*) is cut a notch (1) to prevent lashing from slipping; ¾ inch below point of heel a second notch (2) is cut, also to prevent lashing from slipping; 1¾ inches below point of heel on foot of haft is cut ½ inch deep shoulder (3), against which adz (4) fits to avert slipping when in use; because of irregular shape of poll of adz, shoulder is cut transversely on foot, so that distance from heel point on one side is 1¾ inches, other side 2¼ inches; lashing material threefly cannit braid ½ inch thick. *a*, lashing commencement: commencement end of cannit (5) laid under toe angle, free end passing transversely around near side of toe and back across far side of toe angle to near side; gripe commence-

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

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The pump drill (*wow*) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig. 22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reinforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

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To drill is also *wow*. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

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A craftsman took great care of his drill. He rubbed the shaft, crossbar and balance smooth with coral, smoked the wood over the cooking fire and oiled it afterward with coconut oil. The fortunate possessor of a drill with an iron guard point guarded his implement jealously because as a time saver it was of the greatest value to him.

Awl

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The shell awl (*yuki vuka*), a shell *Terebra cranulata*, was used for making holes in a canoe hull or washstrake where the drill could not be used, or for enlarging holes made by the drill. (See p. 173.) The use of coral mallets for hammering caulking wedges is also described in that context.

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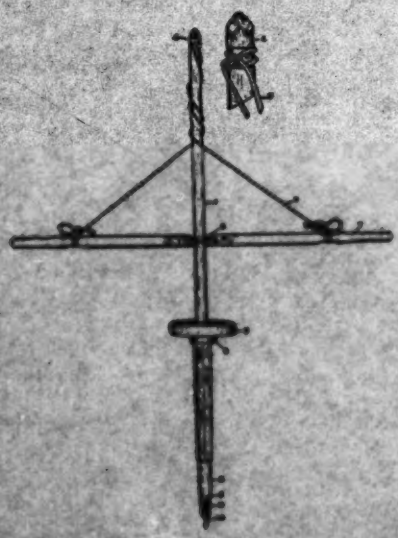

Figure 20.—Pump drill, uwe (C8124): 1, shaft (*lakau ta*) of water wood 2 feet 6 inches long, round in cross section and ¾ inch in diameter above balance, square-sided below with sides ¾ inch wide; 2, distal end of shaft is round, ½ inch in diameter, narrowing to distal point (3) ⅜ inch in diameter; 4, head (*ulu uwe*) of shaft blunt and notched to receive pump cord (*aka uwe*); 5, balance (*potaka*), 4 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick, cut from same block of wood as shaft; 6, secondary balance 1½ inches square, ⅞ inch thick; 7, crossbar (*lakau uwe*) of wakenaro wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, has wide groove (8) to fit against shaft; each end also grooved to receive ends of pump cord; 9, pump cord of two-ply twisted sennit, fastened with clove hitch to head of shaft and to each end of crossbar; 10, point (*ewete*) section of iron forced into end of shaft and lashed tight with 11 transverse turns of three-ply sennit braid; 12, lashing commencement and finishing ends.

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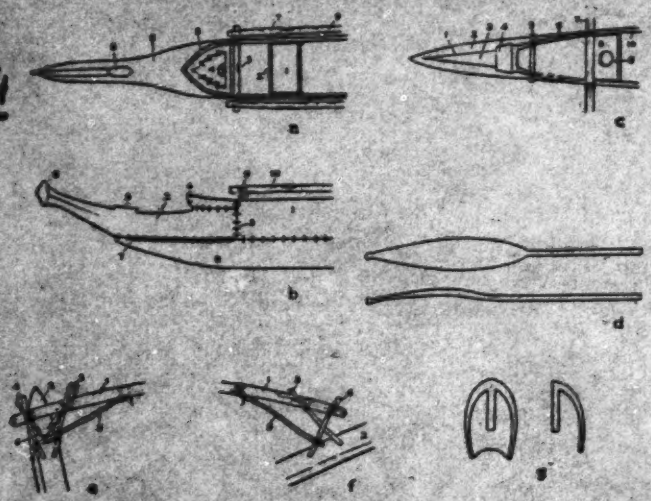

FIGURE 26.—Details of six-boom canoe. *a*, stern, top view: 1, stern seat; 2, groove under after edge of stern seat for holding bonito rod in place, summit grommet in which handle of pole rests not shown; 3, groove cut in aft crossbar against which rod rests; 4, bait deck; 5, stern wave guard; 6, cleat on stern cover; 7, short longitudinal spar; 8, stern cover; 9, gunwale. *b*, view of starboard side: 1, washestrake; 2, stern cover; 3, through-and-through lashed join of washestrake and stern cover; 4, raised side piece of wave guard lashed to stern cover; 5, cleat; 6, fishtail-shaped stern cover; 7, outer rod caulking over join between stern cover and (8) after section of hull; 9, bar rest for trolling rod; 10, short longitudinal spar between which and top of washestrake (1) lifting poles are inserted. *c*, bow: 1, fore section of bow cover; 2, after section of bow cover, lashed join between fore and after sections not shown; 3, deck of bow cover; 4, bow wave guard; 5, forward cross lifting bar; 6, lashing of aft end of bow cover to forward end of washestrake; 7, bow outrigger boom, lashed across washestrake; 8, bow seat with hole (9) for forward mast (modern technique of stepping mast); 10, washestrake. *d*, inner paddle (*uso*) of *pukaua* wood, face and side view: handle 2 feet 4 inches long, about 1½ inches in diameter; blade 2 feet 7 inches long, greatest width 3½ inches; terminal knob 1¾ inches long, 1 inch thick; weight of paddle 3 pounds; one side of paddle blade convex transversely, slightly concave longitudinally; other side slightly convex longitudinally, flat or faintly concave transversely; distal end of blade with faint medial transverse ridge which meets two edges (*kaukau*) of blade to produce terminal knob with four sides and blunt point; paddles range in length from 4 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 6 inches, blades 5 to 6 inches wide; size and weight depend on choice and strength of maker. *e*, outrigger boom, and attachment: 1, bow boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner pair of connecting pegs, crossed above boom and running obliquely outward to float; 4, outer pair of pegs; 5, diagonal brace between boom and after connecting pegs of inner and outer pairs; 6, suspensory lashing holding float to boom. *f*, middle boom attachments found only on larger canoes such as this six-boom canoe: 1, outrigger boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner connecting peg; 4, outer connecting peg; 5, diagonal brace between boom and outer connecting peg. *g*, canoe bailer (*tata*) of washesten wood top view and longitudinal section; handle projects from medial line of top of back; sides and bottom rounded and meet at back in slight medial longitudinal ridge which continues along outside bottom of bailer to meet customarily beveled lip (not shown); bailer 14 inches long, 6¾ inches wide, 3 inches deep; lip bevel ¾ inch wide; weight of bailer 2 pounds. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 12.)

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501 The Pukapukan *lui tuta* canoe is shown in figures 24, 25, 26 and plate
192 5,*A*. The native names for parts of the plank canoe are given in the following list:

Mua vaka: fore section of hull.
Waaloto: central section of hull.
Muli vaka: aft section of hull.
Oa: washstrakes.
Velo: stern cover, shaped like fishtail.
Lauiau velo: after projection of stern cover.
Talamoko: raised cleat on stern cover.
Wakakauvae wonu: raised bait deck on stern cover, fashioned from cover or built up with extra wood.
Tuku: place inside wakakauvae wonu where bait and line are laid.
Kalamu: extreme after point of after section of hull.
Tala tuki: point of bow.
Tuki: forward part of bow cover.
Puka: second section of bow cover.
Tala puka: wave guard on bow cover.
Malae puka: top of wave guard.
Pu oyo: place covered by bow cover where provisions and fishing gear are stored.
Kaukau: outrigger cross booms.
Kaukau mua vaka: forward outrigger boom.
Kaukau muli vaka: aft outrigger boom.
Kiato: longitudinal spar supporting cross booms.
Mani poto: additional short cross booms, supporting kiato and running from strakes to spar.
Aua: outrigger float.
Mata aua: bow and stern points of outrigger float.
Tutuki: connecting pegs between outrigger float and cross booms.
Tutuki tokai: diagonal bracing strut running from inner pair of pegs to boom.
Oaoga: suspensory lashing supporting outrigger float.
Mana ki mua: forward lifting bar.
Mana ki muli: stern lifting bar.
Mana a lua: crossbar aft of after cross boom.
Pulepale lingayu: short longitudinal spars lashed on either side of washstrake to lifting bar and cross boom.
Lalaua iki: lifting pole.
Tuinga iki: seamit lifting loops fastened to starboard washstrake just aft of cross booms.
Yoko: seats formed by cross booms and lifting bars.
Tau muli: rear seat just forward of rear lifting bar.
Kauhau katau: starboard side.
Kaukau aua: port side.

322 The hull is in three sections lashed together (*uua*) with three-ply braid which passes through holes (*pu*) bored (*yubi*) through the hull with the shell implement termed *yubi vaka*. A shell borer might be lashed to a wooden holder about 6 inches
501 long, to make the implement called *uuua*. The point of the shell was held against the wood with the left hand and the wooden holder tapped smartly (*paapao* or *tukituki*)
284 with a mallet of *kaupapa* coral or a whale's tooth (*tukituki paapao vaka*). The point was then worked gently from side to side (*kaiker* or *wakituuki*) to enlarge the hole. Tapping and working from side to side continued until a hole was made through the wood. The *uuua* was then twisted (*yubi*) and worked back and forth until the hole was of the required size. The lashing forms a criss-cross pattern (*ia kawa lua*, fig. 27,*A*). Washstrakes (*oa*) are added to the hull sections with a single diagonal lashing (*ia kawa tai*, fig. 27,*B*). Where the *oa* are in several sections, the edges of contiguous

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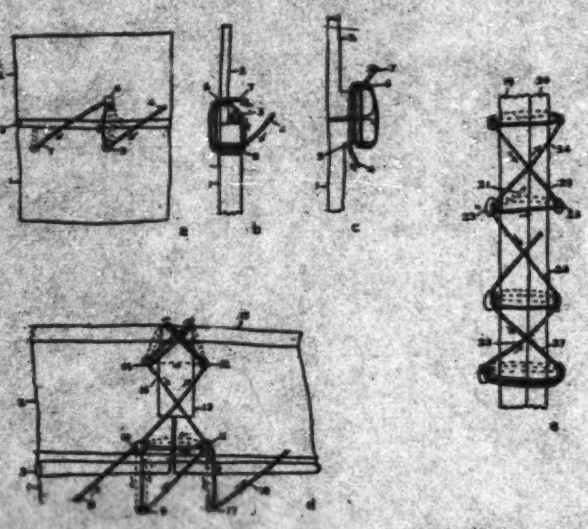

PLATE 27.—Lashing of washstrake to hull: *a-c*, single diagonal lashing (*la hawa tai*); *d*, double diagonal lashing (*la hawa lua*); *e*, inside flange lashing. *a*, view of single diagonal lashing from hull interior: 1, hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, caulking stick (*toka*) placed against caulking husk material; 4, commencement end of sennit passes from preceding hole down to inferior hole (5), through to hull exterior, and up to superior hole (6), then back through 6 to hull interior, down to inferior hole; makes one more turn and when brought back through superior hole a second time, passes down to inferior hole (7) ready for next turns. *b*, cross section of same lashing on *tai tolu* canoe (through-and-through lashing): sennit (4) makes two transverse turns through inferior and superior holes (5, 6), securely binding washstrake (2), hull (1), and caulking material (3); 7, free end ready to pass to next inferior hole. *c*, cross section of same lashing on inside flange canoe (*tai ua tali*): lashing (4) makes two transverse turns through holes (5) in hull and (6) in washstrake, and free end (7) passes to next pair of holes. *d*, lashing of contiguous sections of washstrakes by double diagonal lashing: commencement end of sennit (8) makes two transverse turns through holes 10 and 9 of washstrake and hull; free end passes to inferior hole (11) in contiguous washstrake section; one transverse turn made between holes 11 and 10, and on second turn sennit passes on outside of canoe, through to inside at hole 10 and diagonally up to superior right hole (12), securely gripping gaudness material (13) which is laid over joins of washstrake sections as caulking; sennit passes through hole 12 and along on outside of washstrake to hole 14, back through 14 and diagonally up and over edge of washstrake (15); sennit continues down on outside of washstrake to hole 12, through to inside and diagonally up, over washstrake edge, down to and through hole 14; two more diagonal cross turns made over washstrake edge and free end of sennit brought back and through hole 14 to inside of washstrake; sennit (16) continues diagonally down and across to hole 11, passes through 11 and makes two transverse turns around hull and washstrake between holes 11 and 17; free end (18) passes up to next pair of holes

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sections are lashed by the *te kaua* bar lashing (fig. 27,*d*). Caulking material of dried coconut husk (*pulu gau*) is hammered into the joins of hull sections with a cone-shaped wooden caulker (*ramaraua*). The lower edge of the washstrake is set on the upper edge of the hull, flush with its outer surface. Sennit (*kaua ungu tini*) or coconut husk fiber is laid on the lower edge of the hull; on top of this caulking material is laid a fiber stick (*tuka*). The lashing of strake to hull holds the caulking securely in place (fig. 27,*b*). The holes through which the lashing passes are caulked with coconut husk or wooden plugs hammered in from the outside with a rectangular-shaped wooden caulker (*tiki*). These plugs keep the lashing tight and prevent leakage and rotting of the lashing. The raised hull deck, which is fashioned from the stern cover or else built up with extra wood is shown in figure 28,*a*. The stern cover is lashed to the hull by through and through lashings (*te kaua tai*) and caulked on the outside by fiber wicker (*pukiputi*). The two-piece bow cover is lashed to the forward section of the hull by through and through lashings.

The outrigger is attached to the canoe by cross beams lashed to washstrakes with the common alternating curves lashing which passes over the beams and through holes bored in the strakes. The longitudinal spar is also lashed to cross beams with the alternating curves lashing. The outrigger is fastened to cross beams by connecting pegs (*tatuki*). Bow and stern cross beams are connected by four pegs; additional cross beams by two pegs. The points of the pegs are driven into the outrigger, but not lashed to it. The lashing of pegs to cross beams is shown in figures 28,*e*,*f*, and 28,*h*. A diagonal bracing strut (*tutuki tuka*) runs from the inner pair of pegs to the beam. The attachment of this strut to pegs and beam is shown in figure 28,*c*. A supplementary lashing (*ongo*) supports the outrigger and prevents it from separating from the pegs where the canoe is lifted. This lashing is shown in figure 29. The forward cross beam is shorter than the after cross beam. This enables the outrigger float to be fixed so that the fore end of the float is nearer the canoe hull than the after end (see commentary, p. 184), an arrangement which makes the canoe easier to steer.

The fore lifting bar is lashed across the washstrakes forward of the forward cross beam. A stern lifting attachment is made by fastening a lifting bar across the strakes just forward of the rear hull deck. Short longitudinal spars are lashed on either side of the washstrake to the lateral cross bar and cross beam (fig. 30,*a*). To lift the canoe, lifting poles are thrust between these spars and the washstrake from the starboard side and the canoe is lifted by upward pressure on the lifting pole. In large canoes, a lifting pole is also thrust through the lifting loop (fig. 30,*b*) and when the weight is taken, the distal end of the lifting pole rests on the port side of the washstrake. All Pukapukan canoes have an extension fore and aft of the *kaua ugu* beyond the fore and aft cross beams, which is a certain nuisance in paddling on the port side of the canoe because the paddle, in being raised from the water, often strikes against this extension. However, to take a canoe through shallow water over the reef, the crew wades and drags or

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[illegible] diagonal lashing of washstrake or hull to shown in a, *c*, *h*; inside flange lashing of hull sections in hull or hull canoe; *i*g and *m* represent outrigger outside flanges of outrigger hull sections; *ib*, lashed commencement end of sennit on outside of hull; sennit passes one transverse turn through holes *m* and *n*, then passes diagonally up (*n*1) to superior pair of holes; makes transverse turn through holes and passes diagonally down (*n*2) to hole *n*3, makes one turn through holes *n*3 and *m*, again binding commencement end (*n*1); sennit passes diagonally down (*n*4) to next pair of flange holes in hull, makes one turn through holes, passes (*n*5) to next pair; then transverse turn made through lowest pair of holes and sennit brought back to pass diagonally upward (*n*6) to next pair of holes, makes turn through holes, passes diagonally up to next pair; first end passes into hole *n*3, where it finishes by hammering of shifting wood into flange hole on top of first end.

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paddles the canoe, using the washstrakes and spar extension as shafts. The man in front stands between the side of the canoe and the spar extension, grasping the washstrake with his right hand and the *tuto* extension with his left. Similarly the man in the rear stands and paddles the canoe before him.

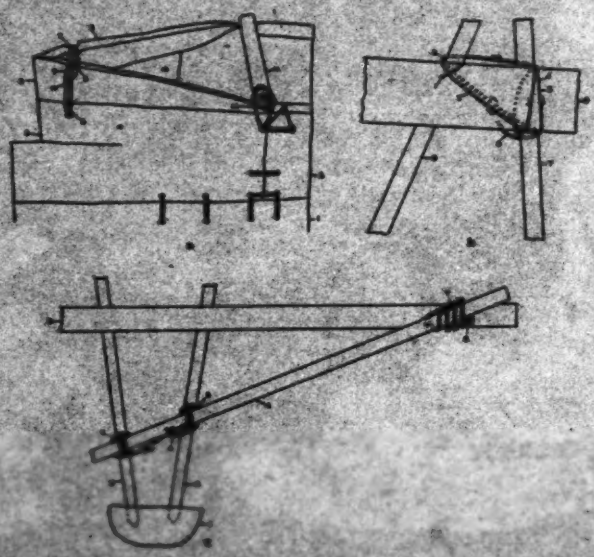

FIGURE 28—Canoe construction. 1, two-piece stern hull deck; 2, stern hull outline; 3, washstrake; 3, section of stern cover (*vale*); 4, 5, fitted sections of wood placed on top of forward end of stern cover and lashed to cover by sennit which passes over notches 6 and 7 cut on edge of outer sections, and through hole 8, lashed through head of stern cover; lashing consists of buried commencement (9), several transverse turns over notches and through hole, and buried finishing end (10); forward ends of added sections continued under first crutcher (11) lashed to washstrake on either side; lashing (12) securely binds in place added sections to washstrake; 13, platform of hull deck formed by top of stern cover. b, commencement lashing of connecting pegs to outrigger boom; diagram shows lower pair of pegs (7, 8) and outrigger boom (9); 1, buried lashing commencement; sennit passes around far side of lower peg (8), then diagonally down (2) and across boom to outer side of outer peg; continues around far side of peg, then diagonally up and across far side of boom and around far side (3) of lower peg; continues across far side of boom, around far side of outer peg and down (4) near side of outer peg, passing over earlier turn; continues underneath and up far side of boom, down (5) again on near side of boom, underneath outer boom, then ready to pass diagonally up on the side of boom across to top of lower peg (8); lashing continues with 6 figure-of-eight turns around connecting pegs and boom, then two circumferential turns around connecting pegs superior to boom; several connecting pegs brought close together above boom so that thick sennit cross be turned between pegs for two circumferential turns, and elements of pegs holds turns tight; free end of sennit passes along boom to outer peg

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of connecting pegs and repeats lashing; free end passes down outer connecting peg to commence compressory lashing around float shown in figure 29, *c*, lashing of diagonal brace (*lutuki tahai*) to connecting pegs and cross boom of outrigger: 1, cross section of outrigger float into which connecting pegs (2) are driven; 3, outrigger boom; 4, diagonal brace lashed to connecting pegs by alternating curves pattern lashing (5); lashing has buried commencement on outer peg; after completing lashing of outer peg, free end of sennit continues to inner peg, completes similar lashing; free end (6) fastened by double overhand knot to sennit that came from outer peg; lashing of diagonal brace to outrigger boom has buried commencement (7); free end of cord makes three or more transverse turns around brace and boom, then one or more circumferential turns around lashing turns between brace and boom and finishes with overhand knot on last circumferential turn (8).

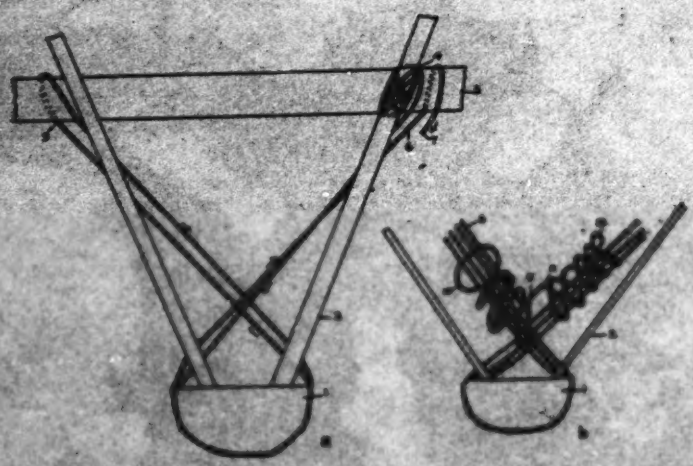

FIGURE 29—Compressory cross lashing. *a*, commencement of lashing between outrigger boom and outrigger float: 1, outrigger float in cross section; 2, connecting peg between float and cross boom (3); when lashing (4) of outer connecting peg to cross boom is finished free end of sennit brought down between double pair of pegs (only outer pair shown in diagram) to inner side of float, passes around under float, up on outside of float and across to boom at 5, on hull side of inner peg; turn made over boom, and sennit brought down to outer side of float, around float, and up on inner side (6) to boom, making turn around boom on outer side of outer peg; sennit (7) continues down to float as before, making altogether five turns around boom and float (two turns only shown in diagram). *b*, continuation of compressory lashing: after fifth turn (fourth in diagram), free end of sennit (8) brought down from hull side of inner connecting peg to pass around and under crossing of compressory lashing (9) and continues up left hand compression with two transverse turns; a complete final turn made around compression, and sennit (10) brought back down compression with two more transverse turns, continuing across to right hand compression (11); five transverse turns made around right hand compression with buried end finish (12).

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Flaws in the wood from which hull or strakes are made are cut out and in their place small sections of wood (*topiki*) or larger sections (*nukakaukau*) are fitted in by hammering and lashed if necessary to the surrounding hull or washstrake wood. Where the washstrake wood is not sufficiently deep, additional sections (*nukapali tai*) are lashed with through and through lashing to the washstrake base until the required depth is attained. Small cylindrical plugs of wood (*topiki* or *mono*) are hammered into small faint or flaw holes in the outrigger float to keep the salt water from lodging in them and rotting the wood.

When surfaces are being fitted together, whether hull sections, or washstrakes to hull, or small patch sections to hull or strakes, the parts to be joined are smeared with a marking material of coconut-shell charcoal mixed with water and applied with a brush made of the chewed fibrous material of the pandanus key. Irregularities in the fitting of the parts are brought out by black marks. These irregularities are then shaved down until a perfect fit (*ave* or *tomomoa*) is secured.

In canoes used in bonito trolling, the rear seat is made of a block of wood which is lashed on either side with through and through lashings to each washstrake. A flange is cut on the under aft side of this seat and a scroll grommet (*matapili*) is lashed to the seat in the middle of this flange. The butt holder (*tahua*) of the bonito pole (*matila ara*) rests in this grommet and the pole rests in a groove cut in the after lifting bar.

[501] The size of a canoe is indicated by the number of seats (*yeke*) it contains. But a *vaka yeke wa* (four-seater canoe) holds only three men comfortably; a *vaka yeke lima* (five-seater canoe) holds four men comfortably or five men if the hull is especially wide; a *vaka yeke ono* (six-seater canoe) holds six men. From this number of seats upward, the number of crew becomes greater than the formal seating capacity, so that a 69-foot canoe, officially rated as a *vaka yeke hongapulu ma tolu* (thirteen seater), easily holds 30 or more men. These that cannot be accommodated with formal seats rest on the edges of the strakes. The size in feet of the various canoes is given below (p. 185).

The hull of the *tatai* plank canoe is of one piece in very small one-man canoes or of three pieces in larger canoes. The hull sections are as before, *ruma vaka*, *manaloto*, *mali vaka*. Washstrakes are added and a simple bow cover (*papani hi ruma*) and a stern cover (*papani hi mali*). These covers are shaped pieces of wood lashed to hull and to washstrakes (fig. 30,*c*). Very rarely, a small canoe of this type is fitted with the shaped stern piece (*vulo*) and the type bow covers (*tuki* and *puka*). Outrigger support consists of two cross beams, connecting pegs, and temporary lashing. The *tatai* canoe differs from the simple one-piece dugout in the addition to the hull of washstrakes and stern and bow covers. The size of typical *tatai* canoes is given below.

The plank canoe termed *vaka tai matali* (pl. 5,B) is distinguished from the through and through lashed canoe (*vaka tai tuta*) by the lashing of hull sections to each other, and of washstrakes to hull, and washstrake sections to each other by means of raised inside flanges (*hongo matapiko* or *hongo tai matali*). These flanges are about 2 inches high and the lashing is through

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322 holes drilled through each flange (fig.27,*c,e*). No lashing shows on the outside of the hull. This lashing method may be applied to plank canoes
501 of all sizes from the simple *tatai* canoe to the largest canoe.
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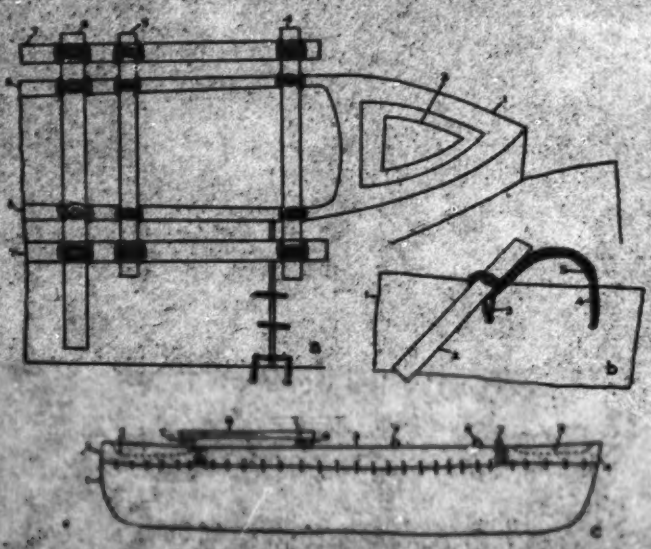

FIGURE 30.—Plank canoe. *a*, arrangement of lifting bars at stern of canoe: 1, raised bait deck (*washetaraua* seen); 2, bait receptacle (*tuba fakapuka*); 3, washestrake of canoe; 4, cross lifting bar (*mana bi mati*); 5, second cross bar (*mana a bu*); 6, cross boom supporting outrigger float; 7, longitudinal members (*pakapaki kaupeya*) lashed to cross members; lashings all of alternating curves pattern. *b*, lifting loops of canoe (*pakapa ski*): 1, section of washestrake; 2, cross boom; 3, lashing of boom to strake; 4, four turns of canoe made through hole in strake and around lashing of boom to strake; 5, seizing of these four turns, barbed commencement and finish. *c*, boat passed: 1, complete hull; 2, stern cover (*papani bi mati*); 3, washestrake; 4, bow cover (*papani bi mua*); 5, dotted line show lowered bait decks in covers; 6, cross booms to outrigger float; 7, short lifting bars; 8, short longitudinal spars (*pakapaki kaupeya*) bending lifting supports for stern of canoe.

501 The *tai shell* canoe has definite advantages for reef work over the
[226] through and through lashed canoe because of the absence on the outside of
322 the hull of lashings to be cut by sharp coral heads. It has the disadvantage, however, that the water seeps in through the hull joins and rots the wood about the joins of the hull sections. This seepage cannot be prevented by caulking as with the *nako tai nako* lashing. If a canoe is used much, the wood

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501 spar parallel to the customary longitudinal spar (*kiato*) lashed to the cross booms on
322 the port side of the canoe. Informants also mentioned that formerly a big canoe made for fishing off the grounds by Tiana Reef was fitted with two stern pieces (*vele*). The *vele* was cut from a single wide block of wood and two fish-tail ends were adzed out instead of one. This variation was characterized as a type of decoration (*uuka-vaawa*) without utilitarian function.

One canoe in active use had attached to the hull only half of the customary two-piece bow cover. The fore part of the bow, usually covered by the *tuki*, was open, but the after part of the cover, the *puka*, complete with wave guard (*malao puka*), was securely lashed to the hull. Informants remarked that this was an idiosyncrasy of the builder of the canoe. He had been faced by a shortage of wood during construction some years previously and had not since bothered to complete his canoe, but was on the contrary rather proud of its odd appearance.

Sails

501 Two types of sail, both said to be old, are in use today when canoes sail
285 to the islets. The first is a triangular sail, *la mata keoheo* (*keoheo*, pointed);
322 the second, a gaff sail, *la tiahi a Te Palo*, named after the Yayake navigator who visited Pukapuka. Both types of sail were formerly made of pandanus (*laa mala*) plaited in single element check (*langa tai*). The sail was made large enough to allow for an overlap which is basted over the sennit becket rope (*uuanati hi loto o te la*) by which the sail is supported on the mast. (See figs. 31, 32.) The basting was done (*tui*) with pandanus material (*tua lai*) through holes made with a bone of the *akule* fish or a piece of *ngangia* wood. Sheets (*tapanpou*) of two-ply twisted sennit are fastened to the basket ropes by overhand knots.

501 Formerly the mast (*ala la*) was made in two parts: a crotch (*vae aanga*) was
322 lashed to the mast pole (fig. 31,*b*). The mast was raised by resting the crotch end on the forward cross boom (*kaakau hi mua*). Several turns of sennit were made around the boom to prevent the crotch from slipping sideways. Stays (*tuku*) supporting the
284 mast are shown in figure 31*c*.

The sail is supported by the top of the mast in one of three ways: the guy (*uuanati*) by which the sail is hauled aloft may be passed through a hole (*pu*) bored through the top of the mast; the guy may be passed over a natural branch cleft (*vae aanga* or *kakau*) at the top of the mast and passed down to the canoe; the basket (*pu*) in the peak of the sail may be passed over the top of the mast before the mast is raised—the mast is thick enough at this end to prevent the basket from slipping down. The last method is used only in small canoes. In all these methods when the sail is aloft the guy is fastened to the port side of the forward outrigger boom.

Today, the mast is usually long enough to rest against the bottom of the canoe. It is lashed to the forward cross boom with figure-of-eight turns of heavy sennit, or else the stay passing from masthead to forward lifting bar is continued back to the cross boom to make several turns around both mast and cross boom. Ultra-modern Pukapukans often grip the mast in cup-shaped blocks cut out from the floor of the hull, or else lash to the washboards planks with holes in them through which the mast is stepped.

The sail is further supported by a horizontal boom (*ala lalo*) with a crotch at one end, resting against the bottom of the mast just above the lashing of mast to cross boom. The other end of the boom (*ala ala lalo*) is fastened to the sail by a becket. A main sheet (*uuanu*) of sennit is fastened by a slave block to the boom from which it runs to

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the head of the sailor. When the canoe is sailing before a steady wind, the main sheet is fastened to a cross beam or lifting bar, or else it is gripped underneath the foot of the sailor.

At the inner, lower end of the sail the bucket rope passes from the sail and is now secured until *la*. It is fastened to the forward cross beam, or else its two ends are tied into a loop which is slipped over the crotch of the beam. Either method keeps the inner, lower end of the sail from bulging loose in a high wind.

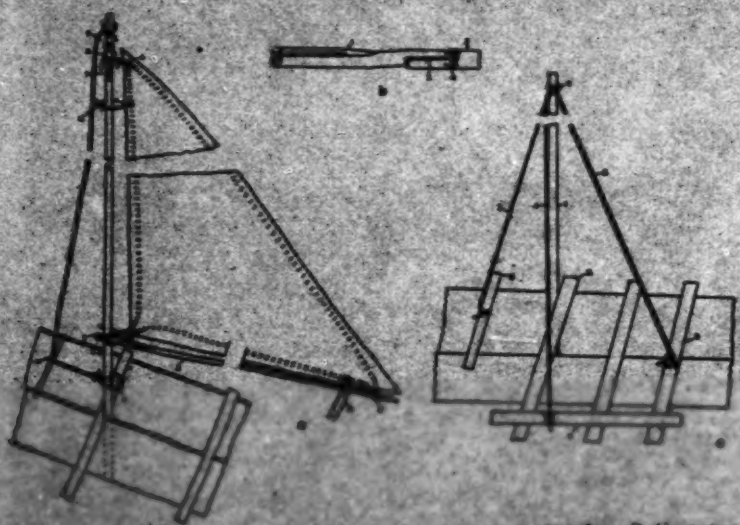

FIGURE 31.—Construction of mast and sail. *a*, mast and triangular sail (in mast basket); 1, cross beam; 2, mast; 3, beam with crotch and resting against mast; 4, mast basket, fastened over end of beam; 5, inner basket crotch ends, fastened with overhand knot in long which passes over end of crotch to long sail rope; 6, yard basket, fastened to yard by overhand knot; 7, yard passes through hole in mast and down to cross beam where it fastens; 8, mast stays passing to after beams as shown in *c* below; third mast stay (9) passes down to forward lifting bar, makes two turns (10) around bar and passes again to cross beam to make two turns (11) around beam and mast, holding mast in place against beam; overhand knot holding turns; 12, sheet, fastened to basket crotch end to mast by overhand knot; 13, main sheet, fastened to basket crotch by overhand knot and passes to outer sill. *b*, construction of crotch (see escape) to mast spar; crotch (1) carved and fits against mast (2) cut to mast spar (3); commencement of crisscross lashing turns (4) which bind crotch and mast as hard join. *c*, staying of cross beam: 1, mast crotch footer of cross, linked to cross beam (2) (lashing not figured); 3, 4, 5, stays fastened to top of mast by clove hitch (6); 5, forward stay fastened to forward cross lifting bar (6); 4 stay fastened to longitudinal mast (7) aft of cross beam; 5, stay fastened to middle cross beam (8) as underside; stays fastened to beams by clove hitches; weight of sail, filled by wind, provides support-balance on overhanged side of mast to port side pull of stays.

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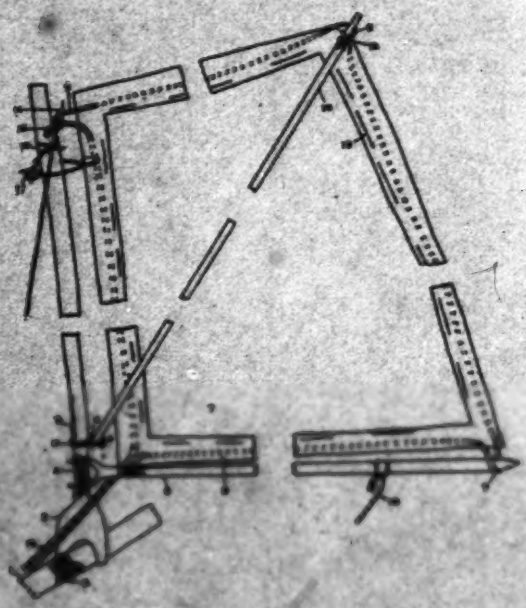
502 In a heavy wind, the mast of a triangular sail is kept vertical. To catch the greatest amount of moderate or light wind, it is hoisted over to an angle of about 30 degrees with the vertical. The boom runs from the mast at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the sail functions thus with its base upward and the apex down. This is the usual way of mounting the triangular sail.



501 Figure 32—Mast and gaff sail (*te Mahi a Te Pale*): 1, cross beam to outrigger, on which crutch (*tau ouenga*) (3) of mast (5) rests; 2, lashing on crutcher to prevent mast from slipping; 4, lashing binding crutch to mast spar (5); 6, beam with crutch resting against mast; 7, gaff sail; 8, bucket sennit lashed into overlap of sail; 9, buckets which pass over end of supporting spars and keep sail taut; 10, spirit or gaff which extends outer peak of sail, resting at lower end in mortier (11) of sennit made by taking clove hitch around mast and tying free ends of sennit in overhand knot; at upper end of spirit, bucket prevented from sliding down spar by lashing turns (12) taken around end of spirit; 13, heavy line indicate roving of overlap to hold bucket sennit; 14, natural branch shift (*mai ouenga*), over which bucket loops when sail is hauled up by means of guy (15) fastened to bucket by clove hitch; 16, stays run to bottom to support mast (see fig. 31, *c*); 17, sheet fastened to bucket sennit with overhand knot and looped around mast with double overhand knot; only one sheet shown, but average sail has sheet (18) sheets for mast and for boom; 18, main sheet, fastened to boom by clove hitch, runs to outer mast sit in sheet; 19, two ends of bucket sennit (*mail la*) pass to, and are fastened around, cross beam (1).

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226 lines are used for deep-sea fishing where both length and strength are desirable. These are made in three lengths, each from 50 to 75 fathoms long. The three lengths, called respectively *kawa lalo, kawa loto, kawa lungo* (sennit bottom, middle, top), are tied together with prominent knots. In paying out his line the fisherman feels the knots as the line runs through his hands to gauge the depth at which he is fishing, and is then able to fish at the depth at which he believes the particular fish bite best. Anchor lines of thick three-ply sennit braid are in continual use for deep-sea fishing. For tiny fish such as *lupo* a line of single pieces of coconut fiber is used with a gorge of pandanus spine.

227 284 One such line (C8043) wound round a wooden holder consists of 34 lengths of coconut fiber, each about 10 inches long, knotted together; the line is finished with one length of very fine two-ply twisted *uso* and a snood of the finest single ply twisted *uso*, total length being 32 feet.

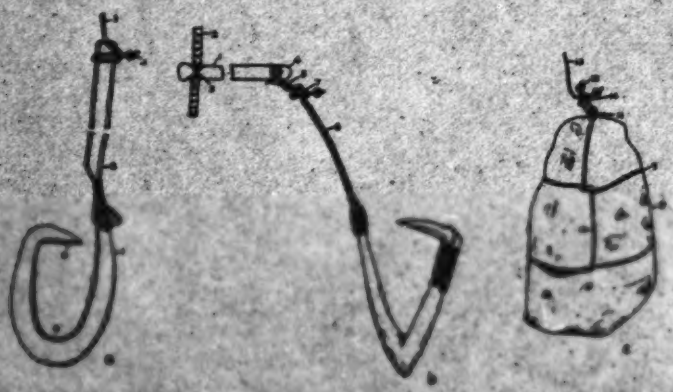

PLATE 39.—Fishing equipment. *a*, attachment of double snood to fishline (shown diagrammatically): looped double snood (2) lashed to shank of coconut-shell fishhook (1) with descending figure-of-eight turns; end of fishline (3) knotted (4); free end passes around loop and back on far side of loop, then over near side, through tip of loop and pulls tight. Coconut-shell hook (*tope ngaiva*) (C8188) 3¾ inches high, 1¼ inches in greatest width with point-shank clearance of ¼ inch; head ⅝ inch wide, ⅜ inch thick; inner edges of point (5), head (6), and shank (1) beveled slightly. *b*, composite fishing apparatus (*tuvaikaumbo*) (C8190): spreader stick (1) attached to secondary snood (2); snood lashed with diagonal turns (3) of fine *uso*; at distal end of stick (4), short piece of *uso* (5) doubled and lashed to stick with transverse turns; snood (6) of hook is lashed to doubled *uso* (7); wooden hook (*hau*) small with scarf joint terminated. *c*, sinker for apparatus; sinker (8) block of coral (*punga*); one end of anchor line (9) makes two transverse turns around sinker, other end (10) caught by turns; at top, two free ends fasten with double overhand knot (11), then looped, and ends fastened again with overhand knot (12); sinker line proper (13) from fishing apparatus knotted to loop (14).

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227 Secondary snoods (*matai*) are made of twisted uwo. They are either
284 single or double. Single snoods are fastened to fishline by knotting. Double snoods seem to be a feature of coconut-shell fishhooks. The attachment of these snoods to the fishline is shown in figure 33,*a*.

Many lines used in fishing from the beach (*wakanoe* system) are wound on a wooden holder (*muli pokai*), their hooks supported by floats.

Rods

226 For *baloma* fishing, reef and lagoon angling, and trolling with a composite
284 pearl-shell hook, the fishing line is attached to a rod (*matila*). The total length of fishline attached to the rod is several feet longer than the amount of line necessary for a cast.

The fisherman judges the length necessary for a cast and makes at this point a clove hitch round the distal end of the rod. The free end of the attachment line he carries down the rod, making a single transverse turn with a single overhand knot round the rod at equal intervals. Toward the proximal end of the rod, he makes several transverse turns round the rod and fastens the free end of the line to the standing line with an overhand knot. For carrying to and from the fishing ground, the casting line with hook attached is laid along the rod, a transverse turn fixed with a single overhand knot is made round the rod toward the proximal end, and the free end of the casting line carried up the rod again; the hook is caught in one of the transverse turns made round the rod by the attachment line.

227 The *baloma* rod, *matila baloma* (CB137), is made of *puapua* wood, 4 feet 6 inches
284 long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ½ inch diameter at distal end. The line is very fine two-ply twisted uwo (about the thickness of no. 50 cotton thread). The casting line is about 4 feet 6 inches long, the attachment line 14 inches long.

A larger fish rod for *matila* fish (*matila yi ahuaka*) and reef fish is also made of *puapua* wood (CB138); it is 8 feet 9½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ½ inch in diameter at the distal end. The line is fine two-ply twisted uwo (about the thickness of cotton thread). The casting line is 10 feet long, the attachment line 3 feet long.

The attachment of bonito hook line to the bonito trolling rod (*matila ate*) is by a clove hitch to the distal end of the rod. Where more than one hook is attached to the same rod, the several clove hitches are fastened round the rod below each other (fig. 34,*a*). The bonito line, of thick three-ply twisted uwo, is about 20 feet long and is attached to the rod at a point about 10 to 12 feet from the hook, depending on the length of casting line that the fisherman desires. The free end of the line is wound round the rod with oblique downward spiral transverse turns and tied about the middle of the rod with an overhand knot. The free ends of several attached hooks wound thus round the rod produce a pleasing pattern lashing on the rod.

The bonito rod is fitted into a wooden handle (*tokoe*) which has an upper grooved part into which the proximal end of the rod fits, a raised flat projection (*mafar tokoe*) covered with netting, and a handgrip (*muli tokoe*) at the end. The shape of the handle and the method of lashing the rod are shown in figure 34,*b*. The completed lashing resembles the *sur-gatari* Samoan lashing of bonito rod to handle (27, p. 303) though the technique of lashing differs slightly.

The netting covering the flat projection above the handgrip is made by the ordinary netting technique and is fastened round the handle by transverse cords that pass through the marginal meshes above and below the projection. When lines and hooks are attached to the rod, the casting line is carried down the rod and the hooks caught through the

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netting meshes. For use, an appropriate hook is selected, disengaged from the netting meshes and allowed to hang free from the distal end of the rod. If fish do not bite this hook, it is replaced in the net and another hook disengaged. With six or more hooks attached to the rod at one time, the fisherman is able with maximum speed and minimum trouble to select the hook which the fish prefer to bite.

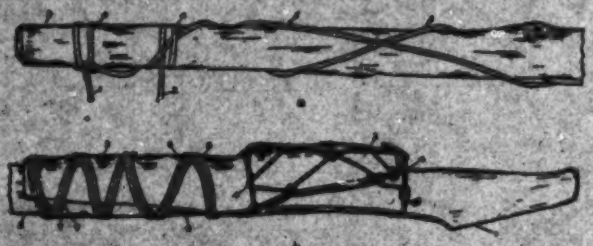

FIGURE 35.—Bonito rod. *a*, attachment of casting line: 1, 2, casting lines attach two hooks to distal end of rod (3); 4, clove hitches made around end of rod; casting lines hang free; attachment lines (5) wound spirally around rod and fastened halfway down rod. *b*, attachment to handle (*tukau*), side view: 1, handle of *wukawau* wood with handgrip (*mali tukau*); 2, raised flat projection (*malar tukau*); 3, hollowed out upper part; raised projection covered with netting (*epa*) fastened to handle by cords passing through marginal meshes (4); rod (5) pushed into hollowed upper part, chocked if necessary with small wedges of wood (6); lashing of three-ply braided sennit commences with buried end (7) at upper end of handle, then wound around handle and rod descending spirally, then up handle and rod ascending spirally; continues alternate spirals, descending and ascending, for three turns each way (8), and finishes with buried end (9).

Nooses

Nooses apparatus consists of a line of three-ply twisted *wau* about 18 feet long and a stick (*kau*) by which the noose is brought near the fish.

The stick (CB152) is of *pangpau* wood, 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at the proximal end, ⅜ inch in diameter at the distal end (fig. 4c). The distal end is notched to provide a running groove for the line on which a running noose (*wataptil*) is made with a slip noose (*mayi*). Line and handle together are termed *hangele*.

Composite Fishing Apparatus

For deep-sea hand line fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef (*tukumaana* system), a composite fishing apparatus (*taumakomako*) consisting of a number of hooks attached to one line is used.

Of two types of *taumakomako* in use, one (CB150) has a secondary snood (*matal kawa*) of three-ply sennit 6 feet 8 inches long. At a point 2 feet from the proximal end of this snood a *ngangie* spreader stick, 5¾ inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter, is lashed. The proximal end of the stick is grooved circumferentially and the snood fastened to the stick by four oblique transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted *wau*, followed by three circumferential turns between stick and snood, the finishing end being buried

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227 in three transverse turns round the snood (fig. 33*b*). Five sprender sticks 9 inches apart
are attached to the snood in this way, being lashed so that the distal ends of the sticks
project alternately to the left and to the right of the snood. The distal end of each
284 sprender stick is also grooved circumferentially, and a length of twisted sinnet, 1¾ inches
long, is doubled and the free ends fastened to the sprender stick groove by transverse
turns of fine sinnet. To this double sprender stick snood, the fishhook snood proper is
fastened by the method of knotting illustrated in figure 33*b*. Five fishhooks are attached
to the five sprender sticks. By making these sticks project alternately to left and to
right, the danger of tangling the hooks in use is avoided.

Informants mentioned another type of *taumakomako* formerly in use. It consisted of two crossed sprender sticks of *ngangie* wood, each stick about 18 inches long, with a cross section diameter of about 1½ inches. To the ends of each sprender a snood was tied. The four snoods ranged in length from 2½ to 6 feet so that four fish caught on wooden hooks knotted to each snood would not tangle the snood lines. At the intersection of the sprenders, a sinker line (*kamatau taku maena*), 12 inches long, was fastened to suspend the sinker (*maena*) of *funga* coral. Also at the intersection of the sprenders was knotted a secondary snood (*matai*) 12 feet long. To the *matai* was fastened sennit fishline about 200 fathoms long.

Sinkers

For fishing at moderate depths of 50 or 75 fathoms, sinkers (*maena*)
[226] consist of any coral stones of suitable weight picked up on the beach. Because these sinkers are disengaged from the line and fall to the bottom when the hook has reached the required depth it is pointless to use any but rough stones. In *tukamoana* fishing, one sinker weighing about 9 pounds is used repeatedly. Even for this the Pukapukan fisherman has apparently felt no incentive to make well-shaped or bored sinkers. He chooses as a sinker stone a block of coral that is roughly rectangular or cone-shaped. If the surface is not rough enough to hold the sinker line without slipping, it is chipped slightly to form two transverse grooves into which the sinker line fits. This line is attached to the sinker by transverse turns and knotted to the secondary snood (see figure 33*c*).

Fish Club

227 Fish clubs (*patu ika*) are made of *ngangie* wood; their size and weight depend on the fish which it is proposed to kill with them. A small club is used for *patuki* and other reef fish caught in reef angling or canoe fishing.

This club (Cb163) is shaped like a small tuki pounder with a blunt proximal end. It is 16 inches long, 2 inches in diameter at the distal end, 1 inch in diameter at the proximal end. The distal end is slightly convex. The club weighs 1¾ pounds. Larger clubs weighing up to 5 pounds are used for larger deep-sea fish. Today a section of iron bar is often used as a fish club.

Hook Containers

[415] When not in use, small, valuable single and composite pearl-shell hooks are kept in the house stored in the double satchel (*tulomo pu*) described elsewhere (p. 134). Hooks and small fishing gear when taken into a canoe are kept for safety in a coconut-shell container (*pupu*).

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An example of this type of container (*Cloys*) is a smoothly polished coconut shell, the eye end of which has been cut off to make a container 4 inches high, 2¼ inches in diameter at the mouth. The mouth is covered with another half coconut shell (*pupuni*), which fits tightly over the container.

Fishbone gorges used in fishing needle fish are kept when not in use by sticking them into a gorge cushion (*tupe ao*) which consists of a small cylindrical section of shaped coconut husk. The gorge cushion may itself be kept in the coconut container by the fisherman out in his canoe.

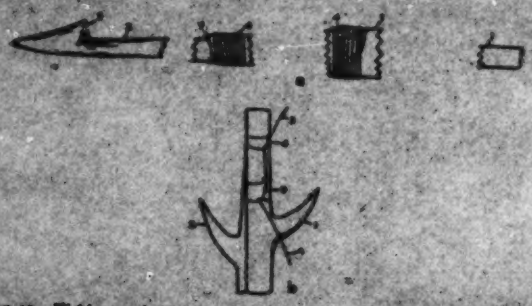

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FIGURE 35.—Fishing equipment. *a*, fish spear (*tupe ika*) (*Cloys*): 1, shaft of *pandanus* wood 10 feet 3 inches long, diameter at proximal end (*matamoli*) ¾ inch, widest diameter of haft 1¼ inches; 2, 3, barb (*matatoki*) of *aganaja* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 2, point (*matia*) of barb 2 inches long, cut in ½ inch; sharpened stem of barb forced (5) into pithy core of *pandanus* wood for 3 or more inches and held tight with 73 turns of two-ply twisted sennit (4); commencing and finishing ends buried; at point (5), observable projection above lashing of haft. Second fish spear, constructed in field, was one-piece point and haft of *aganaja* wood, 8 feet long; barb 6½ inches long; proximal end finished with small terminal knob. *b*, gorge of *pandanus* spine (*matatoki*) (*Cloys*): 1, 2, two spines (*thorns*) stripped from *pandanus* leaf and glued together so that barbs project on either side; spines joined together by sennit (3) of finest sinnet fiber with two pairs of half hitches (4, 5); 6, free end of sennet serves as bait tying string (*tokoir ramaw*); length of gorge ⅝ inch, width ⅛ inch.

FISH SPEAR

Most fish spears in use today are thin iron rods or wooden shafts with iron points. Formerly both shaft and barbed point were of wood. A typical spear is shown in figure 35*a*.

GORGES

Two types of gorge (*ao*) are in common use: one of fishbone is used for catching the needle fish; the other, of *pandanus* spine, is used for the tiny *tupe* fish.

The fishbone gorge is a bone of the rainbow fish about 1 inch long. The sennet of fine two-ply twisted sinnet (*ahoale*) is fastened to the hook below the head by four half hitches (*tua pakenga*). The free end of the sennet serves as a bait string (*tokoir ramaw*).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 A bait of *bolowa* flesh is wrapped round the bone and the bait fastened with several turns of the bait string. When not in use, the gorge is pushed into the gorge cushion.

The gorge of pandanus spine (*matatoka uula*) is described in figure 35,*b*.

Hooks

Pukapukan fishhooks are made of wood, coconut shell, pearl shell, and turtle shell. The generic name for a wooden hook is *kau*; for a shell hook, *patala* or *matau*; for a composite hook, *pa*. Single-piece hooks are further named according to their size and shape. The hook is conveniently divided into shank, bend, point limb, and point. The Pukapukan equivalents for these and other terms are shank or point limb, *kaukau*; outside of the bend, *muli*; inner curve of bend, *liu*; point, *mata*; barb, *unhatala*; shank knob, *leke*; terminal or proximal end of shank above knob, *tileo*.

227 284 In use, each hook has a snood (*taka*) lashed to the proximal end of the shank. The end of the three-ply twisted or braided snood is unravelled and laid against the inner side of the shank knob with the end of the braided section resting against the proximal end of the shank. One ply is placed to the right; the other two plies, which are treated as a single element, to the left. The first ply is passed transversely round the shank to the right, under the knob on the outer side, then round to the inner side again to pass diagonally upward to the snood where the free end of the ply is laid against the braided portion of the snood. The other two unravelled plies pass to the left, transversely round the shank, under the knob but on top of the already wrapped first ply, round to the inner side of the shank to pass diagonally up to lie against the braided portion of the snood.

The lashing of snood wrapping to shank is done with braided sennit or *uno* cord. The lashing pattern is figure-of-eight turns in which crossings are on the inner side of the shank and the loops are alternately above and below the shank knob. The figure-of-eight turns are either ascending or descending (*i alonga*) according to the choice of the worker. The Pukapukan lashing technique corresponds to that described for Manihiki (29, pp. 171-172, figs. 84, 85). In the ascending pattern lashing, the commencement end is buried and the free finishing end makes seizing turns round the snood to bind the unravelled ends of the snood securely to the length of the snood. The finishing end is buried under several of the transverse seizing turns. In the descending pattern lashing, the commencement end may be buried under seizing turns round snood and free snood ends before the figure-of-eight turns are commenced; the finishing end is buried beneath the last two descending turns. Alternately, the lashing commencement may be buried below the free ends of the snood, but after the lashing turns are completed, the free end of the lashing cord is carried up to the snood and the seizing turns made before the finishing end is buried. A third variation occurs when the wrapped unravelled snood plies are too short to lie against the snood; in this case, the commencement is below the snood, the finishing end is buried beneath the last two turns, and there is no need for seizing turns round snood.

The use of bait strings (*taheio mawea*) is a common feature of most hooks. If the buried end of the lashing cord is long enough, it is not cut off flush with the finishing turns, but is allowed to hang free. If the free end of the lashing cord is not long enough to serve as a bait string, an additional piece of fine cord is fastened to the bend of the hook with a slip knot. In use, the bait is laid on the hook and several turns are taken round bait and hook with the bait string.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

WOODEN HOOKS

227 Wooden hooks vary greatly in size according to the fish they are designed to catch. Small wooden hooks are used interchangeably with the single-piece pearl-shell hook (*tope*) for catching in deep water the smaller reef groupers. Large wooden hooks are used to catch *Ruvettus* and other large deep-sea fish. All wooden hooks are termed *kau*; the largest V-shaped hook is sometimes distinguished by the name *yemo*, the largest U-shaped hook by the name *youv*.

Wooden hooks are of two shapes, the U-shape and the V-shape. All the hooks are made from *ngangie* wood; most of them from forked branches, [245] some of the U-shaped ones from branches that have been artificially bent and made to grow in this position. The hooks are two-piece, the point being fitted to the point limb with a lashed scarf join. The upper end of the shank is narrowed and provided with a shank knob to support the lashing of snood to shank.

227 In larger hooks used for *Ruvettus* and other deep-sea fish, the lashing of point to point limb may be in two or three separate sections. This occurs in five of the eight 284 deep-sea fishhooks available for study. The remaining three hooks are freshly lashed, probably by inexpert fishermen who knew that the hooks, intended for a museum collection, would never be used for fishing. The middle of three lashings is put on the smaller hooks about 1 inch below the head of the functional point, 2 or more inches below this point on larger hooks. After the transverse turns completing this lashing have been made, the lashing is covered by tough fish scales (*mami*) of the *mulotu* fish which project above and below the lashing. The ends that project below are caught with the transverse turns of the lowest lashing, those that project above are caught with the turns of the topmost lashing. The fish-scale covering protects the middle lashing from being destroyed by the biting teeth of a hooked fish. Because it is usual to protect only this middle lashing, one may assume that a hooked *Ruvettus*, for example, is expected to swallow a hook to the point where his jaws close on this middle lashing, not on the lowest or topmost lashing. The free end of the lowest lashing is carried up over the fish scale covering to commence the topmost lashing; even if this longitudinal thread is severed, the topmost lashing can not become unravelled because the free end is effectively buried in the descending turns. (See lashing in figure 37*c*.)

The clearance between the point and the shank limb varies greatly among the hooks. In small wooden hooks the clearance ranges from ¼ to ¾ inch, in the larger hooks from 1⅛ to 3¼ inches. Kennedy states that the required clearance is equivalent to the thickness of the edgewise thumb with the point against the middle of the nail (19, p. 17). Four out of 12 hooks have approximately this clearance, four small hooks have less than this clearance (about ¼ inch), four large hooks have a much greater clearance (up to 3¼ inches). Leaving aside the four smallest hooks used to catch smaller deep-sea fish, I presume that four of the remaining eight wooden hooks used for large deep-sea fish were probably made for ordinary fishermen, the other four for expert fishermen who prefer the hook with the wide clearance. Both types of hook, those with wide and those with narrow clearance, were in common use.

In several of the hooks the point is directed away from the mesial longitudinal [322] line of the shank limb. Presumably the explanation for this in the Pukapukan hooks is the same as that given by Kennedy for Ellice Islands hooks (19, p. 15), that is, the manner in which the scarf surface was cut on the point limb, previously with an adz, today with knife or saw.

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Of the Y-shaped wooden hooks available for study, four are small hooks attached to the *matakomako* apparatus used to catch small deep-water fish. (See figure 33, *b*.) These hooks are about 2¾ inches high (from the outside bottom of the bend to the top point of the shank) and 1¾ inches in greatest width (from outside of point limb to outside of shank limb). The clearance between functional point and shank limb is about ⅜ inch. In two hooks, the shank leaves the point at an angle of 40 degrees; in the other two, at an angle of 45 degrees. In all four hooks, the snood is three-ply twisted vine cord which is attached to the shank by descending figure-of-eight lashings of fine vine cord. The free end of this lashing is carried up to the snood and seizes it with several transverse turns. The single lashing of point to point limb is by transverse turns with buried commencement and finishing ends. The lashing of a larger hook is shown in figure 36.

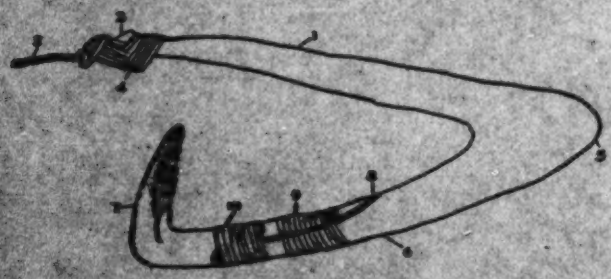

FIGURE 36.—Wooden hook (*kau*) of *napapio* wood (C6526): hook 5 inches high, 2¾ inches in greatest width, and ⅜ inch clearance between point and shank; diameter of shank (1) above head ⅜ inch, thickness of bend (5) from outside bottom of curve to inner curve 1¾ inches; angle of shank limb with point limb 50 degrees; snood (3) of three-ply twisted hemp attached to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns (4) around shank knob (12); point knob (6) and point (7) scarfed (8) and fastened with two separate lashings; lower lashing (9) made first with simple transverse turns, free end being carried up to commencement of upper lashing (10); functional point (7) transversely convex on top, beveled underneath, and projects slightly downward. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 7.)

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A larger V-shaped hook (*kau-mamu*) with a rounded and downward curving point is shown in figure 37*a*.

Between the V-shaped and the U-shaped hook may be distinguished an intermediate type of which there is one specimen for study (fig. 37*b*). This is an old hook which has been relashed. Owing to a natural twist in the shank limb, the top of the shank is twisted out of the vertical longitudinal plane running through the bend and point. It is this twist and not that of the point which makes the point appear to be directed away from the vertical longitudinal line of the shank limb.

Of five U-shaped hooks, four appear to have been made from artificially bent wood, one from a forked branch that had a natural inner curve to the bend. The naturally curved hook is shown in figure 37*c*.

Of the three other U-shaped hooks, the smallest is 4¾ inches high, 3 inches in greatest width, ⅜ inch between point and shank; the second hook is 8¼ inches high, 5¾ inches wide, 1¾ inches between point and shank; the third hook (termed *ysaw*) is 10¾ inches high, 8 inches wide, and 3¾ inches between point and shank.

SINGLE-PIECE HOOKS

Pearl-shell Hooks

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Single-piece pearl-shell hooks are made in many sizes to catch all varieties of lagoon fish and most of the smaller deep-sea fish. The hooks are named according to their size and shape. For accurate classification, the name of the fish which the hook is made to catch is usually added to the type name

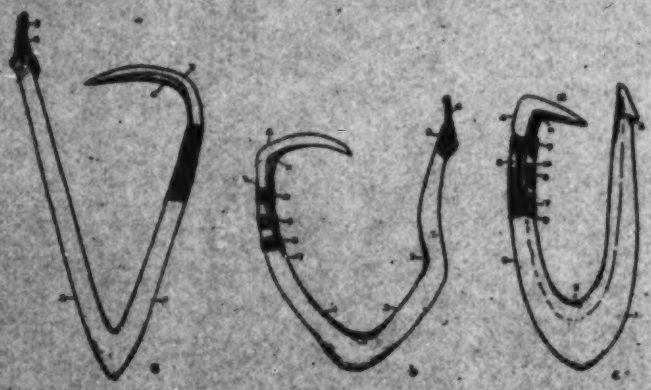

FIGURE 27.—Wooden fishhooks. *a*, large V-shaped hook (*yuno*) of *aganyie* wood (CB20): hook 13¼ inches high, 7 inches in greatest width, point-shank clearance 2¾ inches; diameter of point limb (1) and shank (2) above bend, ⅜ inch; height from outside bottom of bend to inner curve, 1¾ inches; angle of point limb with shank limb 55 degrees; point limb and point (3) scarfed and lashed together with 30 turns of three-ply braided cennit; point flat on inner surface (4) and curves slightly downward; snood (5) of thick three-ply braided cennit attached to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; free finishing end passes upward to outer snood (6). *b*, intermediate type wooden hook (*hau*) of *aganyie* wood (CB126): hook 10 inches high, 6¾ inches at greatest width, point-shank clearance 2¾ inches; diameters of point limb (1) and shank (2) above bend, each 1 inch; thickness of bend about 1⅛ inches; shank has inward bend (3), above which shank bends backward and away from medial longitudinal plane; snood (4) lashed with descending figure-of-eight turns (5); point (6) and point limb (1) scarfed (7) and fastened together with three separate lashings (8, 9, 10); point slightly flat on inner curve of bend (11), then curves up and down at point. *c*, narrow U-shaped wooden hook (*hau*) of *aganyie* wood (CB112): hook 5⅜ inches high, greatest width 2⅜ inches, point-shank clearance ⅛ inch; shank (1) ⅜ inch diameter above bend, ⅜ inch diameter immediately below shank knob (2); bend of hook (3) 1¾ inches high from outside bottom of curve to inner bend and 1 inch thick; point (4) lashed to point limb (5) with three separate lashings; middle lashing of six transverse turns (6) made first, lowest lashing (7) second, free end (8) carried over middle lashing to make top lashing (9); remains of fish-scale protective covering of middle lashing shown (10); point flat underneath (11), beveled on either side on top (12); distal end of point gradually downward.

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227 of the hook. The hooks are made from black- or gold-lipped pearl shell and
284 provided with snoods of sennit cord. They may be classified by shape into three types: a U-shaped hook, a circular hook that is usually barbed, and a slanted U-shaped hook that may be barbed.

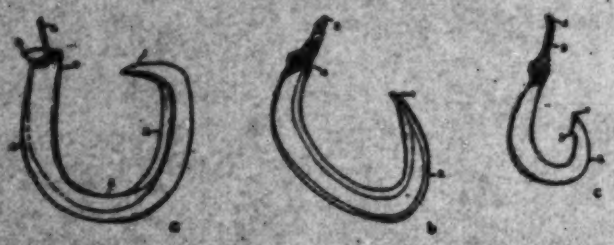

Figure 38—Shell fishhooks. *a*, pearl-shell hook (*yubi hakoua*) (Cb158): hook ⅝ inch high, ⅜ inch wide, and ⅛ inch thick; point (1) short, making point-shank clearance comparatively wide; inner and outer surfaces of point limb (2), bend (3), and shank (4) beveled; shank limb (5) flush with prominent end of shank; snood of three-ply twisted sennit (6) fastened to shank by three transverse turns with free end of snood line which effectively holds snood fast to shank; finishing end (7) tucked under turns and held tight; bait string (not shown) of sennit fiber wound around bend of hook. *b*, barbless, slanted U-hook (*tai ruua*) of gold-lipped shell (Cb204): hook 1 inch high, ⅝ inch wide; edges beveled, but owing to irregular shape of shell, point directed away from median longitudinal line of shank; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); wide point-shank clearance; snood (3) of sennit cord fastened to shank by lashing snood to his descending figure-of-eight turns, but very irregular (4) owing to fact that worker reduced from bad specimen. *c*, pearl-shell hook (*matanoto yi hakoa*) for sharcoes (Cb164): hook 2 inches high, 1⅜ inches wide; edges beveled; point (1) bends slightly from point limb (2); barb (3) runs from point at acute angle, barb-point edge straight, beveled slightly; wide point-shank clearance; snood (4) of three-ply sennit cord fastened to shank with descending figure-of-eight turns; finishing end of lashing sennit snood for length of ⅜ inch at 5.

[226 177] **U-shaped hooks.** Small U-shaped hooks (*yubi*) are used for beach angling and for catching the smaller lagoon fish by other fishing methods.

An example of the *yubi* hook (fig. 38*a*) is minute and almost as wide as it is high. It was used for catching *tuhuna* fish before European pins came into use. It is a beautifully made hook and shows craftsmanship of high order. The term *yubi* is applied to hooks of this general shape up to about 1 or 1½ inches high when the name *tape* comes into use. *Tape* hooks are U-shaped, but tend to be higher than they are wide. The name is also applied to hooks of other material such as turtle shell or coconut shell which have this general shape. The type *tape* hook of pearl shell is shown in figure 39*a*. Other *tape* hooks in the Bishop Museum collection range in height from 1⅛ to 1⅝ inches and in greatest outside width from 1 inch to 1½ inches. They are made of gold- or black-lipped shell; descending or ascending figure-of-eight lashings attach the snood of two- or three-ply sennit cord to the shank of the hook. They are provided with bait strings.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 **Circular hooks.** Circular pearl-shell hooks (*maiau* and *wuhawa*) are
284 made with a barb (*wuhatala*). Most of these hooks are as wide as they are high, but the size of the barb varies considerably (fig.39,*b*). In most hooks, the functional point is level with the lowest transverse turn of the snood lashing, directly opposite a point about 3/16 inch below the proximal end of the shank.

In one hook examined in the field, however, the inner curve of the hook was almost a perfect circle, the functional point being on a level with the top of the snood lashing and the proximal end of the shank. Another unusual feature observed on an old hook of this type was a pronounced terminal knob at the proximal end of the shank, separate from, and other than, the customary shank knob which was also cut on the outside of the shank.

FIGURE 39.—One-piece shell hooks. *a*, U-shaped hook (*tapu*): greatest length 2 inches, greatest width 1½ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; *b*, circular hook (*maiau* or *wuhawa*): greatest length 1⅝ inches, greatest width 1⅜ inches, point-shank clearance ⅜ inch; barb (*wuhatala*) marginally concave and beveled; snood thick two-ply sinu cord fastened to shank with demonstrating figure-of-eight turns. 1, shank; 2, shank knob; 3, head; 4, point lash; 5, point; 6, snood; 7, snood lashings; 8, barb. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 4.)

226 There can be no doubt that the barbed hook is native to Pukapuka and antedates European influence. The first man to make the barbed hook is
176 said to have been Te Upe, a man of Loto who lived in the reign of Maina, twelve generations ago. His name is mentioned in connection with barbed hooks in an old chant "Uba taku tangi". Beasley (4, p. 34, pls. XLIX A and XLIX B) figures six hooks of this type apparently collected by Gill prior to 1877. Beasley attributes the hooks to "Pukapuka, Paumotu group", an evident mistake. The figured hooks range in height from 1½ to 2⅜ inches.

227 **Slanted-U hooks.** Slanted U-shaped hooks, large enough to be called *wuhaola* or *wuhawa* and used for alencore fishing, have barbs. Small hooks of this type without barbs are called *tai uwa* (fig.38,*b*) and are used to catch the smaller reef fish.

These hooks are much higher than they are wide. The point lash is short compared with the length of the shank and the functional point bends ever slightly from the plane of the point lash. The barb runs from the point at a very acute angle making a large point-shank clearance (fig. 38,*b*, *c*).

Despite a superficial similarity in shape of the hook shown in figure 38,*c* to European fishhooks, informants were positive that this type of barbed fishhook was native

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 Pukapukan. Their contention is supported by the fact that Gill collected a hook of this shape before 1877. Beasley (4, p. 34) figures the hook in plate XLIX A, no. 2.
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Turtle-shell Hooks

Single-piece hooks of turtle shell are made in two shapes. One shape corresponds in all respects to the *tope*, U-shaped hook of pearl shell, and is used for the same fish as the pearl-shell *tope*. The hook of turtle shell is termed *tope uma*. A characteristic hook of this type (C8223) is 2 inches high, 1½ inches wide and has a uniform thickness of ¼ inch.

A smaller turtle-shell hook termed *kowilo* is used in fishing for lagoon fish with a line from the beach. The type hook is about ⅞ inch high, ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick at the bend. The point-shank clearance is wide. Owing to the fine work necessary, the snood is attached to the shank only with three figure-of-eight turns.

Coconut-shell Hooks

Most hooks cut from coconut shell are made in the shape of the *tope* pearl-shell hook and are called *tope ngaipu*. They are used on the *taumako-mako* composite fishing apparatus and also singly in fishing for the smaller deep-sea fish outside the reef.

The hook is cut from the dry shell from the end opposite to the eyes. One side of the hook has the dark brown color of the outer surface of the coconut shell; the other side has the light brown color characteristic of the inner surface of the shell. The hooks (fig. 33,e) have a pronounced longitudinal convexity and a slight transverse convexity on the dark brown side. The edges forming the inner curve of the hooks are bevelled slightly. The hooks have double or looped snoods attached to the shank.

A small hook (C8183) is 2¼ inches high, 1½ inches in greatest width; it has a point-shank clearance of ¼ inch. The inner curve is a pronounced U-shape, with a greatest inner width of 1 inch. The looped snood is attached to the shank with descending figure-of-eight turns, the finishing end being buried beneath the last two turns.

Composite Hooks

Composite pearl-shell or pearl-shell and turtle-shell hooks (*pa*) are used for trolling and for fishing reef fish. They fall naturally into two classes, the bonito hook (*pa atu*) and the small composite hook, distinguished from the bonito hook by the addition of the name of the fish caught with them to the generic word *pa*.

Bonito Hooks

The bonito hook is a two-piece hook consisting of shank (*pa*) and point (*mango*). The point is pierced with holes (*pa*) through which it is lashed to the distal (*uali*) end of the shank, along with the hackle (*wakamanua uao*). The line or snood (*taka* or *wakamanuga*) is passed through the proximal hole of the point, attached to the shank by a lashing that passes

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through a hole (*pu pa*) in the thick proximal end of the shank, and seized (*puliunga*) by a lashing thread (*alaala*) passing from the proximal hole of the point to the shank head. The distal end of the shank on the underneath side is cross-hatched (*batikoti*) to prevent the point-shank lashings from slipping, and filler sticks (*tua niu*), short pieces of coconut leaflet midrib, are pushed underneath the point-shank lashings on either side of the point base to steady the point on the shank.

The following description of the type Pukapukan bonito hook (fig. 40) is summarized from an examination of 28 Pukapukan bonito hooks, 11 of these in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 17 in the field. Terminology employed for parts of the hook is that established by Buck. Lashings are described with the hook horizontal, point to the right, shank head to the left.

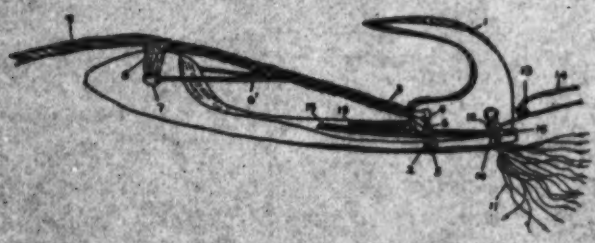

FIGURE 40.—Type Pukapukan bonito hook (C8188): point (1) of gold-lipped shell, beveled at functional point, bend, and outer angle; proximal lashing (2) and snood (3) pass through proximal hole (4); oblique lashing turns on back of shank (5); lashing thread (6), after overhand binding knot around proximal lashing, makes two turns through head hole (7) and proximal hole (4); after last turn through proximal hole, thread seizes snood (3) and its previous turns through head hole; lower threads occasionally left on for short distance and then included again in seizing of snood; toward head, lower threads (6') dropped and seizing continues to head hole; head lashing (8) consists of transverse turns around snood and through head hole, bound with circumferential turns; seizing of snood continues for about 1 inch above head hole (9); distal lashing (10) of point fixes hackle (11) with oblique transverse turns; half hitch binding (12) of distal lashing; thread passes around distal end of point; makes another binding around far side distal lashing, loop knotted (13) and cut to make secondary hackle (14); hackle (11) consists of number of fine threads of *uso*; filler sticks (15) of coconut leaflet midrib pass under both lashings on near and far sides; shank 3¾ inches long; greatest width of head ⅝ inch, height of head ½ inch; width at tail ⅜ inch; thickness of tail ⅛ inch; length of filler sticks 1¾ and 1⅜ inches; length of point base ⅜ inch; thickness of point ⅛ inch.

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The shank is made of strips of shell cut radially through the shell so as to include part of the hinge at one end. The shank length ranges from 3 to 4⅝ inches. The length of the hinge-head section in relation to the total length of the shank varies according to the size and thickness of the part of the shell from which the shank is cut. In the hooks examined, length of the hinge-head section of the hooks ranges from ⅝ to 3 inches (fig. 41). The width of the tail end of the shanks ranges from ⅜ to ⅝ inch, thickness from ⅛ to ⅜ inch.

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The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front of the shank, the rough outer surface of the shell, the back of the shank. The back is sometimes longitudinally flat, more often convex with a slight transverse convexity also. It is ground down to remove the dull rough material and to bring out a clear shiny iridescent or golden surface toward the distal end of the tail. Different surfaces are described in the ordinary color terms: *tua melo toto*, a deep gold shank back; *tua kena*, a light iridescent color; *tua pula*, a pronounced rainbow iridescent color.

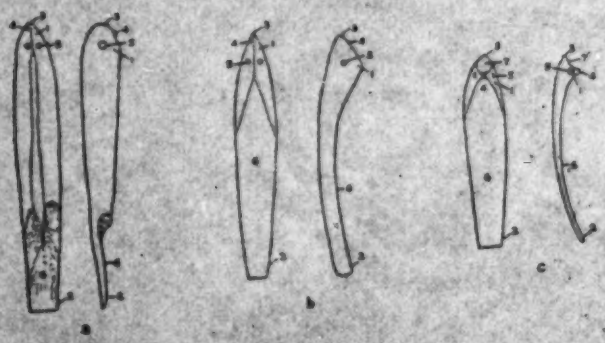

FIGURE 41.—Variation in bonito hook shanks, front and side views. *a*, long shank (C8256) with mesial ridge, slight grinding of head end, short tail section; *b*, type shank (C8187) with well-marked head, tail thicker than usual; *c*, small shank, head has short ridge caused by grinding of proximal end. 1, head; 2, tail; 3, head point; 4, mesial edge; 5, head hole; 6, front nacreous surface; 7, head point ground into concave surface.

A hole is bored transversely from side to side about midway down the thickness of the head. In one shank two such holes were bored, one at the extreme proximal end of the shank, the other nearer the maximum thickness of the head. Only the distal of the two holes carries the head sinnet lashing and it is evident that the proximal hole was bored by mistake too far back on the head to function properly.

The tails of the shanks are uniformly smooth on front, back, and lateral surfaces. In the opened grave (p. 164), however, Talainga saw a bonito shank that had two paired lateral projections at the tail end of a narrowing shank. He could give no information about the shape of the head of this shank, but the lateral projections are suggestive of similar projections on Melanesian hooks of the Solomon Islands. None could give any information about the shank type. All the hooks examined save one have a cross-hatching scratched on the back of the tail end of the shank.

The point of the bonito hook is shaped from shell cut from the lip edge of the pearl shell. One side shows the inner surface of the shell, the other side the black or gold outer surface which is smoothed down and sometimes polished. Eight points have been made of turtle shell, one of bone, the rest of pearl shell. In all the points the base is prolonged proximally to carry the technical head of the hook. In 26 points, two holes are drilled through the base of the point to carry the point-shank lashings; two points only have three holes. In none of the points has the proximal hole broken through the upper edge of the point base. Characteristic point shapes are shown in figure 42.

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The sinnet consists of three-ply twisted *wau* cord about ⅛ inch thick and 20 or more feet long. It is attached directly to the trolling rod without the mediation of a fishline

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proper (p. 188). It is lashed to the hook with fine two-ply twisted sinnet. The buckle is made of short lengths (1 to 1½ inches) of sinnet cord; the number of separate lengths ranges from 10, if of fine cord, to 28 lengths if of fine thread. Pukapukan fishermen have never used buckles of any material other than sinnet.

FIGURE 42.—Bonito hook points (*mangu*). *a*, common shape, rounded back, point almost parallel with base line; *b*, another common point, similar to *a*, but with longer point base; *c*, point with square back, acute angle at top right edge of base; *d*, short functional point and base, wide bend; *e*, point with well-rounded bend, downward projecting functional point. 1, functional point; 2, bend; 3, base; 4, distal hole (*pu hi mati*); 5, proximal hole (*pu hi mau*).

No ceremonial is associated with the lashing together of the parts of the bonito hook. Considerable variation exists in lashing methods employed. Some fishermen employ separate lashings for the proximal and distal point holes in fastening point to shank, others employ a continuous lashing. The lashing of shank head to snood is also variable; some lashings consist of simple transverse turns, others of transverse and figure-of-eight turns.

A single hole lashing commences at the proximal hole with the middle of a long piece of thread. One end of the thread is left free to make the snood seizings, the other end is used to make transverse turns through the proximal hole of the point and round the shank. On the back of the shank, these turns make oblique crossings (*mokowiri*). On one hook only are the crossings parallel and not oblique. After six or eight transverse turns are made, they are bound on one side with the finishing end of the thread and fastened with overhand knots. On the other side, the free commencement end also binds the turns and is knotted, but the free end is passed backward and forward between the head hole and the proximal hole of the point for two or three turns and laid aside.

The snood is now laid on the front of the shank. One end of the snood is passed through the proximal hole of the point and doubled back along its length for the whole or part of the distance between point hole and head hole. The free end of the proximal hole lashing which has just made the turns between point hole and head hole is now seized round both the doubled snood and its previous turns through head hole with close turns. The point-head hole turns may be left out of the seizing for a few turns and then caught up again, or they may be continuously included in the seizing turns. In any case, toward the head, the point-head hole turns are dropped from the seizing which is continued to a point above the head hole. Most snood-head hole lashings consist of transverse turns between the hole and the snood followed by figure-of-eight turns over the snood, corresponding to the Manihiki method (29, p. 183, fig. 97).

[171]

With a separate length of thread transverse turns are made through the distal hole and round the tail of the shank, fixing the buckle in this lashing with oblique turns according to the Manihiki method (29, p. 179, fig. 91), with the exception, however, that the lashing thread, after making about ten oblique transverse turns, makes half hitch side bindings round the near side lashing of the distal hole. The free end of the thread is passed through the distal hole to the far side, again makes half hitch side bindings round the far side lashing. The free end is then brought back round the distal end of the point, passed under the near side lashing, up, back over it to make a distal point

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227 loop, and is finally fastened with overhand knots to this distal point loop. This loop
284 is stretched and knotted on itself with an overhand knot. The loop is cut below the knot and each end knotted again to prevent unravelling. This method of making the secondary hackle was the one illustrated to me, but it is possible that the Samoan method (27, p. 500) is also employed.

[171] If the base of the point is narrow and the point, after lashing, appears to be loose, filler sticks, ranging from 1 to 2¼ inches long, are inserted between the point base and the point-shank lashings to fill this space and tighten up the point. They are used in 17 hooks, absent in 11 hooks.

Variations on type hook. The previous description summarizes the type bonito hook. Variations, especially in lashings, are common.

Continuous lashing of the two point holes to the shank is done with a very long lashing thread. The worker measures this into three sections. Commencing with the middle section, he lashes the proximal hole with transverse, oblique turns, binds this lashing with half hitches and passes one end of the thread up to the head hole. The head hole-point turns may be simple turns passing from the near side proximal point hole to the near side head hole, through the head hole and back to the far side point hole, or they may be oblique figure-of-eight turns, passing from the near side point hole to the far side head hole, through this hole and back to the far side point hole. In either case, after finally passing through the point hole, the seizing of the head hole-point turns continues as before. When the lashing of the snood to the head is completed, the free end of the third section of lashing thread is passed along the base of the point to the distal hole and completes the distal hole lashing, hackle fixation, and secondary hackle as before. Alternately, in one hook, the free end passes through the proximal hole, to the far side, makes a half hitch side binding, then passes back to the near side distal hole between the base of the point and the front of the shank.

The turns between head hole and point in one hook are made by passing the lashing thread from the near side proximal hole of the point up to the head hole, down to the point again, round the far side proximal hole lashing at the side of the point base, up to the head hole, through this, down the near side and round the near side proximal hole lashing. This is continued for the customary three turns and the free end continues with the snood seizing. In yet another hook, the turns between head hole and point have been added after the snood was lashed to the head and instead of passing through the head hole, pass round the head snood lashing between the snood and the head of the shank. The third downward turn on the near side passes obliquely underneath the snood to the far side proximal hole and through this hole to the near side to complete the lashing.

Several hooks have a simpler lashing of snood to the head of the shank. The thread makes transverse turns through the head hole and over the snood, binding these turns with circumferential turns between the head of the shank and the snood. This lashing corresponds to the simple Masihiki technique (29, p. 183, fig. 96).

[171] Most side bindings of point lashings are made with the regular lashing thread. In one hook, however, this is done with a separate short length of thread. The commencement end of this thread is knotted round the near side distal point hole lashing, passes to the near side proximal hole lashing, makes one turn round this, is then pushed through the proximal hole to the far side, binds the far side proximal hole lashing with one turn and passes down to the far side distal hole lashing round which it is knotted.

All but three hooks have the secondary hackle. One has nothing to take the place of this hackle. The second has a thread about 3 inches long knotted an inch from one end round the near side distal hole lashing, the two ends of the thread serving as a sort of secondary hackle. On the far side distal hole lashing, the finishing end of the thread lashing, after being knotted round the distal lashing, is cut off about 1½ inches from

227 the lashing and serves as a single secondary hackle for the distal side. The third hook
284 has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted round this and cut off about 1½ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but has been subsequently broken.

227 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both
284 of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary
171 hackle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and head hole are added as is customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized as far as the head with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 89,*e*), and was done presumably for the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle instead of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an interestingly lashed hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached
284 from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound transversely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is required again.

227 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant
171 features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito
114 hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194). Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves, merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (20, pp. 30-31), from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

[See 2; McGregor-- analyst.]

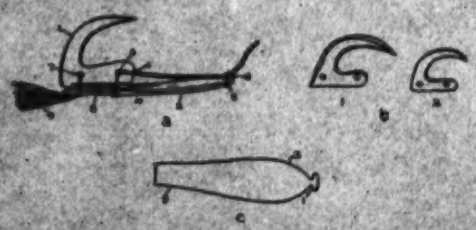
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 171 114 ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Rakahanga, Pagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Macgregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig.43,*a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *komuli* fish and are named generically *pa taki komuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malau* fish and are termed *pa malau*.



227 284 FIGURE 43.—Small trolling hook (*pa taki komuli*) (CB133). *a*, composite hook: point (1) first lashed to shank (2) through proximal hole (3); snood (4) passed through proximal hole and seised with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing continues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (5) around shank and binds them with circumferential turns (6), then seises snood for about 1 inch beyond head; distal hole (7) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal hole underneath shank (8) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal hole and around shank to fix hackle (9) of *uso* fiber with oblique turns; no secondary hackle on this hook; filler sticks (10) inserted between lashings and sides of point base. *b*, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend, and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, widest part; 3, tail.

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227 Shanks of these hooks are of uniform thickness. They do not have the raised head of the bonito shank. Instead, the head consists of a notched projection (*mulimuli*). The shank widens below the head, then narrows and flares slightly to form the tail (*ʻiʻiu*; fig. 45*c*). The greatest width of the shank in larger hooks is about ⅝ inch, in smaller hooks about ⅜ inch; the width of the tail in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ¼ inch; average thickness of all hooks is about ⅛ inch.

Shanks are made of both black-lipped and gold-lipped shell. The inner nacreous surface of the shell forms the front of the shank; the outer rough surface, the back of the shank. This rough surface is smoothed and polished, but the black surface is not ground away as in bonito hooks.

[321] All points are of turtle shell. Characteristic shapes are shown in figure 45*b*. The points range from ⅜ to ¾ inch in base length and from *th* to ⅛ inch in thickness. Two holes only are bored through the base; none of these was broken in the eleven hooks examined.

227 284 The lashing together of the small composite hook corresponds exactly to the method described for the larger bonito hook.

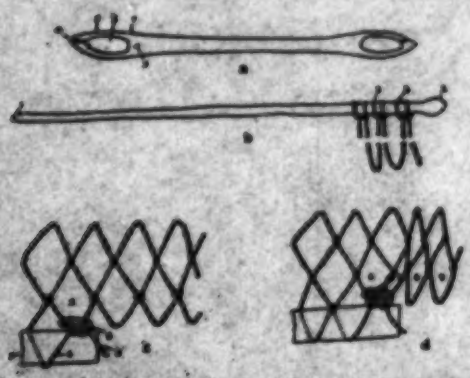
A typical lashing is shown in figure 45*c*. Lashing of point to tail of the shank may be with a single thread for each hole or with a continuous thread. After the proximal hole is lashed with transverse turns which cross obliquely on the back of the shank, the free end of the thread seizes the sneod as far as the head of the shank. In these small composite hooks, no thread is run between proximal hole and the head of the shank. The distal lashing is often bound at the side with the finishing thread to make the characteristic secondary hackle of the bonito hook.

Several slight variations may be noted on this fundamental lashing pattern:

Filler sticks are not used in six out of eleven hooks; in three, the filler sticks are coconut midrib and in two the fillers are short fishbones wedged between the distal lashing and the side of the point base. In one hook, the point is lashed with a continuous thread which commences with the proximal hole. A half hitch side binding is made round the far side proximal hole lashing and the free end of the thread is passed underneath and diagonally across the back of the shank, then up to the near side distal hole to commence the lashing of this hole. In a second hook, the proximal hole lashing is completed and the lashing bound on the near side; the free end of the thread is then passed on the near side to the distal hole to make the distal hole lashing. The sneod is passed through the proximal hole, but it is seized with a special lashing thread that is knotted round the far side proximal hole lashing, passes from this through the sneod loop, and commences the seizing of the sneod on the near side.

Secondary hackles are found on four out of eleven hooks. In two hooks the hackle is made according to the bonito hook pattern. In the remaining three hooks, it is made in slightly different fashion. In the first hook, the near side distal hole lashing is bound with the free finishing end of the lashing thread and the thread is cut about 1 inch from the distal hole. At the far side of the distal hole a thread about 2 inches long is passed through, up, back over the distal hole lashing. In one hook, the two free ends of this thread are twisted together and are knotted with the free end of the projecting finishing thread from the near side hole. In the second hook, the two free ends are tied in a double overhand knot effectively binding the far side distal lashing, and these two ends, together with the free finishing end from the near side, are knotted together to form the secondary hackle. In the third hook, both near side proximal and distal hole lashings are bound with a separate thread that is knotted round proximal side lashing, passes to distal lashing, is knotted round this, and passes again beyond the distal end of the point base where it is knotted with the double ends of a second thread that has been knotted round the far side distal hole lashing.

227 284 In one hook only does the point lashing commence with the distal hole. Transverse oblique turns for the buckle, and the lashing is bound with the finishing end of the lashing thread, which passes round the lashing and is knotted on itself. The commencement end of the separate lashing thread for the proximal hole is knotted to the near side distal lashing and serves as a binder for this lashing. The free end passes to the proximal hole on the near side and makes four transverse oblique turns through this hole and round the shank. When these turns are completed, the free end passes up to seize the cord, before the cord to the head of the shank, and again seizes the cord for about 1 inch beyond the head lashing.



227 281 FIGURE 22.—Netting needles and netting technique. *a*, netting needle (*uaua*) of hardwood wood (*Cbaff*): needle 14¼ inches long; 1, expanded end ¾ inch wide; 2, median longitudinal slot (*pū*); 3, sides of slots (*uaua*); 4, slit (*uaua*) through which netting cord passes; 5, hole (*pu*) through which commencement end of netting cord knots; cord wound longitudinally between two slots. *b*, netting needle (*tui* or *pahi*) (*Cbiog*) of coconut midrib: needle 6¼ inches long, about ¾ inch diameter; 1, blunt end; 2, terminal knob; proximal end (3) slightly notched (*mahalaiere*) and there lengths of sennit cord attached by clove hitches; when loaded, needle carries 10 or more lengths of netting cord attached to proximal end. *c*, netting technique: to make mesh by ordinary technique, mesh gauge (1) is placed in position so that upper edge touches completed mesh (2); netting cord (3) brought down behind gauge and up around lower edge to form lower loop (4); needle passes through loop of mesh (2), crossing drawn cord on upper edge of gauge where it is held with left thumb while making knot (5) is made. *d*, to narrow net, same technique followed, but two completed meshes (6,7) brought together by superimposing 7 over 6 with netting knot made as before; in practice, meshes 6, 7, 8, 9 would be brought together by superimposing 7 over 6, 8 over 7, and 9 over 8, with netting knot made around all four gathered meshes (only two superimposed meshes are shown).

Netting

Nets are made from two-ply twisted *uao* fiber, two-ply twisted sennit (*ulu*), and from fibers prepared from the aerial roots of the *yulu* pandanus tree. The methods of preparing these netting cords are described on page 143.

[See category 283 or 116— analyst.]

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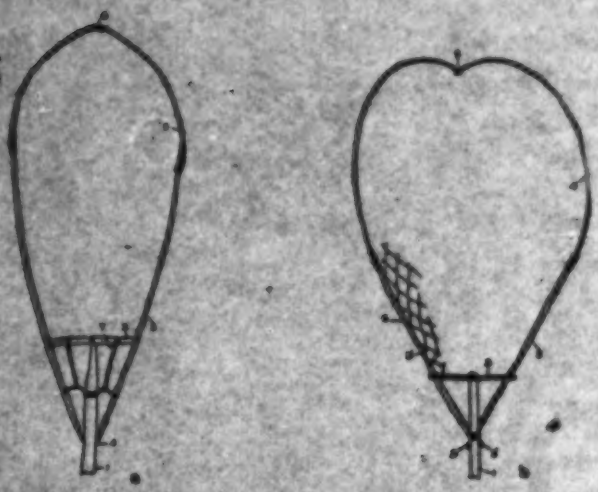

FIGURE 45.—Flying-fish and bird nets. *a*, framework of flying-fish net (*tao matale*) (CB167): 1, handle (*hauta*) of *puapua* wood, 7 feet 2 inches long, greatest diameter 1½ inches, diameter at crosher ¾ inch; head of handle slotted (*olupo*) to hold crosher (*tuba*) of *uakonoco* wood (2) which is 10½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; crosher slotted at each end to receive rods (*uangoenuoge*) of pandanus wood (3) 3 feet long and ½ inch in diameter at ends where they fit against handle (4); other ends of rods are ½ inch in diameter and are joined to lighter rods (*matai*) (5) of *takau ydli* by scarf joins; each *matai* is 20 inches long and ¾ inch in diameter; the other two ends of two *matai* are meshed, brought closely together (6) and joined by continuous transverse turns of cord; lashing of crosher to handle strengthened by suspensory lashings (7). The lashing of stout rods (*uangoenuoge*) to handle, shown in figure 46, *a*, *b*, *c*; lashing of head of handle to crosher and of ends of crosher to stout rods is in common alternating curves pattern; lashing of stout rods to lighter rods is by transverse turns around scarf join, commencement ends and finishing ends being buried. The suspensory lashing consists of transverse turns around handle and across to stout rods on either side, then transverse turns around cross lashing and crosher; cross turns and suspensory turns are seized to make lashing taut. Net is 18 inches deep, with greatest width at mouth 19 inches. *b*, bird net (*uatu*) (CB143): 1, handle of *puapua* wood 10 feet long, 1¾ inches at widest diameter, and 1 inch in diameter at head; 2, crosher of *upangie* wood is 11½ inches long, ½ inch in diameter; 3, 3', stout rods of pandanus wood, 2 feet 6 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; 4, lighter rods of *takau ydli* wood, 3 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at join with stout rods, ¾ inch in diameter at distal point (5) of frame; in attaching frame to handle, crosher (2) is first lashed to upper side of handle; both stout rods (3, 3') laid over upper sides of crosher and under handle, two ends of rods projecting slightly beyond handle, 3' to right, 3 to left; lashing of rods to handle, of rods to crosher ends, and of crosher to head of handle are all of alternate curves pattern; crosher first lashed to head of handle; free end of cord carried to left end of crosher and lashes end to crosher; free end carried back across crosher to opposite end of crosher and

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223 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of
284 rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3') by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 Netting needles (*tui* or *uuuu*) and mesh gauges (*yiko*) are used. Of two types of
227 needle, the *uuuu* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia.
286 One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob end in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yiko* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (C8131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅞ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Puka-
227 pukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method
286 described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

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method corresponds to the Samoan technique of "dropping meshes in the various rows" (27, p. 472): gathering together two or more meshes in one row to function as a single mesh means that in the next row there will be fewer meshes with which to work, hence the technique is equivalent to dropping meshes from subsequent working rows.

TYPES OF NETS

227 286 284

The seine net (*kupenga*) and the large hand fishnet (*tae yoake*) have been described (pp. 57-58). The flying-fish dip net (*tae welolo*) consists of a long handle, a crossbar and framework (figs. 45,a, 46). Its use is described on page 58.

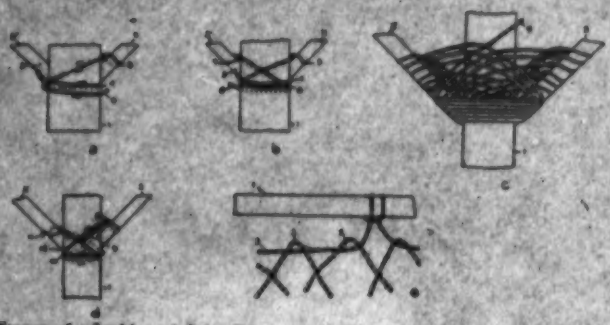


FIGURE 46.—Lashing of flying-fish net framework. *a*, commencement of lashing of stout rods (2, 2′) to handle (1): commencement end of scout cord (3) laid on far side of left rod; cord brought around in front of handle and transversely (4) around to back, across to far side, then up diagonally across near side, passing between rod (2) and handle, across front of rod (5), then diagonally down far side of handle, passing around and across front of handle (6). *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (6) passes to back of handle, diagonally up and across to rod (2′), around front of rod (7), behind it and diagonally down and across front of handle, and around back of handle (8); this establishes lashing pattern, which is continued for about 12 or more complete diagonal turns passing to each rod. *c*, completed lashing pattern is here shown with six turns only; *d*, on top of pattern are superimposed four superior diagonal lashing turns; method of making turns shown here (inferior lashings omitted); free end of cord (9) passes diagonally down far side of handle, around to front (10), across handle, diagonally up far side (11), around rod (2′), diagonally down near side, around far side of handle again, up diagonally across near side (12) to rod (2), around this rod and diagonally down across far side of handle; lashing pattern is continued until there are two diagonal lashings up and down handle; finishing end of cord carried diagonally across near side of handle to rod (5), makes two transverse turns around rod and buries finishing end underneath these two turns; finished lashing is of neat and pleasing design. *e*, attachment of flying-fish net to frame: 1, rod of framework; 2, marginal net meshes; 3, marginal cord passes through meshes, then up to frame, making a clove hitch around rod, passing down to pick up more marginal meshes; process continued until all marginal meshes are picked up on cord, rod clove hitches 6 to 8 inches apart, free ends of cord wound round handle just below cross-lashing holding suspensory lashing of crossbar to handle; second cord passes through marginal meshes at proximal end of net and is fastened to stout rods above lashing of crossbar.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 The flying-fish practice net (*tao penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *matau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The
[234] lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulo* pandanus. The net is 15 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*uwalo*, fig. 45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
223 puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*saka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

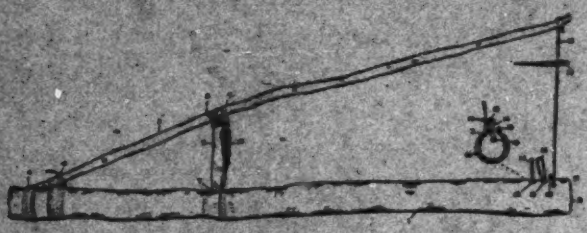
The coconut-shell bird snare (*maonga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maonga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa uwua*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukoma* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 1 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 2 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1-Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225/231 turtles. There are about three of these enclosures in each village. When the people of Ngake go to Motu Ko for the copra-making season, they take with them their small turtles and put them in temporary enclosures erected on the lagoon frontage of the copra settlements.



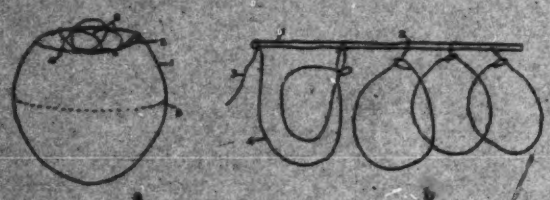
227/234 FIGURE 47.—Rat trap (*taka kiola*) (CB171): trap (1) 2 feet 7½ inches long and 2½ inches in diameter at larger end, made of a section of pandanus wood, hollowed out at one end (2) into a hole 2 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep; a springy piece of *ngangie* wood (3) 2 feet 8 inches long and ½ inch in diameter tied to pandanus wood at one end (4) and supported by upright (5) 4½ inches high and ⅜ inch in diameter; lashing of spring to trap (4) consists of 7 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around end of spring and trap; free end of sennit carried 1 inch up spring to make eight figure-of-eight turns (6) around spring and trap; finishing end buried, but not cut off flush with previous turns; upright (5) rests at one end in a natural depression (7) on upper surface of trap; upper end lashed to spring with common alternate curves pattern lashing (8); suspensory brace (9) consists of 4 turns of two-ply twisted sennit around spring and trap, transverse turns being seized with 23 transverse turns (10) finished off with half hitches; on either side of middle line at open end of trap, holes large enough to allow rat of two-ply twisted sennit are bored through roof of trap just inside entrance (11); a little farther in, two holes (12, 13) are bored in median line; straight stick (14) pushed down through innermost hole (12) to support bait (19); loop of sennit (15) knotted inside trap so that it projects above trap to height of bait stick; length of sennit (16) knotted around free end of spring; after testing tension, a light stick (17) is fastened by clove hitches to sennit so that it passes through noose (15) and rests its pointed end on top of bait stick (14); end of sennit (16) pushed through hole (11), passed around inner circumference of trap hole, and pushed out through another hole where it knots (18); cross section shows sennit (16) passing around inner circumference of trap (2), knotted at 18, bait stick (14) baited (19), and light stick (17) passing through loop (15) and resting on top of bait stick (14); trap set by pulling down spring and passing stick (17), attached to sennit, through loop (15) and resting its point on upper end of bait stick (14) (see cross section). In this position, as long as upper end of bait stick remains immovable spring stick cannot fly back; sennit loop within trap spreads out so that a rat entering trap must step over loop to nibble at bait which is fastened to pointed end of bait stick before trap is set. Rat nibbling bait moves bait stick which releases light stick, spring flies up and catches rat against roof of tube by tightened loop. In use, trap is propped in position by stones and sand packed around and alongside it.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

274 275 417 284 114

Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.



[283 284]

Figure 8.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *hui* birds (*searaga hui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*searaga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2⅜ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9015, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *sasa* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a finer three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *sasa* fiber.

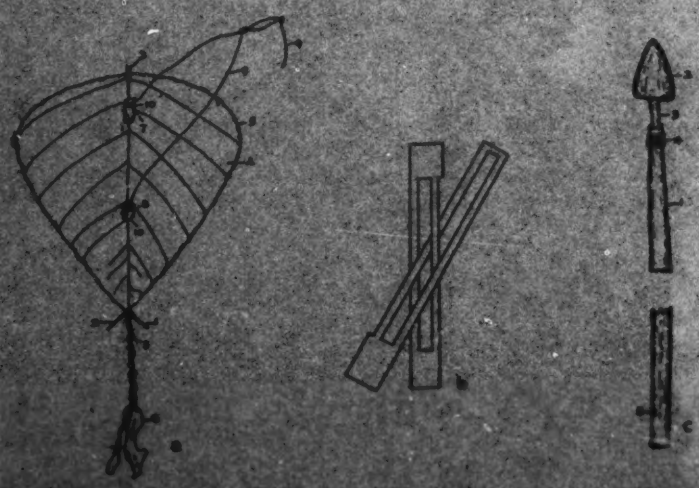
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

524 Swings (*tikitikite*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangie* wood
179 by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wue on his return to Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngoya* branch. The seed of the *taayinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupa* bird, a piston of *puapua* wood, and *taayinu* seed or *ipiipi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*papa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524 Figure 40—Toys and composite dart. a, kite (*kaite*) of *puapua* leaf (Cloop);
284 coconut basket midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*kalaia*); edges of large *puapua* leaf (4) bent over this frame and fastened to it by coulbaxau thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf and around frame midrib; center midrib (2) extends below apex of kite and to this a tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by appropriate turns of fiber; at two points

524 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal mesial line and a trailer cord (9) is
284 knotted to midrib over small wads of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8058) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tonga a Moni*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*velo*) of *ngayu* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutoa*) of *ngangie* wood 1¾ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1½ inches long, ¼ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *uso* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutoa* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*yiku*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutoa* head 4½ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *uso* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig.49,*a*). The tail (*kava*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo ipu*: a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kalewaleva*.

The only tops in use are teetotum tops (*potekateka*). These are *tawpulepule* shells (*Conus ebraeus*) which are spun (*takavilivili*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *mulimuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potekateka matu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *punga* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¾ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *mahapotekateka* or *mahatateka*.

Discs for the game of *tupe* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8,94), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3¾ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tika*) is made of *ngayu* wood:

526 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and bound over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two
322 pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*putika*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tika*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

The composite dart (*velo*, C8100) is made of *ngayu* wood with a head (*ulu toa*) of *ngangie* wood (fig.49,*c*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is rubbed (*matamalu*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is termed *velo tutu*.

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Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *velo* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

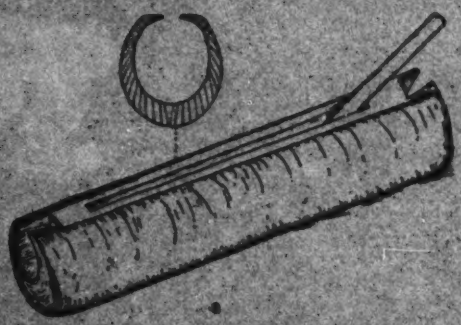

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FIGURE 50.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (C8111): diameter from slot to bottom 3¼ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¼ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (C8112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (C8054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2¾ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (C8055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *wetau*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*pupu*) (C8201): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*mata hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua hauwala*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (8) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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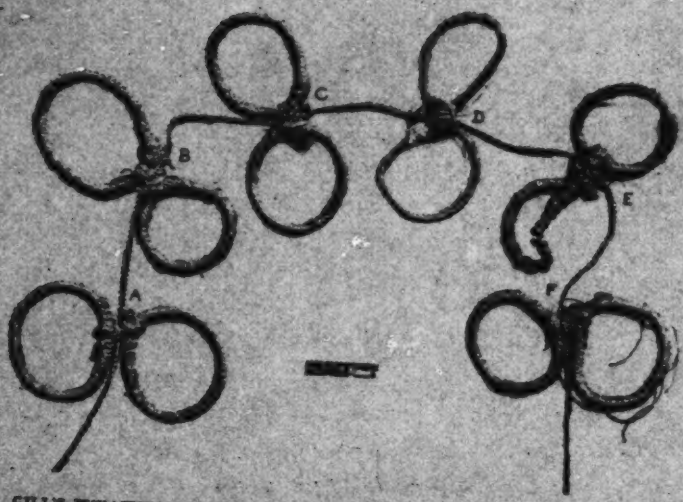

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7¼ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
501, 322, 284

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of canoes, their construction and lashings, see pp. 34-42.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Puka-puka

512 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic
221 routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding
[285 day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

471 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house building, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some
226 form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determin-
285 ing factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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A man catches his *kaiawa* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pole lauoto*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is lodged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.

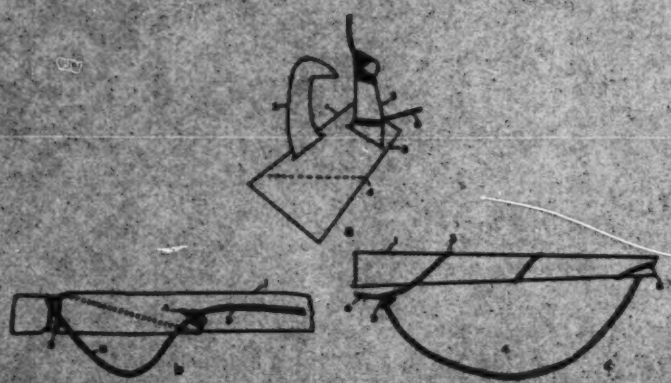

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FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird snaring. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*mauoa mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), unhinding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, hook through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank bend, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*pole mauoa*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*hauyale*) (Cb152): wooden support (1) of *puatea* wood about 6 feet long, ¾ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted rope, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 Tuna noose fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *fale* and *tauale* fishing: tuna noose fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole Σ-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
285 (*takapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely
554 dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would
461 militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve
531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Pango-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wakamalinga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 The canoe crew is known collectively as *waka vaka*. Specialized names
793 for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wulituli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wulituli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uaua*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tolani*. They are

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504 Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers
285 of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *ihi tauia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

262 The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo,
824 *puiche*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on
241 Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

245 The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of
639 a widespread Polynesian myth.

171 Maniepopo and Maniepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Maniepopo conceived
773 a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

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284 for a type Rakahanga house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola fanuia*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
312 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
284 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uka*); the method of passing
171 the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*puki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato pinaki lua*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tele*) some roof
284 sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*po pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato pinaki lua* method. The *ato tele* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato pinaki* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more nearly waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato pinaki* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola tamatai*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by throwing them with a lifting pole (*taka pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ai*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ai*), covered by still another sheet (*pola tampato*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*takapau tampato*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 28-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the outer edge of the sheets in an even line (*kaifiaki to kakiaki uaki*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reinforced by lashing together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

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341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
254 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the
midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these
double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added pro-
tection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by
missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every par-
ticular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-14):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserve, and straightened (*uwa kaumala* or
322 *pepele kaumala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau uwa kaumala*). The
285 leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pehei kaumala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are
beat over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A
sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so
that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuaula*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position
on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is called *pale kaumala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
386 *nuhayanua* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12
inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts
are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to
these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the
tendency is also to fit together tieberams, wall and roof plates with mortise
and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor
with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved
(*nuhatala pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped
out (*nuhatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*nuha-
haua*) to fit against the tieberams. If it is necessary to leave a house frame-
work unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with
coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut
midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *nuhayanua* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall posts,
the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall posts. The mats are sup-
ported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced
[171] equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
as the Samoan method (27, pp. 72-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Venu-

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341 tion blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
LB the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
254 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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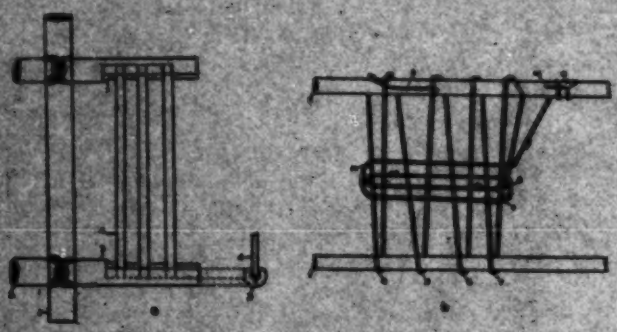

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*ututoni*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rafts fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*pinea ututoni*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*nau matua*, *tau lua*), also bearing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautala* and *nia matoali*) in model main *atua* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of *matoali* braid laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*ututoni*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
330 of the *nukapanoa* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two parallel logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *pueptua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10,*a*), encloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *tulapua* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting horizontal slots between uprights and tying the slots together by a continuous cord of braid is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

[11]

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357 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
373 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tulawa*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for masks and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*alonga laukawa*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*alonga lakau*; fig. 12, *d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
354 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*tako*; fig. 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *aukawa* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*nowa*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*) become vicious:

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These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uleuale*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uleuale tuaale*, Chapt) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*wakapowa*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*napenape*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*wakaaali*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uleuale uulo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *aukawa* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	15½"	7"	No legs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right leg plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left leg conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13d).
Pitoo	6' 7"	2'	18¼"	Each leg 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Pukanakaua	4' 8"	1' 9"	12"	Legs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua woma) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Kita	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¼"	Legs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *uala* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lowulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While she for the two weeks of dry coconut husks and burns to smoking, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

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314 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua ioi*) on its back (*kua piyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is turned *tua*, the front, *aloalo* or *vakvaka*. When the fire has burned
372 down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*kua lale te lito hi langa o te ami*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*vakamamuko te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yapalo te lito hi te apaipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spikes of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yapini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side forward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pakai*) by winding one leaf
285 on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 12 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *lauaulu* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spines are trimmed off (*yiyi lau ua mata tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf strips are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*laubie*) used for mats; the *tua* strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hie mata*) used for plaiting matoe. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*vakamangalo i te ynu*). They are then dried in the shade (*kaya lau tatau he pakapaka i loto o te uale*), and smoothed (*yapini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*kaya lau tabale he vaamuko*) and rolled into large bundles (*pakai*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, turned *lauaulu pakapaka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond
177 exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *pape* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-221). Plaiting elements are either single (*langa toi*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*langa lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

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283 ing. In plaiting with a single element, the finished surface has the back of
T19 the leaf uppermost. In plaiting with double elements, the two single elements are placed together with the back surfaces (*tua*) outward; when the mat is finished, the back of the leaf shows on both sides.

The free single or double element commencement is known as *hauinga pukapuka* to distinguish it from the double butt commencement for single element plaiting (27, p. 217), which is termed *hauinga pa wenua* (foreign commencement). Informants believed that the double butt commencement commonly used today in hat making and satchel plaiting was introduced from Samoa or from the lower Cook Islands after white contact.

The finishing technique follows the Samoan method (27, pp. 218-220, figs. 116-118). It is impossible to fold in the last dextrals when the right hand top corner is reached, so the worker takes a thin strip of coconut midrib about 6 inches long, points it at one end and makes a longitudinal transverse slit in the other end. The free end of the dextral is inserted in the slit and the midrib is passed back underneath the check strokes, drawing the dextral after it. Both the process and the needle are called *yulu*. The dextral is then cut off flush with the dextrals that have been folded back along the finished edge.

285 Technical terms employed in Pukapukan plaiting are:

Langa, wai: to plait.
Taweau: pandanus element.
Taweau pakapaka: a wide element.
Taweau lilid: a narrow element.
Langa tai: to plait with single elements.
Langa lua: to plait with double elements.
Taweau ki langa, taweau ki lalo: the element above, the element below, in double element plaiting.
Taweau: to add elements when working elements have run short and must be lengthened to continue the plaiting.
Kauinga: the commencement corner of the plaiting.
Wakauilinga: the bottom right corner.
Ikilinga: the top right corner where the finishing process (*ikili*) commences.
Wakauilinga no te ikilinga, the top right, or finishing corner.
Taatawa: the right or left edge of the plaiting.
Ala: the working shed.
Tonga: the term used to describe the number of elements making up the working shed. The shed is made of 3 to 20 elements according to the thickness of the elements and the skill of the worker. One asks: "Ewea te tonga?" ("How many in your shed?") The reply is: "E lualua taku tonga" ("My shed is composed of 20 elements").
Lakatoua: the completed part of the plaiting to the left and below the working edge.
Kapi: to fold an element in making the edge.
Ilaga, ungaunga: a plaiting stroke or series of strokes. To plait in check was given as taweau nape takitai, or tapaui tai; to plait in twilled twos, taweau nape takilua, or tapaui lua.
Lua, kapalaga: length, breadth of plaiting surface.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 *Lito makakalaka*: brittle plaiting material, easily snapped with slight strain.
Punga punipuni: closely plaited mat.
Punga tampapa: uneven rough plaiting.
Punga matalatala: loosely plaited mat.
Ylylua: even, straight plaiting secured through uniform tension.

In the commencement stages of plaiting, the worker uses her toes to keep elements steady until she has established a firm working edge. The finished portion of large mats is folded under as the work progresses or else kept flat under heavy stone weights (*matu maunga*) so that the working edge may be brought within reach of the hands. Some workers prefer to lay fine plaiting on a smooth board (*papa* or *palepale*). Straight edges, either right or left, are difficult to produce, and a woman's reputation as a plaiter is based on her ability to make them. Of the good plaiter, it is said that she has skilled hands (*lima paieka*), busy hands (*lima tateka*), or quick hands (*lima tavili*). These terms are used in chants by the man who wishes to comment on the plaiting skill of his mistress.

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The plaiting of large mats is an arduous task. By continuous work a woman can plait a mat 6 feet by 4 feet in about 30 hours.

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Design is obtained by using alternate elements of *lito* pandanus and *lauulu pakapaka* pandanus, or by the use of overlaid or through and through elements of red dyed pandanus. The Pukapukan plaiter makes little use of contrasting check and twilled plaiting to make pleasing designs in pandanus work, save in the building-up of a few blocked geometrical designs. The method of preparing red dye and of dyeing (*pani he kukula*) material for designs is as follows:

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The worker scrapes from the roots of the new plant the dirt, rootlets, and dark brown outer bark. She places a coconut-leaf mat (*kavalava*) on the ground, covers it with *puapua* leaves, and scrapes the roots a second time to remove the dark yellow bark, which falls onto the leaves. Hot ashes from a fire of coconut butts are added to the bark scrapings and the whole well mixed together with the hands. The mixture is placed in a wringer (*tauanga*) of coconut husk fiber and the liquid wrung out into a wooden bowl. The wrung-out bark mixture (*ata*) is placed aside. Strips of *kukie* pandanus are now passed through the liquid, then rolled on the hand and placed back into the liquid. *Puka* leaves are packed on top of the rolls of pandanus and the wrung-out bark is placed on the leaves. The whole is set aside for 24 hours. The bowl is then opened, each roll of material is passed through the hands to smooth the dye on the strip, and placed back in the bowl. Sea water is poured on the wrung-out bark material which is pressed (*lomi*) and mixed with the water. It is then wrung out for a second time and the rolls resteeped for a second 24 hours. The rolls are finally removed from the dye, smoothed with the hands, placed unrolled on a coconut leaf mat (*palepale*) and allowed to dry in the shade. When dry, the material is ready for use.

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Old Pukapukan designs (*hawe*) are shown in figure 14. A group of old women recognized only these designs as definitely old. The Pukapukan worker, however, shows great skill in adapting or inventing new designs. A sampler of designs (Cf208) contains 32. The names of some of the newer

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designs indicate the extent to which the environment furnishes ideas for design: *yiku iku*, fish tail; *uka*, two-ply twisted sennit; *launiu*, coconut leaf; *mengamango*, spider; *puyipuyi*, tobacco pipe; *polotiko*, house veranda; *kauutau*, sennit anchor line; *malo pula*, spotted malo.

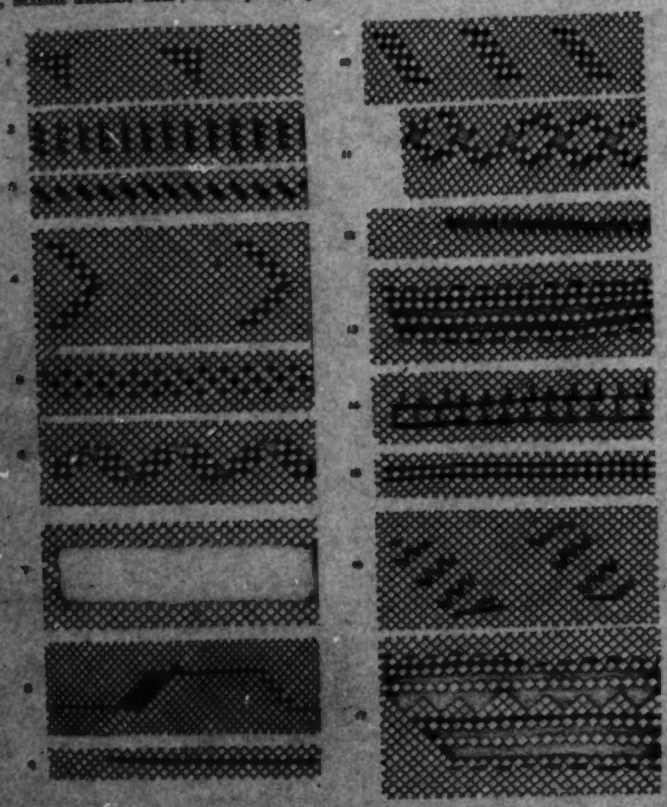

FIGURE 14.—Old Pukapukan pandanus mat designs. Native terminology with available translations: 1, *matatale*, pandanus leaf spines; 2, *te lau uvuua uukauike*; 3, *alaunga*; 4, *hauua*, shark-skin implement for working pearl shell; 5, *koyi tuila*, flash of lightning; 6, *matuaholou*, variety of sea cucumber; 7, *koyi nuanua*, rainbow stripe; 8, *uut haui*; 9, *meamea*, a small blue cigaret-shaped coral growth; 10, *lauruti*, banana leaf; 11, *paiehiele*, diamond-shaped; 12, *motokau*, centipede; 13, *nuanua*, rainbow; 14, *fakaavelangi*, stone resting platform; 15, *hauumalo*, five-ply braided sennit malo; 16, *ulukauua*, a bundle of *hauua* implements; 17, *langi piui*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285/352 Sleeping and floor mets are made of all three pandanus materials in various sizes for children and adults. The name of the material is added to the general name for a mat (*panga*) to distinguish the various types. Pukapukan mats in Bishop Museum are:

Name	Specimen Number	Material	Size	Weft to Inch	Use
Panga laupua	C8070	lauwilu	3'5" square	6	Crawling mat for child
Panga lauwilu ava	C8071	lauwilu	1'11" × 1'6"	5	Mat on which new-born infant is laid
Epaepa	C8074	lauwilu	5' × 6'6"	5	Durable under-mat for sleeping
Panga lito	C8114	lito	5'5" × 4'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lito	C8122	lito	5'8" × 3'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lauwala pukapuka	C8123	lauwala pukapuka	4'10" × 4'	3	Coarse foundation mat placed under epaepa for sleeping
Panga kanai (mixed) lauwilu ma lito	C8166	lauwilu and lito	5'1" × 3'3"	6	Durable sleeping mat
Panga kie weie	C8121	kie weie	5'4" × 4'	6	Soft mat used to cover body when sleeping

285/171 All the above mats have the exposed sinistral finish described by Buck (27, fig. 118,a), except the last which presents two interesting variations in the fundamental plaiting technique:

> It is made of single elements to obtain a soft surface, but in order to bind the edges securely, the Samoan fine mat technique of a five-weft braid finish is used in defining the lower border. The commencement edge on the reverse side of the mat follows the method described by Buck (27, fig.161) and the continuation is the turned back fringe described by Buck (27, fig. 162 right). In the Pukapukan mat the dropped sinistrals are cut off flush with the lower border. The upper, finishing edge follows the Samoan method (27, figs.163,164) with the exceptions that the Pukapukan mat has a five-weft braid finish; the fringe ends produced by the projecting sinistrals and dextrals are cut off flush with the border; the right upper corner is not braided into a tail but the last three working dextrals are roughly interlocked by carrying the third working dextral from the end over the corner of the mat and pushing it under one sinistral, then with a forward turn, pushing it under two dextrals and cutting the ends off flush with the edge. The last two working dextrals from the end are turned back at the edge and pushed underneath the third dextral where it passes to the other side of the mat.

285/531 All the mats have overlaid or through and through designs of the customary red-dyed pandanus material. Most of the designs are old but several are obviously modern, for example the turtle (*fwonu*) and the house side (*talatwale*) designs. The mats are more heavily laden with design than is usual because the plaiters felt that many designs were appropriate for what they knew would be museum pieces.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ama*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *hie* material (*malo hie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo hanu*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiehiele* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3660. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1½ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiehiele* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo Cl6½. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiehiele* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made
178 as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiehiele* design. An
292 informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him when he attained sociological adulthood (*matatane*) about 30 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiehiele* design.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

280 177 915 Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 26, pp. 190-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

285 415 A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tuluma* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tuluma* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *pa tuluma*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *mali tuluma*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tuluma* receptacle. Larger *tuluma* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit malos. The *pa tuluma* (C8120) is made of *launala pakapaka* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9¼ inches long, 7½ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9⅝ inches long, 6¼ inches deep and 1⅝ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to compress the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*pale*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

285 846 Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt C8072 (*pale oumanu*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8½ to 10½ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *launala pakapaka* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are thus attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

Belt C8073 (*pale tata*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 8 to 13½ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *launala pakapaka* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

285 513 Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*ulungo loukauna*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau uuti*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau kaau*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow C8a8 has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and ⅝ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow C8a3 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and ⅝ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lauuuti pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

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Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting stroke or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

MATS AND SHEETS

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The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

BASKETS

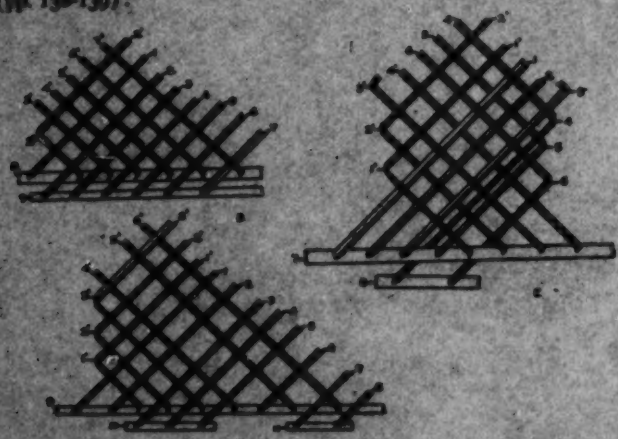
Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ola*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 107, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinistral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two midrib strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongareva technique (28, pp. 127,132, figs. 14,17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.

Name	Number	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Mat	Plaiting Technique: Finishing	Use
Pola	Ch107	whole midrib (see 29, p. 105, fig. 22)	13 rows twilled two's	three-ply braid with free tail tucked under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough wall screen
Takapau longa tai	Ch83	two strip (see 29, p. 106, fig. 24)	extra wefts added to make close; plaited for 2 feet with alternate rows of twill and check, followed by 8 rows of check	three-ply braid, with free end tucked under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough wall screen
Takapau longa lua	Ch106	pairs of right and left midrib strips (itu lauaia) in check with single closed leaflet wefts (see 27, p. 210, fig. 111)		three-ply braid, with free knotted ends pushed under crossing wefts	floor mat or rough screen
Wakatapa	Ch76	turned back two strip (fig. 15, a), continuous upper strip containing 11 natural dextrals, lower strip containing 15 dextrals of which first 2 from left function as dextrals, 3-13 turned back to form sinistrals	13 rows of check	three-ply braid, free tail fastened with knot	plitter for storage or transport of food
Polapola lua	Ch130	turned back two strip (fig. 15,b), lower strip containing 15 natural dextrals, of which 1 and 2 act as dextrals; 3, 4, 5, turned back to engage dextrals of first superimposed upper strip of 3 dextrals; 7 and 9 form sinistrals engaging 8 and 10; 11, 12, 13 form sinistrals engaging second upper section of 3 dextrals; 14 a dextral, 15 a sinistral	8 rows of check	three-ply braid, with free end tucked under crossing wefts	container for fish
Polapola	Ch77	same as for polapola lua	12 rows of check	braided tail	placed on ground to hold taro corms when preparing for cooking

285 Baskets made with the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement (fig. 15*a,b,c*) are called generically *kete*. They are used for transporting talo corms, coconuts, crabs, and the like. Small baskets with one or two points are sometimes used to hold talo pudding (*olo*), but they are generally used as shellfish and crabbing baskets. The plaiting technique is the same as for the Manihiki *pito* pointed receptacles (29, p. 117, fig. 33).

Pukapukan baskets in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list (pp. 138-139):



285 FIGURE 15.—Coconut-leaf mat. *a*, turned-back two-strip commencement: middle strip (8) with leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out first leaflet (1), remaining leaflets on strip turn back to function as sinistrals (1′, 3′, 4′, 5′, 6′, 7′); sinistrals engage with naturally inclined leaflets of second strip (9) which function as natural dextrals (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). *b*, discontinuous two-strip commencement: lower continuous leaflet strip (9) carries leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out dextral leaflets 1 and 2, leaflets 1′, 2′, 3′, 4′ are turned back to function as sinistrals, engaging with naturally inclined dextral leaflets (3, 4, 5) carried by second strip (10); leaflet 6, of first strip (9) keeps its natural direction and acts as a dextral; the next two leaflets of this strip (5′, 6′) bend back to act as sinistrals engaging previous dextrals; leaflets (7, 8) of third strip (11) act as natural dextrals and will engage with turned-back sinistrals of first strip; course of plaiting continued by additional strips and turning back of naturally inclined leaflets to left to act as sinistrals. *c*, variation of turned-back two-strip commencement: middle strip (7) carries eight leaflets naturally inclined to right; to establish stroke four leaflets (1, 2, 3, 5) function as natural dextrals; they engage in plaiting stroke remaining four leaflets on strip which are bent back to act as sinistrals (1′, 2′, 3′, 4′); additional strip (8), carrying two natural dextrals (4, 6), placed under first strip (7), and two extra dextrals engage with turned-back sinistrals of first, or upper strip (7); when stroke has been established, edges are formed by giving a half turn to sinistrals at left edge so that free sinistrals are converted back into functioning dextrals; for right edge, free dextrals given a half turn to left and continue to function as sinistrals in plaiting.

Name	Number	Size	Plating Technique: Commencement	Plating Technique: Body of Basket	Plating Technique: Finishing	Use
Kete ava ute	C8202 (2 specimens)	12" long, 14" deep, 4" wide; 10" long, 12" deep, 3" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail braid, free end knotted close to right side bottom on outside	used for carrying coconuts
Kete ava tuga	C8154	12" long, 14" deep, 3" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail	used for carrying crabs or coconuts
Angapilo mulitai (pointed, triangular)	C8099	12" deep, 10" rim diameter	plaiting technique same as for Manihiki pito pointed receptacle (89, p. 117, fig. 33)		all sinistrals braided together and knotted; same for dextrals	shell fishing and crabbing basket; occasionally used for talo pudding (olo)
Angapilo mulitai	C8186	10" deep, 6" rim diameter	similar to C8079		same as C8079	same as C8079
Angapilo mulitua (two points)	C8078	9½" deep, 6" rim diameter	same as C8079; open leaf check corners made by turning normal lean of sinistrals to right so when basket is turned over to plait opposite side, sinistrals function as dextrals and dextrals as sinistrals		ends braided, passed over and around commencement strip, knotted above strip so that tail is made fast to prevent basket falling open when full	used for shellfish
Angapilo mulitua	C8169	7" deep, 7" rim diameter	single strip of leaflets with each leaflet split longitudinally, left half turned back as sinistral, right half acts as dextral; other split leaflets added to make close plaiting	check	all sinistrals braided into short tail and knotted; dextrals braided and knotted over end of commencement strip	used for shellfish
Angapilo wai kave (basket made with a handle)	C8176	7" long, 5" deep	4 strips of midrib each carrying 2 leaflets; open leaf check similar to ohini basket of Aitutaki (26, p. 168) and to oini basket of Tahiti (16, p. 22, fig. 2), whence it may have been introduced		2 dextrals and 2 sinistrals on each side braided into four-ply braid. Knot of one pushed through braid of other tail, thus forming handle	used only by children as a fishing basket for yellow mullet (kakona)

Name	Number	Size	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Basket	Plaiting Technique: Finished	Use
Ola wali fau	C8:93	width, bottom 4½", top 5½"; depth, 7½"	twisted two-strip	twill with few rows of check at bottom	two-course braid, free tails tucked under crossing elements inside	child's fishing basket
Ola wailowali	C8:77	width, bottom 6½", top 8"; depth, 5½"	twined two-strip	twilled two's with no extra commencement leaflets	concealed double tail, free tail tucked under crossing wefts inside	child's basket used in groping for fish
Ola fau	C8:49	width, bottom 18", top 15"; depth, 15"	twisted two-strip	begins with 3 rows of twilled four's and two's followed by 4 rows of twilled two's, then alternate dextrals and sinistrals brought together and plaited as single elements in 3 rows of check	two-tail finish (28, p. 135,fig.18), free ends tucked under crossing wefts on inside	fisherman's basket used for bait or fish-line
Ola matuku	C8:93	width, bottom 16", top 30"; depth, 13"	twisted two-strip	twilled two's	two-tail finish, free ends pushed through to inside then to outside	used to hold flying-fish catch
Ola wali ao	C8:62	26" long; 21" wide at greatest diameter	twisted two-strip	4 rows twill, 6 rows check, 4 rows twill, 3 rows check, 2 rows twill. Top shaped by plaiting 2 elements as single element in 13 rows of check	two-braid, ends knotted together on outside to form rough handle	used to block mouths of fish weirs
Kete ava wawa	C8:51	18" long, 12" deep, 6" wide at top	discontinuous strip, lower strip containing 23 leaflets, engaging with 7 discontinuous strips of 2 or 3 leaflets each (fig. 15,b).	check	two-braided tail, free end tucked under crossing wefts at one side	used for holding talo

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A small receptacle or container of coconut leaf is sometimes made to transport young birds from the reserve islets to Wale. The containers function also as bird cages.

Receptacle C8144 (*pupu mana*) is made from a length of coconut midrib, 14 inches long and carrying 19 leaflets, cut from the tip end of a coconut leaf. The plaiter works with the midrib base uppermost, and starting from either end plaits the leaflets in a close check to form a cone 20 inches long, base diameter 4 inches (fig. 16). The base is finished with a three-ply braid, and the two free ends of the braid are knotted together. When a bird is placed inside the cone, the base is fastened together by interlacing a leaflet from side to side through and under the base braiding. If the receptacle is used to transport flowers or plants from the islets, the cone-shaped container is plaited round the objects.

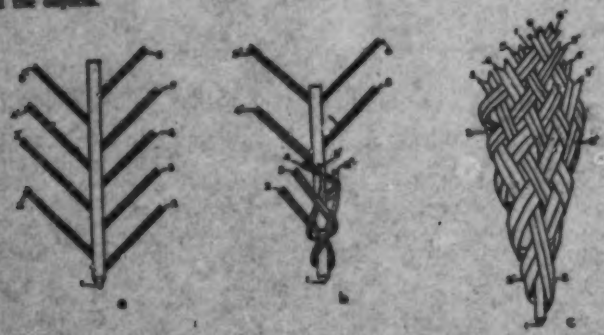

FIGURE 16.—Commencement of cone-shaped receptacle (*pupu mana*). *a*, section of midrib (1), carrying nine leaflets (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′): broad base of midrib uppermost. *b*, commencement of plaiting: leaflet 2′ carries across from left to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, 4; carried across to left; leaflet 3′ carries to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, 4; process continues, alternately bending left side leaflets to right, right side leaflets to left, plaiting leaflets in check. *c*, result after several plaiting strokes: leaflet 2′ has engaged leaflets 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and has passed around under cone; similarly, leaflet 2 has engaged leaflets 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′ and passed to other side of cone; other leaflets, those from left side functioning as dextrals, those from right side as sinistrals, plaited together in open leaf check; only six leaflets on each side figured, but process continued with all leaflets on midrib base; when cone is large enough, free ends of leaflets braided in three-ply braid, and two ends of braid knotted together, forming fixation edge for mouth of receptacle.

Platters (*laulau*) on which food is served are characterized by a natural concavity formed by the dull side of the coconut leaflets when plaited or folded together. All pudding platters for the talo dish called *olo* have the braided finishing edge; all fish platters have the overhand knot finish; all platters for the talo dish called *loloi* have the non-braided, double-knot finish. All platters are approximately 18 inches wide and 9 to 12 inches deep.

Platter C8181, *laulau ava olo*, is used for serving the talo pudding (*olo*). The platter has the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement. It is plaited in open

285 leaf check for 6 rows. The dextrals are gathered together and braided in three-ply,
275 and finished with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter Cloth (*taulaw ono ika*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dextrals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plaiting closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 12 inches when dextrals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered welts from the other side.

Platter Cloth (*taulaw ono lolei*) is a platter for serving the dish called *lolei*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf check for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dextrals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

291 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-
285 leaf malo (*malo launiu*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following malo is typical:

Malo Cl165 (*malo launiu*) is made from a strip of midrib 15½ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3,*B*). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of 10½ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 10½ inches long and finished with an overhand knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 inches long on one side, 20 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

285 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ifi*) are made by the women and
293 used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, *B*, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (Cl170), *ifi launiu lauoni ono te lito*, is plaited in check with welts of *lito* and *launiu pukapuka* (pl.3,*A*,1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *pauau* wood 14 inches long and 3½ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a sheet is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *lito* material, the width of the handle, is laid in this sheet, passing underneath and back over the last element of the sheet. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the sheet on top of the *lito*. The strip of *lito* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *lito* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then gripped by the opening welts, as alternate elements forming the sheet are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

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The new functioning left edge of the fan is now plaited and the top edge finished off with the customary mat finishing technique (*shihinga*), the projecting sinistrals being cut off flush with the top. The dextrals are pushed underneath crossing wefts and cut off close to the right edge of the fan. The free ends of the *lio* strip are tied round the handle with a double overhand knot to prevent the fan from coming off the handle when in use.

Coconut-leaf fans of characteristic Polynesian shape, base of triangle at the top, apex at the bottom, are made either with midribs to which the leaflets are attached or else with leaflets stripped from the midrib.

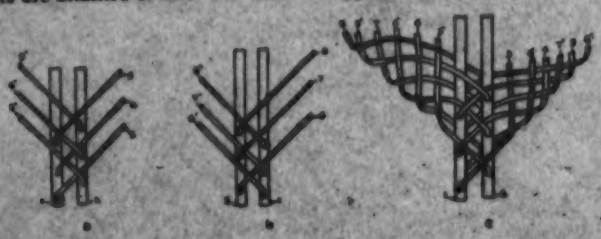

FIGURE 17.—Commencement of coconut-leaf fan (*ili yukuyuku*). *a*, midrib strips (1, 2) shown with only three upper leaflets on each to avoid confusion: leaflet 3 carried across to opposite side, opposing leaflet 3′ being carried across to its opposite side on top of leaflet 3; leaflet 4 carried across, and right leaflet 4′ similarly carried across, passing on top of leaflet 4; similarly with leaflets 5, 5′; each leaflet crosses alternately until all are crossed. *b*, under leaflets of midrib cross as in *a*: midribs turned over so that left midrib (1) is to right and right midrib (2) is to left; each leaflet crosses alternately from either side as in *a*; leaflet 6, which is under leaflet corresponding to 5, crosses over leaflet 6′, corresponding to leaflet 5′. *c*, establishment of plaiting stroke: leaflet 3 from midrib 1 carried across and given forward half turn to engage with leaflet 6′ which has come across from underneath) and is itself given a forward half turn to engage with leaflet 4 from midrib 1; similarly with leaflets 7′, 8′ and leaflet 5; on other side, leaflet 3′ engages with leaflet 6, leaflets 4′, 5′ with leaflets 7, 8 from opposite side; plaiting continued by carrying across all leaflets on either midrib to opposite side and plaiting in closed leaf check; when body of plaiting is large enough, top edge finishes with ordinary pandanus-mat finishing technique.

Fan Cl174 (*ili yukuyuku*) is made from two pieces of midrib cut from the tip end of the coconut leaf (pl.3,4,3). Each midrib is 13 inches long. The left midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 8 on the other; the right midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 7 on the other. In the finished fan, the butt ends of the midribs form the handle. Commencement and establishment of plaiting stroke are shown in figure 17. The fan is plaited in closed leaf check. At the top, each closed leaf is split into two and the finishing edge is plaited with five rows of check. Commencing with the top left corner, the edge is finished with the common mat technique (*shihinga*), the projecting sinistrals cut off; the free ends of the dextrals are cut off on the line where each weft was previously split into two. The fan is neat and compact, the *shihinga* finishing technique providing a strong, slightly curved finishing edge. This fan is 16½ inches long, 15½ inches wide across the top.

The same technique is employed with individual leaflets. The required number of leaflets, depending on the size of the fan, are stripped from the tip of the midrib and

283 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The
210 butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ikibinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl. 3, *A, B*). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-bundle fan shown in figure 17 save that the bundle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan Ch189 (*ili yaeyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The bundle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wau* tree. *Wau*[6] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and
[301] quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yaaa*) are hung from the neck.

Wau fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*tamaale*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yaii*) of the *wau* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pohei*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vale*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *tiki wau*. This *tiki* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*vayivayi*) into narrow widths (*yale*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 Appliances used in wau bark preparation are:
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Scraping board Ch197 (*papa vale wau*) is a board of *puapua* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1¼ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper Ch196 (*kosi*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 3¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ⅛ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber Ch132 (*tiki wau*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wau* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[6] The tree in *wau* fiber prepared from its bark, *wau*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Clothing for Special Occasions

292 Both men and women wore special clothes for festivals. The dress of the man for sports contests consisted of the malo of pandanus or the malo of sennit, or both. A non-contestant might also wear a poncho-like garment called *te kupenga*, and a sennit malo with attached feathers. The sennit malo (*malo kowa*) and the pandanus malo (*malo hie*) are described elsewhere (pp. 133, 146). Both are worn for wrestling contests, formerly also in warfare. The sennit malo alone is worn for other contests like spear throwing. The method of donning the two malos (*pele te malo*) is as follows:

First each fringed edge of the pandanus malo is turned in to make a longitudinal fold about ¾ inch deep. The malo is then folded longitudinally a second time along the medial line so that the final width of the malo is about 3½ inches. An assistant takes the malo at the middle section and passes it round the waist from back to front crossing the two free ends above the navel. The malo is pulled tight; one free end is passed down over the genitals, through the legs, and brought up the back to hang over the shoulder. The other free end is brought up over the chest and also hang over the shoulder. The assistant takes the commencement end of the sennit malo, places this loop over the pandanus malo at the navel, and winds the sennit malo round the waist on top of the free end (thus burying it) and over the pandanus malo. Five or six transverse turns are made down, then a similar number of turns made up and over the first turns. The assistant continues to wind the malo round the waist until the twisted sennit end is reached. This end is passed down on the outside of the transverse turns, pushed under, and brought up underneath the transverse turns and over to the front again. The free end is pushed through and caught over the downward turn of the sennit cord, pulled tight, and the free end passed along the malo for about 8 inches, and bound round it again. This binding is continued until the transverse turns of the sennit malo are secure, the free end of the binding cord being fastened with a knot to the last transverse binding. One free end of the pandanus malo is now brought down from the front shoulder, passed down over the sennit malo, pushed up and underneath the sennit, then obliquely down and under again, continuing to bind the pandanus malo round the sennit malo until the middle of the back is reached, when the free end of the pandanus malo is tucked under the sennit. At the back, the second free end of the pandanus malo that has passed through the legs is similarly bound round the sennit malo and worked round to the front where the free end is tucked under the sennit malo. Depending on the length of the pandanus malo, the binding turns will be spaced or contiguous. For composite dart throwing contests, the sennit malo alone is girt on as described. One man always helps another to gird on either malo. An alternative method of donning the two malos is given by Macgregor (20, p. 46 and pl. 4).]

292 There is a reference in a chant to a malo termed *malo hula*. Informants could give little information about this garment, though they suggested it was not necessarily worn by the chief alone but might be worn by any man who was fortunate enough to own one. It consisted of the ordinary five-ply sennit braiding, but at each twist of the braiding, the quills of small red feathers were inserted and caught by this twist. The name of the bird from which the feathers were obtained had been forgotten.

292 Some braided five-ply malos were formerly made from human hair, [265] possibly the hair of a beloved child who had died. Presumably these malos

1. [See 2: McGregor, pp. 46, 52 -- Analysis.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo CB146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la hapenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*longa tola* or *longa ue*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *malo* cord (*matai malo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakatowea lā te la hapenga	Clothed in the *la hapenga*
Tupenga a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Fongia ene wakawawenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la hapenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la hapenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la hapenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yoa*) worn by women. The art of making the *yoa* has been lost today.

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spar parallel to the customary longitudinal spar (*hiere*) lashed to the cross beams on the port side of the canoe. Informants also mentioned that formerly a big canoe made for fishing off the grounds by Tima Reef was fitted with two stern pieces (*orio*). The *orio* was cut from a single wide block of wood and two fish-tail ends were added on instead of one. This variation was characterized as a type of decoration (*mahe-ramma*) without utilitarian function.

One canoe in active use had attached to the hull only half of the customary two-piece bow cover. The fore part of the bow, usually covered by the *tuki*, was open, but the after part of the cover, the *puka*, complete with wave guard (*mahe puka*), was securely lashed to the hull. Informants remarked that this was an idiosyncrasy of the builder of the canoe. He had been faced by a shortage of wood during construction some years previously and had not since bothered to complete his canoe, but was on the contrary rather proud of its odd appearance.

Sails

501 Two types of sail, both said to be old, are in use today when canoes sail to the islets. The first is a triangular sail, *te mata keokeo* (*keokeo*, pointed); 285 the second, a gaff sail, *te tuki o Te Fale*, named after the Yayake navigator 322 who visited Pukapuka. Both types of sail were formerly made of pandanus (*lau uike*) plaited in single element check (*longa toi*). The sail was made large enough to allow for an overlap which is heated over the sennit bucket rope (*sennati bi lato o te la*) by which the sail is supported on the mast. (See figs. 31, 32.) The heating was done (*tui*) with pandanus material (*tuai bie*) through holes made with a bone of the *akula* fish or a piece of *ngangie* wood. Sheets (*tapoupou*) of two-ply twisted sennit are fastened to the bucket ropes by overhand knots.

501 Formerly the mast (*tile te*) was made in two parts: a crotch (*tua mangu*) was 322 lashed to the mast pole (fig. 31,b). The mast was raised by resting the crotch end on 284 the forward cross beam (*kaukau bi daa*). Several turns of sennit were made around the beam to prevent the crotch from slipping sideways. Stays (*tuke*) supporting the mast are shown in figure 31,c.

The sail is supported by the top of the mast in one of three ways: the guy (*sennati*) by which the sail is hauled aloft may be passed through a hole (*pu*) bored through the top of the mast; the guy may be passed over a natural branch cleft (*tua mangu* or *kokoo*) at the top of the mast and passed down to the canoe; the bucket (*pu*) in the peak of the sail may be passed over the top of the mast before the mast is raised—the mast is thick enough at this end to prevent the bucket from slipping down. The last method is used only in small canoes. In all these methods when the sail is aloft the guy is fastened to the port side of the forward outrigger boom.

Today, the mast is usually long enough to rest against the bottom of the canoe. It is lashed to the forward cross beam with figure-of-eight turns of heavy sennit, or else the stay passing from masthead to forward lifting bar is continued back to the cross beam to make several turns around both mast and cross beam. Ultra-modern Pukapukans either step the mast in cup-shaped blocks cut out from the floor of the hull, or else lash to the washstrakes planks with holes in them through which the mast is stepped.

The sail is further supported by a horizontal boom (*tile lale*) with a crotch at one end, resting against the bottom of the mast just above the lashing of mast to cross beam. The other end of the boom (*ulu tile lale*) is fastened to the sail by a bucket. A main sheet (*sennati*) of sennit is fastened by a clove hitch to the boom from which it runs to

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At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pale*, *kawai*, and teenage fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached,

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it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food division. Fish from all

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these villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared taro, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning

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village spends the day chanting songs of laughing and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

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Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taps governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men

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are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women

577

was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of unbecoming conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish.

461

Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a bonito head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

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In former times women held mat-making contests (*eningaenga pengo*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first fin-

285

ished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*kiabi no pengo*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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FANS AND MALOS. *A*, FANS: 1, PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAITED IN CLOSE CHECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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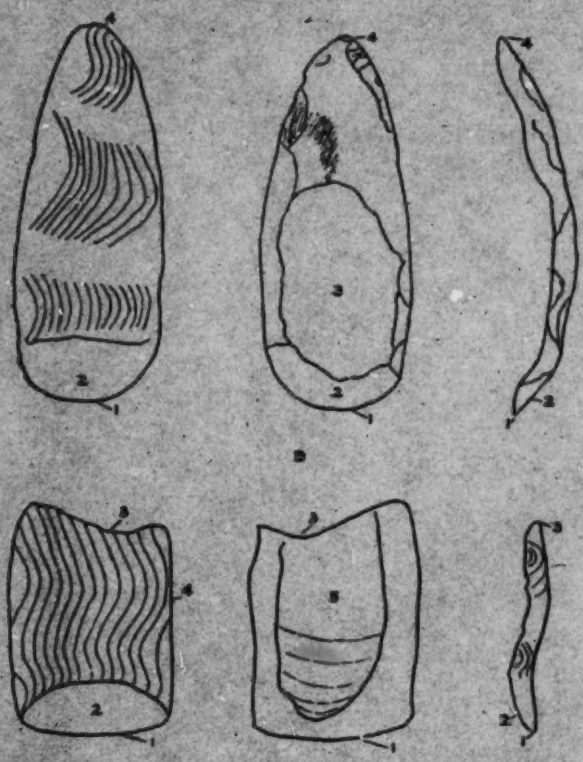


a

b

FIGURE 13.—Adzes of *Tridacna* shell. *a*, back, front, and side views (adz no. C 6527, Bernice P. Bishop Museum): 1, cutting edge; 2, bevel; 3, concavity of surface; 4, poll; greatest length, 4.75 inches. *b*, back, front and side views (adz in possession of R. D. Frisbie, Tahiti): 1, cutting edge; 2, ground bevel; 3, poll; 4, straight side; 5, central depression from natural concavity of shell; greatest length, 3 inches.

UTENSILS

415 A small satchel of lauhala collected at Pukapuka has the following
285 features.

Rectangular-sided and measuring 10 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1.5 inches wide, the satchel is made in simple check pattern. The bottom is flat and has square corners made by turning the strips as they are plaited. Each side is ornamented with strips of hala dyed red with native dyes. These strips are inserted over and included with the plaited elements. The pattern is X-shaped and is 7 inches long. On one side of the basket a solid square of the dyed hala is made between the forks formed by each arm of the X. The reverse side has two squares in each fork. The plaiting is commenced and

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

finished at the edge of the basket and is seamless. The end elements of the finishing edge are turned over and worked into the plaiting over the opposite elements. The basket has two handles made of braided strips of hala which are sewed to the sides. 415 285

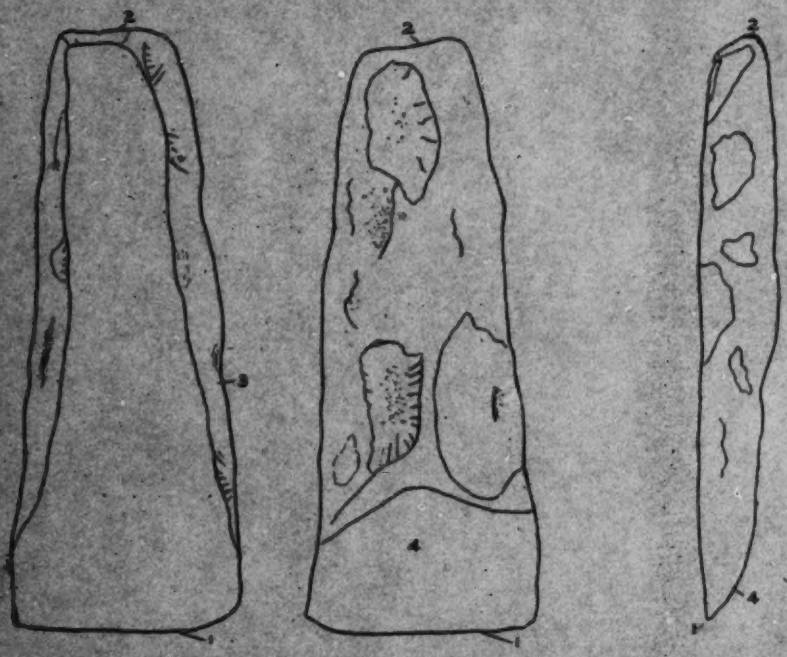


FIGURE 14.—Quadrilateral adz of basalt (no. B 8809, Bernice P. Bishop Museum), front, back, and side views: 1, cutting edge; 2, poll; 3, oblique side; 4, bevel; greatest length 7.5 inches. 412 177

Food is mixed in wooden bowls (*kumete*) (fig. 15). They are hewn from single pieces of wood and shaped into elliptical bowls with flat bottoms. Short handles are cut at either end. 415

FIGURE 15.—Elliptical wooden food bowl with end lug handles and flat bottom.

793 834 226 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 286 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 855 863 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 177 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

285 filled by the open ela and the tuluma of lau wai pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awanwu and Ngaliyayeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

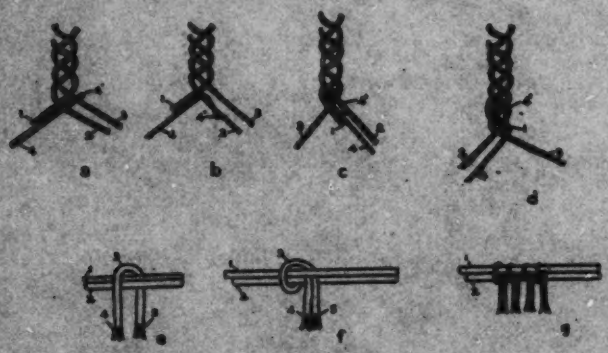
539 Native texts.
The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

No te lua o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eis lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Tayaka. Weinke loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Te make loa laua. Takalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te loleka o laua lao. Wo loa ia te wenua ia ki a Tuyimata. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat Cloth (*taumata hauu*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4,*A*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ¾ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*lauhuua*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*ewete tuhalahalaha*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*ewe*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*lauuuale pakapaka*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Manihiki-Rakahanga technique used by Buck (29, p. 135, fig. 47).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

288 294 19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uwlo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

292 793 178 [776 787] The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

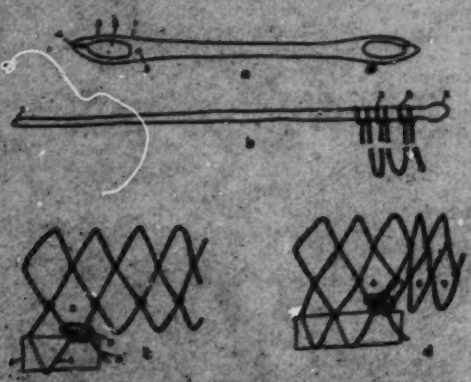
292 793 302 776 613 The headdress of priests of Maliwutu was called *sumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uwlo* bark (*uwti uwlo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipuio, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awunwu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uwti uwlo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uwti uwlo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *sumanga pakeyua hotaua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyua. It consisted of the usual *uwti uwlo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hepenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes. [609 778]

The headdress of Yalonge and Yayi lineages was called *putibi behoo*. It was associated with Te Aua Vachua and Te Alongaua. The long hair was oiled and braided

227 284 In one hook only does the point lashing commence with the distal hole. Transverse oblique turns fix the hackle, and the lashing is bound with the finishing end of the lashing thread, which passes round the lashing and is knotted on itself. The commencement end of the separate lashing thread for the proximal hole is knotted to the near side distal lashing and serves as a binder for this lashing. The free end passes to the proximal hole on the near side and makes four transverse oblique turns through this hole and round the shank. When these turns are completed, the free end passes up to seize the sneod, lashes the sneod to the head of the shank, and again seizes the sneod for about 1 inch beyond the head lashing.



227 284 FIGURE 44—Netting needles and netting technique. *a*, netting needle (*uanua*) of *mahawa* wood (Cloth): needle 1.06 inches long; 1, expanded end ¾ inch wide; 2, central longitudinal slot (*pa*); 3, sides of slots (*uanga*); 4, slit (*tuua*) through which netting cord passes; 5, hole (*pu*) through which commencement end of netting cord knots; cord wound longitudinally between two slots. *b*, netting needle (*tai* or *yuki*) (Clump) of coconut midrib: needle 6¾ inches long, about ¼ inch diameter; 1, blunt end; 2, terminal knob; proximal end (3) slightly notched (*mahalaiava*) and three lengths of sennit cord attached by clove hitches; when loaded, needle carries 10 or more lengths of netting cord attached to proximal end. *c*, netting technique: to make mesh by ordinary technique, mesh gauge (1) is placed in position so that upper edge touches completed mesh (2); netting cord (3) brought down behind gauge and up around lower edge to form lower loop (4); needle passes through loop of mesh (2), crossing drawn taut on upper edge of gauge where it is held with left thumb while netting knot (5) is made. *d*, to narrow net, same technique followed, but two completed meshes (6,7) brought together by superimposing 7 over 6 with netting knot made as before; in practice, meshes 6, 7, 8, 9 would be brought together by superimposing 7 over 6, 8 over 7, and 9 over 8, with netting knot made around all four gathered meshes (only two superimposed meshes are shown).

NETTING

Nets are made from two-ply twisted *uao* fiber, two-ply twisted sennit (*ake*), and from fibers prepared from the aerial roots of the *yulu* pandanus tree. The methods of preparing these netting cords are described on page 143.

[See Category 283 or 116 – analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

223 lashes rod to crossbar end; free end of cord carried down to handle and lashes ends of
284 rods of handle; finally, free end of cord carried down handle, making transverse turns around handle at intervals of 15 inches; 4 feet from proximal end of handle, cord makes 8 transverse turns around handle and fastens with overhand knot. This lashing enables the bird catcher more quickly to draw in his net by providing a firm hold for his hands. Light rods (4) attached to stout rods (3, 3') by scarf joins lashed with transverse turns on one side and oblique transverse turns on the other; two ends of light rods overlap (5) and are fastened together; natural springiness of thin rods makes net framework heart-shaped. Net attached to handle before ends of light rods are lashed together; each rod passes through marginal meshes (6) of net, net being attached directly and without use of marginal cord; proximal end meshes of net are gathered on a double cord which loops loosely around head of handle below crossbar and has two ends knotted together. Net is 29 inches deep; greatest width at mouth 31 inches.

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171 Netting needles (*tui* or *uuua*) and mesh gauges (*yika*) are used. Of two types of
227 needle, the *uuua* type (fig. 44,*a*) is similar to those used in other parts of Polynesia.
286 One end of the netting cord is passed through the hole and knotted. The rest of the cord is wound longitudinally between the two slots; the knotted end prevents the cord from slipping off the needle when only a few longitudinal turns remain on it. The second type of netting needle (*tui* or *yuki*, fig. 44,*b*) is loaded by making a clove hitch on it at the point of the notch and just forward of the terminal knob (which prevents the clove hitch from slipping off the needle) with the free end of the netting cord. A length of about 30 inches is measured off and another clove hitch made round the needle. This process is repeated until a sufficient length of cord is attached to the needle, hanging from the terminal knob end in double lengths of about 15 inches. In using the needle, a double length of cord is slipped from the blunt point of the needle. When this length has been used up, a second length is slipped from the needle and the process is repeated as the netting advances. In slipping the cord from the needle, the clove hitch in the cord unties itself. Needles are made in various sizes to suit different sized meshes.

The *yika* gauge is a flat rectangular piece of wood scraped smoothly or a piece of turtle shell. A mesh gauge of turtle shell (C8131), used to make the flying-fish net in the museum collection is 3½ inches long, ⅞ inch wide and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The edges are polished smooth. Mesh gauges are of different sizes according to the size of mesh required.

TECHNIQUE

171 To make a net is *tui te kupenga*; a mesh is *mata kupenga*. The Puka-
227 pukan technique of netting (fig. 44, *c*) corresponds to the Samoan method
286 described by Buck (27, pp. 470-472) with one variation.

The netting needle is loaded and the required mesh gauge selected. An assistant holds a light supporting rod of wood around which the first meshes are made, the assistant judging their size by eye. This variation on Samoan starting technique is the same as the Manihikian technique save that a supporting rod replaces the supporting cord used in Manihiki. (See 29, p. 161, fig. 73.) When the Pukapukan netter has made the first row of meshes he transfers these meshes from the rod to a supporting cord. The ends of the cord are knotted and the cord looped round a stick placed in the ground or else round the toe of the netter. As each row is completed, the net is turned and successive rows are added by the same technique.

One Pukapukan method of narrowing bag nets is by the addition of extra meshes, the common Polynesian technique. A second method is by making a netting knot round two or more meshes. Thus in the bird net and in the flying-fish net described below, the bottom of the net is narrowed by gathering together under the thumb four successive meshes and making the netting knot round these four meshes together (fig. 44,*d*). The

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

171 method corresponds to the famous technique of "dropping meshes in the various rows" (27, p. 472); gathering together two or more meshes in one row to function as a single
227 mesh means that in the next row there will be fewer meshes with which to work, hence
282 the technique is equivalent to dropping meshes from subsequent working rows.

TYPES OF NETS

The seine net (*kupenga*) and the large hand fishnet (*tae yaeke*) have been
227 described (pp. 57-58). The flying-fish dip net (*tae malolo*) consists of a long
282 handle, a crossbar and framework (figs. 45,*a*, 46). Its use is described on
284 page 58.

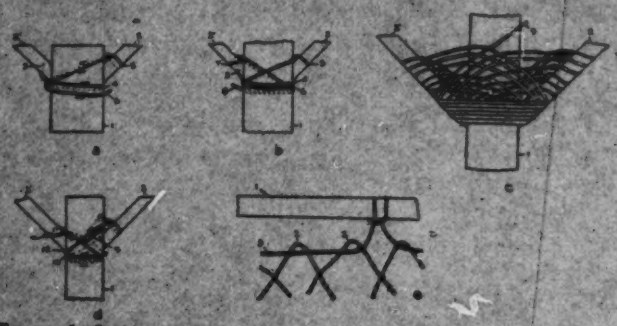

FIGURE 46.—Lashing of flying-fish net framework. *a*, commencement of lashing of stout rods (2, 2′) to handle (1): commencement end of sennit cord (3) laid on far side of left rod; cord brought around in front of handle and transversely (4) around to back, across to far side, then up diagonally across near side, passing between rod (2) and handle, across front of rod (5), then diagonally down far side of handle, passing around and across front of handle (6). *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (6) passes to back of handle, diagonally up and across to rod (2′), around front of rod (7), behind it and diagonally down and across front of handle, and around back of handle (8); this establishes lashing pattern, which is continued for about 12 or more complete diagonal turns passing to each rod. *c*, completed lashing pattern is here shown with six turns only; *d*, on top of pattern are superimposed four superior diagonal lashing turns; method of making turns shown here (inferior lashings omitted); free end of cord (9) passes diagonally down far side of handle, around to front (10), across handle, diagonally up far side (11), around rod (2′), diagonally down near side, around far side of handle again, up diagonally across near side (12) to rod (2), around this rod and diagonally down across far side of handle; lashing pattern is continued until there are two diagonal lashings up and down handle; finishing end of cord carried diagonally across near side of handle to rod (2), makes two transverse turns around rod and buries finishing end underneath these two turns; finished lashing is of neat and pleasing design. *e*, attachment of flying-fish net to frame: 1, rod of framework; 2, marginal net meshes; 3, marginal cord passes through meshes, then up to frame, making a clove hitch around rod, passing down to pick up more marginal meshes; process continued until all marginal meshes are picked up on cord, rod clove hitches 6 to 8 inches apart, free ends of cord wound round handle just below cross-lashing holding suspensory lashing of crossbar to handle; second cord passes through marginal meshes at proximal end of net and is fastened to stout rods above lashing of crossbar.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

227 The flying-fish practice net (*tae penu*) used by young men to catch pandanus keys thrown at them in practice sport is of similar shape to the flying-
286 fish net, but smaller.

It consists of a handle of *wetau* wood, 4 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, a crossbar 8 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter, and two stout rods of pandanus wood, 3 feet long, which are fastened to handle and crossbar, the ends bent close together and tied without the intermediary of lighter rods (*matai*) used in the flying-fish net frame. The
[214] lashings of framework and attachment of net to frame are similar to those of the flying-fish net. The practice net is made of the two-ply twisted fiber from the aerial roots of *yulu* pandanus. The net is 13 inches wide at the mouth, 18 inches deep.

223 The large bird net (*wuata*, fig.45,*b*) differs in shape from the flying-fish net.

The net framework is attached to the handle in such a way that the distal end of the framework rises at an obtuse angle from the plane of the handle. The distal point of the frame is 10 inches higher than the plane of the handle. The framework when viewed sideways presents the shape of an enlarged spatula. When the bird catcher brings down the net upon a flying or roosting bird, the net is reversed so that the distal end of the frame is lower than the plane of the handle. A bird flying from the net is more likely to be caught by the downward projecting spatula-shaped net than it would if the net frame were in the same plane as the handle. The frame and handle are made of light wood so that the net may be easily used in the tree tops. The net itself is made of fine two-ply twisted sennit.

TRAPS AND SNARES

136 Because the fauna of a coral atoll is extremely simple, there are in Puka-
223 puka only two types of bird snare and a form of the widely distributed western Polynesian rat trap.

224 The construction and operation of the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) are shown in figure 47. The trap is baited with mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) and set
[171] in a runway made by rats. The rat is removed by the owner of the trap, who resets the bait stick and spring mechanism.

The coconut-shell bird snare (*maunga kui*) is shown in figure 48,*a*. Another bird snare (*maunga tuli*), shown in figure 48,*b*, is set on the beach, weighted down with stones, and the birds driven through it.

225 Though not strictly traps or snares, wooden structures (*pa wonu*) in
231 which turtles are kept may be described in this context.

Stakes of *puapua* or *pukoma* wood, each about 5 feet long and 1 inch in diameter, are driven into the sea bottom a few yards from low water level of the beach. The stakes are arranged about 2 inch apart to form a rectangular enclosure 3 feet square, and 4 feet high. The stakes are bound together at top and bottom with horizontal poles and a continuous lashing which makes transverse turns round vertical and horizontal members. Baby turtles, caught as they emerge from their shells, are placed in these enclosures. They are fed regularly on squid and octopus until they are mature enough to be killed for a special food division. The size of enclosures observed varied according to the number of turtles placed within. An enclosure of the above size housed two turtles with shells about 12 inches long. Bigger structures contained five or more small

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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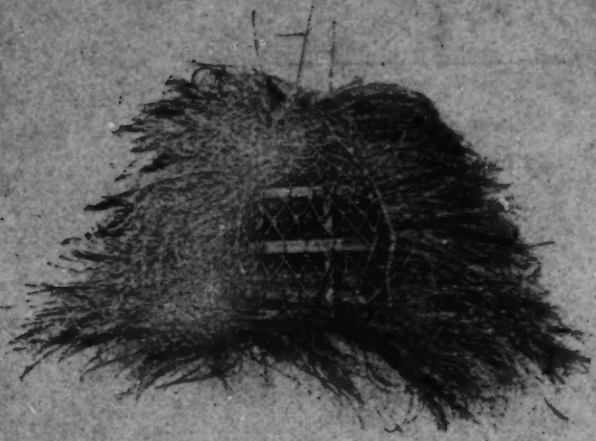

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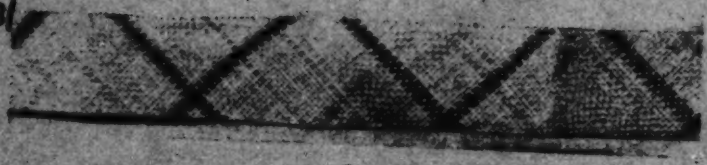

B

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HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Bengichole and Bengichole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pakapukas

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either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau wuti*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau kawa*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow Chiki has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2¾ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of fine material. Weft 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The sitting cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing weftes under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow Chiki is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2¾ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *kawaiu pakapuka* and fiber. Wefts 3 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

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Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Pennsen type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting strokes or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or symbolic of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

Mats and Sheets

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[171]

The technique of making the Pakapukan coconut mat sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pakapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

Baskets

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ala*) are made with two different commencements—the twined, two-strip commencement (29, p. 187, fig. 25) and the Pakapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twined two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twined over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinistral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two midrib strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127.133, figs. 14.17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a band.

285 leaf cloth for 6 rows. The dextrals are gathered together and braided in three-ply, and fastened with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter Cloth (*kaukau ana ika*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dextrals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plaiting closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 12 inches when dextrals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered welts from the other side.

Platter Cloth (*kaukau ana kaloi*) is a platter for serving the dish called *kaloi*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf cloth for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dextrals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

291 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-
285 leaf malo (*malo kaunia*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following malo is typical:

Malo Ch165 (*malo kaunia*) is made from a strip of width 13½ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3,*B*). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of 10½ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 12½ inches long and finished with an overhand knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 inches long on one side, 20 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

285 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ifi*) are made by the women and
293 used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, *B*, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (Ch170), *ifi kaunia kaasei ma te ilia*, is plaited in check with welts of *ilia* and *kaunia pakapaka* (pl.3,*A*,1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *pongapu* wood 14 inches long and 3½ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a shed is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *ilia* material, the width of the handle, is laid in this shed, passing underneath and back over the last element of the shed. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the shed on top of the *ilia*. The strip of *ilia* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *ilia* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then gripped by the crossing welts, as alternate elements forming the shed are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291/177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wakakaua*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalava*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8192 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293/283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or [764] was wound round the waist (*pepelu hi te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*haka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalava*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wakamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-8) 1938 Pukapukans

886 145 phrase *koe punis* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

561 881 864 The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village 561 meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the 881 parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and 291 make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

561 881 The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Nina, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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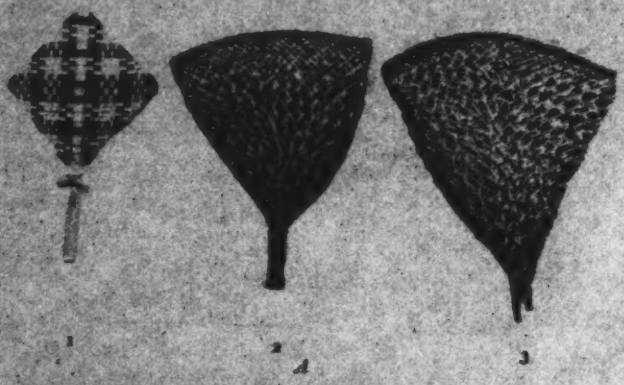

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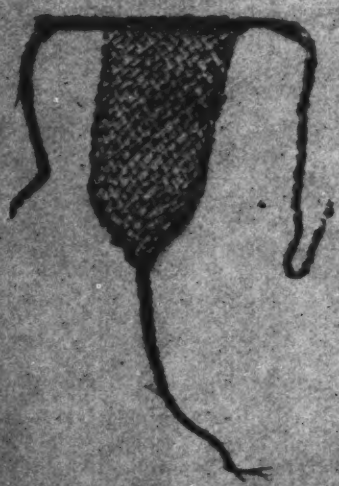

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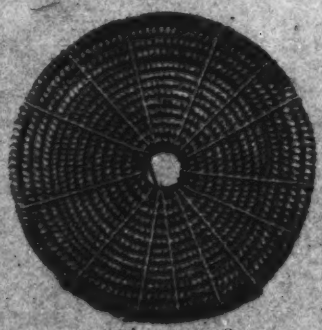


C

FANS AND MALOS. *A*, FANS: 1, PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAITED IN CLOSE CHECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ana*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo kawa*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3662. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1½ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo C8069. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made
178 as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiohiole* design. An
292 informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him when he attained sociological adulthood (*wokatane*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (3, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiohiole* design.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

283 sennit malos. Four-ply braid is not used for cordage. Braided sennit is termed *kawa*. Sennit made from the selected, long pieces of fiber is *kawa unu;* from unselected strands (*amo*), *kawa wili*. Ordinary three-ply braiding which produces a fairly long, loose braid is termed *kawa wili yaeyae* and is used for ordinary anchor line (*kawatau*) or fishline. Careful three-ply braiding, in which each twist of the plies is pulled very tight to form a close, round braid, is termed *kawa wili tuki;* when made of the long strands (*unu*), it produces especially strong braid used for strong fishlines and canoe lashings.

Braiding is always done toward the body. The commencement end of the plies is knotted and tied to a stake set in the ground before the worker or else coiled round the toe (*iko hi te mangamanga yae*). In three-ply braid, the outside plies are brought over the middle ply in succession, each ply taking in turn the middle position. A shortening or thinning ply is reenforced by direct overlapping on the specific ply affected or else by the addition of a new strand from below, the short end of which is folded back over the middle ply (fig.18.*b*). When it is temporarily abandoned, the braiding is stoppered by twisting plies together or by tying the two outer plies together with an overhand knot. Braiding is permanently finished by gradually reducing the size of the strands until they are very thin and then rolling the three plies together on the sole of the foot to produce about 3 inches of three-ply twist. Shreds of fiber (*wuhuwuhu*) left on the cord after braiding is finished are carefully cut off with a knife (*taku*) to give a smooth, neat appearance to the cord.

[804] Finished cord is measured by stretching it from tip to tip of outstretched arms across the chest. One such measurement is equal to a fathom (*ngawa*). When the worker has made a sufficient number of *ngawa* for his purposes, he winds the cord into a coil of fathom loops and stores it until needed. Lengths of cord for canoe lashings are made fairly short because the cord must be used uncoiled when lashing through holes in the canoe hull. Working coils for house lashings are made by winding the sennit over the back and palm of the hand. The sennit is taken from the hand, the free end is wound several times round the middle of the coil and fastened with half hitches. The commencement end is pulled from the center of the coil and the lashing started with this end. As the lashing proceeds the coil unwinds itself, but the coiling prevents the sennit from becoming tangled and hard to use.

Examples of three-ply braided cords for various purposes are:

Anchor line C8198 (*kawa tau*): three-ply braid, 6 mm thick, 11 mm wide. The plies thin down to 4 × 2 mm at the finishing end and are twisted into two plies (two plies being twisted as a single element) for 2½ inches and knotted.

Other lengths of braid used as deep-sea fishlines and anchor lines (C8197, C8199, C8198), have thicknesses of 4 × 7, 4 × 8, and 5 × 10 mm. They are all loosely braided pieces of sennit (*kawa wili yaeyae*).

Canoe lashing sennit C8103 (*kawa unu li taka*) is a flat three-ply braid, in which each ply is composed of 13 long coconut fibers. Short plies are lengthened by direct overlapping, the slight backward projection of the short end of the added strand being trimmed off later. The finished braid is 3 mm thick, 6 mm wide; the flatness and strength of this braid make it ideal for lashing together hull parts.

283 292 Five-ply (*wili lima*) braiding is reserved exclusively for the making of sennit malos (*kawa malo*). The braiding technique is similar to three-ply braiding save that the outer ply from either side crosses two plies instead

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

283 of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the
292 five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick. The commencement end (*hamatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¾ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wahaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kawa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3,*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kawa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

283 The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from
245 strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing band-
223 age (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ¾ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

283 Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uao* fiber
461 for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European
177 fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men
439 back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Clothing for Special Occasions

292 Both men and women wore special clothes for festivals. The dress of the man for sports contests consisted of the malo of pandanus or the malo of sennit, or both. A non-contestant might also wear a poncho-like garment called *la kupenga*, and a sennit malo with attached feathers. The sennit malo (*malo kawa*) and the pandanus malo (*malo kie*) are described elsewhere (pp. 133, 146). Both are worn for wrestling contests, formerly also in warfare. The sennit malo alone is worn for other contests like spear throwing. The method of donning the two malos (*pelu te malo*) is as follows:

First each fringed edge of the pandanus malo is turned in to make a longitudinal fold about ¾ inch deep. The malo is then folded longitudinally a second time along the mesial line so that the final width of the malo is about 3½ inches. An assistant takes the malo at the middle section and passes it round the waist from back to front crossing the two free ends above the navel. The malo is pulled tight; one free end is passed down over the genitals, through the legs, and brought up the back to hang over the shoulder. The other free end is brought up over the chest and also hung over the shoulder. The assistant takes the commencement end of the sennit malo, places this loop over the pandanus malo at the navel, and winds the sennit malo round the waist on top of the free end (thus burying it) and over the pandanus malo. Five or six transverse turns are made down, then a similar number of turns made up and over the first turns. The assistant continues to wind the malo round the waist until the twisted sennit end is reached. This end is passed down on the outside of the transverse turns, pushed under, and brought up underneath the transverse turns and over to the front again. The free end is pushed through and caught over the downward turn of the sennit cord, pulled tight, and the free end passed along the malo for about 8 inches, and bound round it again. This binding is continued until the transverse turns of the sennit malo are secure, the free end of the binding cord being fastened with a knot to the last transverse binding. One free end of the pandanus malo is now brought down from the front shoulder, passed down over the sennit malo, pushed up and underneath the sennit, then obliquely down and under again, continuing to bind the pandanus malo round the sennit malo until the middle of the back is reached, when the free end of the pandanus malo is tucked under the sennit. At the back, the second free end of the pandanus malo that has passed through the legs is similarly bound round the sennit malo and worked round to the front where the free end is tucked under the sennit malo. Depending on the length of the pandanus malo, the binding turns will be spaced or contiguous. For composite dart throwing contests, the sennit malo alone is girt on as described. One man always helps another to gird on either malo. An alternative method of donning the two malos is given by Macgregor (20, p. 48 and pl. 4).

292 There is a reference in a chant to a malo termed *malo kula*. Informants
285 could give little information about this garment, though they suggested it was not necessarily worn by the chief alone but might be worn by any man who was fortunate enough to own one. It consisted of the ordinary five-ply sennit braiding, but at each twist of the braiding, the quills of small red feathers were inserted and caught by this twist. The name of the bird from which the feathers were obtained had been forgotten.

292 Some braided five-ply malos were formerly made from human hair,
[265] possibly the hair of a beloved child who had died. Presumably these malos
1. [See 2: McGregor, pp. 48, 52-- Analyst.]

292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are
763 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
178 C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
797 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
285 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or
292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa uva*).
828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
787 fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
539 antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupa a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaevevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

292 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamanea* or *mea wakalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takave*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

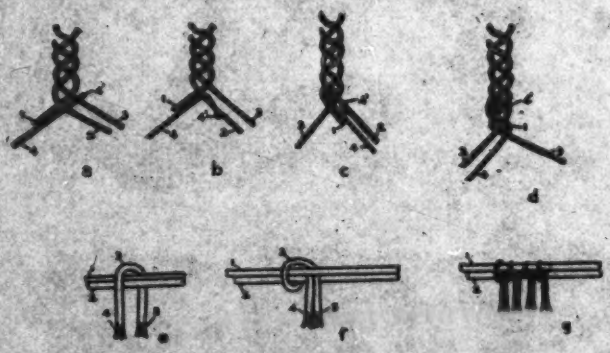
292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
643 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting
778 the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *welo* fiber (*epa welo*); that of Tua
776 for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa lauliki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of
828] the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata kawa* or *taumata aliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 Hat C8094 (*taumata kaula*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical
294 shape (pl. 4,*A*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ¾ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*lauhoua*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique
294 (*mata mahalehaka*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies hardly perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*amo*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*lauoale pukapuka*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Marshallese technique noted by Buck (29, p. 135, fig. 47).

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayou kotoua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamatuga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitongamuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *labau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

The *titi muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain skirt of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292/294 girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *nuko uala* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tumotumuko*, *lahou yili*, *polu puka*, and *moile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

293 301 Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nou* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nou* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uuo* fiber were termed *uuo titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to [764] give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

301 431 Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

301 Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puha* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa clo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puha a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puha* tree of Tangi,
Wakauia ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts,
753 but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
577 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by
753 incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yunenge o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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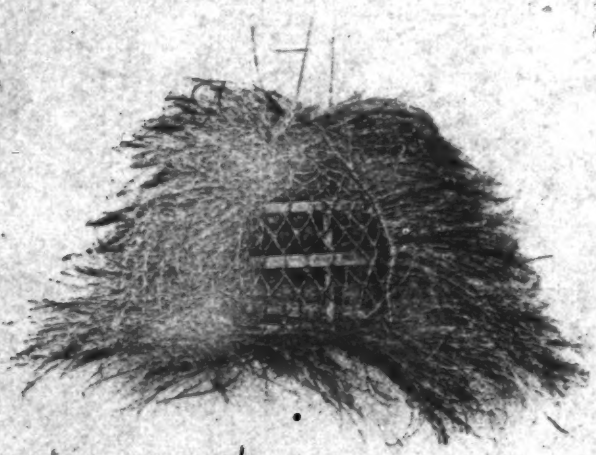

A

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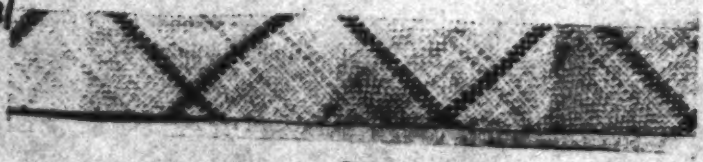

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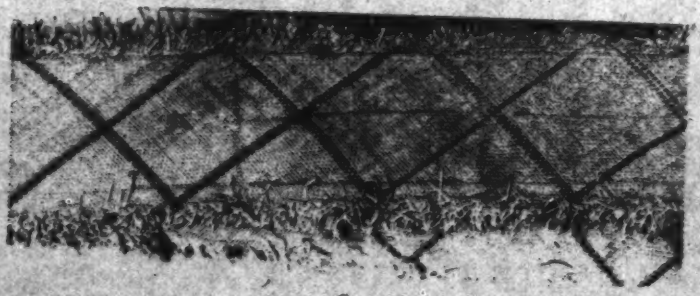

C

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
526, 292

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of wrestling competitions and the wrestler's malo, see p. 48.]

Z;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been re-enforced by new posts.

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PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.

285 leaf check for 6 rows. The dextrals are gathered together and braided in three-ply, and fastened with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter Cb86 (*lauiau ana iko*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dextrals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plaiting closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 12 inches when dextrals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered wefts from the other side.

Platter Cb180 (*lauiau ana lolei*) is a platter for serving the dish called *lolei*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf check for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dextrals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

291 285 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-leaf malo (*malo kaunia*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following malo is typical:

Malo Cb165 (*malo kaunia*) is made from a strip of midrib 13½ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3,*B*). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of 10½ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 12½ inches long and finished with an overhand knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 inches long on one side, 20 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

285 293 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ifi*) are made by the women and used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, *B*, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (Cb170), *ifi kaunia kanoni* or *ti ifio*, is plaited in check with weftn of *ifio* and *kaunia pokapoko* (pl.3,*A*,1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *puapua* wood 14 inches long and ¾ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a shed is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *ifio* material, the width of the leaflets, is laid in this shed, passing underneath and back over the last element of the shed. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the shed on top of the *ifio*. The strip of *ifio* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *ifio* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is thus gripped by the crossing wefts, as alternate elements forming the shed are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

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The new functioning left edge of the fan is now plaited and the top edge finished off with the customary mat finishing technique (*ihiikinga*), the projecting sinistrals being cut off flush with the top. The dextrals are pushed underneath crossing wefts and cut off close to the right edge of the fan. The free ends of the *lito* strip are tied round the handle with a double overhand knot to prevent the fan from coming off the handle when in use.

Coconut-leaf fans of characteristic Polynesian shape, base of triangle at the top, apex at the bottom, are made either with midribs to which the leaflets are attached or else with leaflets stripped from the midrib.

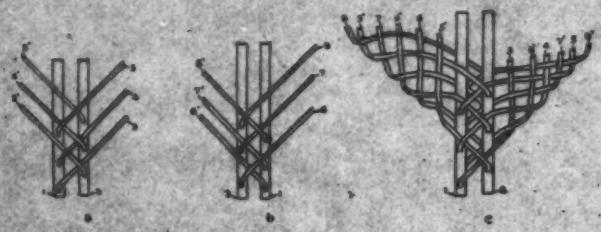

FIGURE 17.—Commencement of coconut-leaf fan (*ili yukuyuku*). *a*, midrib strips (1, 2) shown with only three upper leaflets on each to avoid confusion: leaflet 3 carried across to opposite side, opposing leaflet 3′ being carried across to its opposite side on top of leaflet 3; leaflet 4 carried across, and right leaflet 4′ similarly carried across, passing on top of leaflet 4; similarly with leaflets 5, 5′; each leaflet crosses alternately until all are crossed. *b*, under leaflets of midrib cross as in *a*: midribs turned over so that left midrib (1) is to right and right midrib (2) is to left; each leaflet crosses alternately from either side as in *a*; leaflet 6, which is under leaflet corresponding to 3, crosses over leaflet 6′, corresponding to leaflet 3′. *c*, establishment of plaiting stroke: leaflet 3 from midrib 1 carried across and given forward half turn to engage with leaflet 6′ which has come across from underneath and is itself given a forward half turn to engage with leaflet 4 from midrib 1; similarly with leaflets 7′, 8′ and leaflet 5; on other side, leaflet 3′ engages with leaflet 6, leaflets 4′, 5′ with leaflets 7, 8 from opposite side; plaiting continued by carrying across all leaflets on either midrib to opposite side and plaiting in closed leaf check; when body of plaiting is large enough, top edge finishes with ordinary pandanus-mat finishing technique.

Fan C8174 (*ili yukuyuku*) is made from two pieces of midrib cut from the tip end of the coconut leaf (pl.3,*A*,3). Each midrib is 13 inches long. The left midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 8 on the other; the right midrib has 9 leaflets on one side, 7 on the other. In the finished fan, the butt ends of the midribs form the handle. Commencement and establishment of plaiting stroke are shown in figure 17. The fan is plaited in closed leaf check. At the top, each closed leaf is split into two and the finishing edge is plaited with five rows of check. Commencing with the top left corner, the edge is finished with the common mat technique (*ihiikinga*), the projecting sinistrals cut off; the free ends of the dextrals are cut off on the line where each weft was previously split into two. The fan is neat and compact, the *ihiikinga* finishing technique providing a strong, slightly curved finishing edge. This fan is 16½ inches long, 15½ inches wide across the top.

The same technique is employed with individual leaflets. The required number of leaflets, depending on the size of the fan, are stripped from the tip of the midrib and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 290 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ikilkinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl.3,*A*,2). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan C8189 (*ili yaeyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wao* tree. *Wao*[8] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and [301] quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yano*) are hung from the neck.

Wao fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wowole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the *wao* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pokai*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vale*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wao*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*wayiwayi*) into narrow widths (*yako*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 412 Appliances used in *wao* bark preparation are:

Scraping board C8047 (*papa vale wao*) is a board of *puapua* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1¼ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper C8046 (*hoti*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 3¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber C8132 (*titi wao*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wao* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[8] The tree is *wao*; fiber prepared from its bark, *wao*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291 177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wokakoun*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalava*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8190 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 285 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or [764] was wound round the waist (*pepeke hi te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalava*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wakamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead,
292 and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle
793 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long
726 *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the
613 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamanuga was also called *oumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or
302 another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or
832 waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for
293 decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko uwla* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maila* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 The *titi muko uwla* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young
leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split
294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain bandband of *mako uale* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tauwatowado, labou yili, pola pubu*, and *mailo* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *sow* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uno* fiber were termed *uno titi si*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basic garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38.3) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

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Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei libi si*) is shown in figure 19.a. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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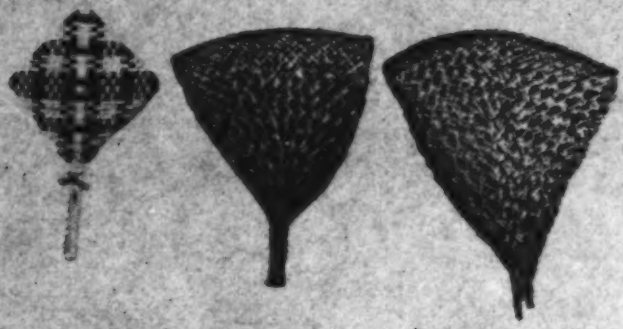

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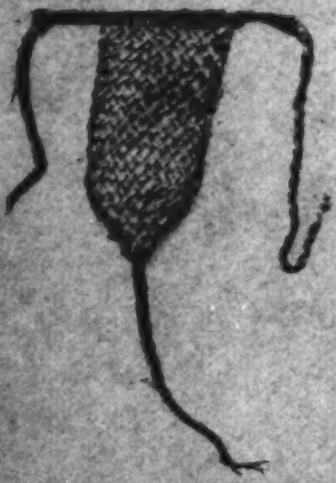

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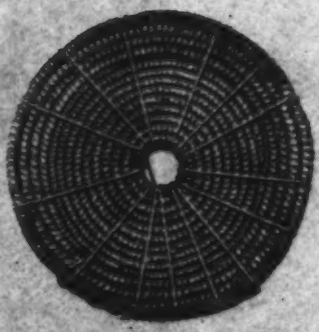

C

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FAXE AND MALOE. *A*, FAXE: 1, PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED CHECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291 177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wakakowu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu toukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalowu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C81ps conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these 283 girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or was wound round the waist (*pepelu hi te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

[764]

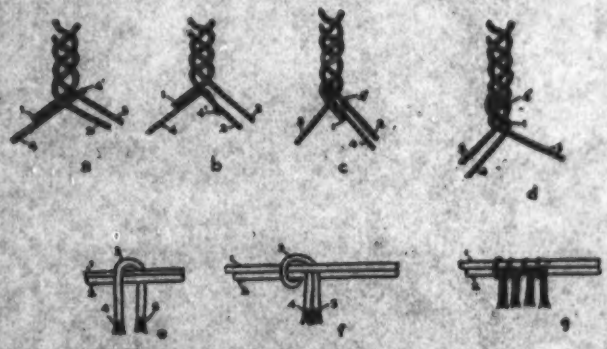
291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kako niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalowu*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wahanalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat C8094 (*taumata kawa*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4,*d*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ⅜ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*lauhuwa*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



289 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*matu mahalakaka*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*aue*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*lauwala pakapaka*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Manihikian technique noted by Buck (29, p. 138, fig. 47).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uvlo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *oumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupaga. Two strips of red-dyed *uvlo* bark (*uuti uvlo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulea*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uvlo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uvlo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tusa and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *oumanga pukayau hotuvu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyua. It consisted of the usual *uuti uvlo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tusa was associated with the goddess Tusa. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupuaga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Tusa had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Tusa donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Tusa had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalonga and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alougaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *waiti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

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The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumonga*, but was associated with Te Mamagatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

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ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

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Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 302 832

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

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For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *nuko uula* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lahau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau waiti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *uaile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

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The *titi nuko uula* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain handband of *mako mola* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamanhomaho*, *lahau yili*, *pola pahu*, and *mailo* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *nuo* fiber were termed *nuo titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basic garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

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Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei libi ui*) is shown in figure 19,a. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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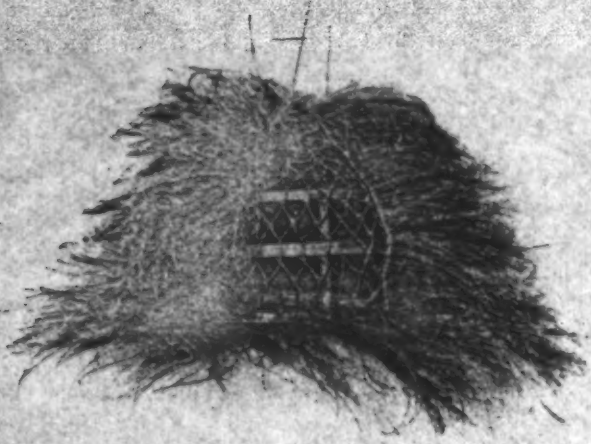

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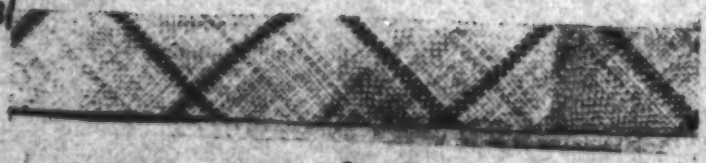

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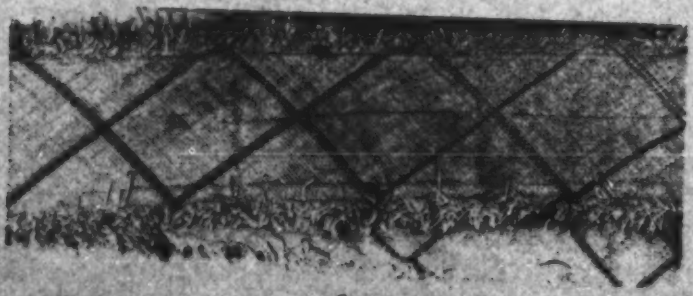

C

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

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285' 290 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ibihinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl.3,*A,2*). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan CB:89 (*iti yuyuo*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *paluko* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wau* tree. *Wau*[a] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and [301] quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yana*) are hung from the neck.

Wau fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wawale*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the *wau* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pokei*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vale*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wau*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*vapiuyi*) into narrow widths (*yako*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 412 Appliances used in *wau* bark preparation are:

Scraping board CB:97 (*papa vale wau*) is a board of *pauyau* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper CB:96 (*hoti*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 2¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber CB:32 (*iti wau*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wau* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[a] The *wau* is *wauo* (bar prepared from the bark, *wau*.

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Wela* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *uati uele* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yanoanga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Managatu and Taliongamalu. It consisted of the *uele* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *uele* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *uele* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*iini*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *uuko uuia* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *tauwahowako*, or *pola puko*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uati*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *uaile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*moilongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*iini*) are worn over the customary basic garment.

The *iini uuko uuia* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain mat of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *ouko uale* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamatoromako*, *lakau yili*, *pola puka*, and *ouale* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uno* fiber were termed *nau titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[744]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. *Leis* (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

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Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

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301 type, termed *taumanea*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of *wae*. There is no example of the *taumanea* on the atoll today, but Talaingo reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *taumanea*.

301 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yoss*) shown in figure 19*b*, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for
643 ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yoss* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (24,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the uncut hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (10,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Pukapuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to uncut hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

Ear Ornaments

301 Ear ornaments are termed *tuhaveveenga*. The ear lobes of an infant
304 are pierced with a bone of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf. A piece of *pukasu* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*tuhaveveenga ngaipu talinga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19*c*) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Pukapukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *hakalisi* is made by levering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*hakalisi*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

Head Ornaments

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *pili*; a headband is a *putiki*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*hawpua*) of the pandanus tree

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into thin strips which are then braided into a three-ply braid long enough to go round the head, the two free ends knotted together. The chaplet is sweet-smelling and is a favorite with both children and adults.

The coconut fiber fringes used to decorate the net hat of the chief are also worn separately as part of the decorative costume of Yato village. The fringe is fastened to a strip of pandanus leaf which is tied round the forehead. Fringes are fastened round the brim of the modern hat. The decoration is sometimes completed by more fringes worn round the neck and across the breast.

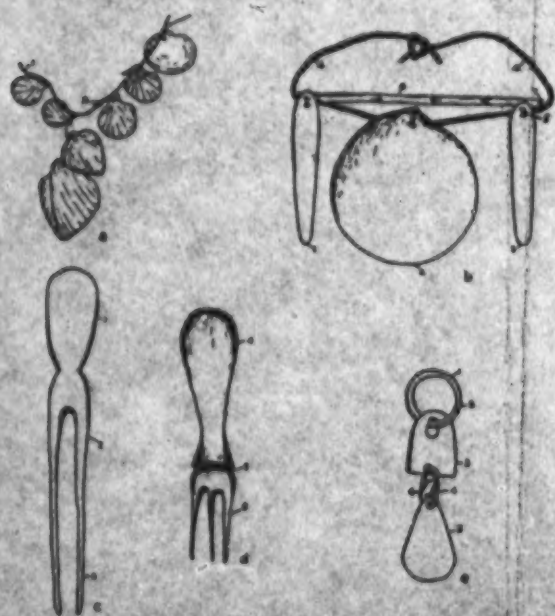

FIGURE 19.—Ornaments. *a*, section of shell neck ornament (*pei kiki ui*): original (CB158) consists of 32 small shells (*Pinctada*; *Chlamys*; *Cardium fragum*; and *Codakia*, *Jagonia bella*); *Chlamys* are mainly yellow (some pink), *Pinctada* mottled blue and green, and other shells white; necklet cord (1), 54 inches long, made of two-ply twisted tuo cord 1 mm in diameter; holes bored in hinges of shells attached to necklet cord by single-ply strand of twisted tuo fiber (2), passing through hinge holes and making transverse turns around necklet cord. *b*, pearl-shell breast ornament (*pauu*) (CB155): two side pendants (1, 3) of polished gold-lipped shell are shaped like a composite hook pearl-shell shank; shank (1) 4 inches long, ¼ inch thick at distal end, ⅜ inch thick at

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301 proximal end; shank (3) 3⅜ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ⅜ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; center shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¾ inches, greatest width 3⅜ inches, thickness at hinge ¼ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ⅛ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6⅝ inches long, ¾ inch wide, ⅜ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted sennit cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yelu*) (C8034) with two teeth (*matalua*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9¾ inches long; handle (1) averages ½ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at 2, ⅜ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*matatolu*) (C8035) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1½ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅞ inches long and average ⅜ inch thick. *e*, earring (*mahaverevega*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (C8140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅜ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at 2 so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 5/16 inch high, ¼ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c*,*d*). The two-pronged comb (*yelu mata lua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yelu mata tolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*punga*), coral conglomerate (*haupapa*), and coral pebbles (*kikili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

PATHS

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 287 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangalula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga a Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [301] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

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776 shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
301 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie*
613 may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
[312] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head
776 covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad
822 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
776 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
193 ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
776 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
613 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nesu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *kinaki* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu kalokalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamotomoto* or *niu mato* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *kinaki* of *liholiko* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *kinaki* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuoi*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu vukalilihi*; to grate coarsely, *vulu vuhopatapato*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tuvanga*) and wrung (*kuku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*otu*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

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[515]

Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

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1. *Valihonga*: *yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *nonu*, or *moile* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Yinu tutu*: *yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Yinu takataka tutu*: the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*ale*) on the *punga takatala* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

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All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valihonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau kotaua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *kupenga yo*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Aua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle
292 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the
793 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of
776 which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this
613 turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or
302 waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist
832 as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

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292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake
293 make their decoration of *muko wula* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *polo puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 The *titi muko wula* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split
294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*tito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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301 proximal end; shank (3) 3⅜ inches long, ¾ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ⅜ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; center shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¼ inches, greatest width 3⅜ inches, thickness at hinge ¾ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ⅛ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6⅝ inches long, ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted sinnet cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yelu*) (C8034) with two teeth (*matalua*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9⅝ inches long; handle (1) averages ½ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at 2, ⅛ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*matatolu*) (C8035) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1½ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅞ inches long and average ¼ inch thick. *e*, earring (*mahaverevenga*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (C8140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅜ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at 2 so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 5/16 inch high, ¾ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c*,*d*). The two-pronged comb (*yelu mata lua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yelu mata tolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*punga*), coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), and coral pebbles (*kilikili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

Paths

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Puka pukans

643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te uale ya*
782 *o te mayakitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayakitanga* was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *welo* berries, a headband of *welo* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki yokio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Uī", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*unu*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tabus te tui*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
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> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia[20] wai mali wunin | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wowolo te wawa | Let the talo tubers grow big |
> | Kia tuituagatunga | (Addressing the *mayakitanga*) Beckon to the god (thus he may answer this request) |
> | Kia matolu te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (fecus) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ulo te wawa | Until the land stinks |
> | Kawa ye te tangata | Countless the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayakitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Kon tauyala wua hoe ki zuza" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayakitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leowi* or *tauie*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her
[302] skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
643 choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *ouiu*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayakitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*makuyawa*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[20] *Kia*, an archaic particle used in proffering requests to the god.

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

575 302 [572] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*vuluwulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvalu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tanetane*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 262 5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *kinabi* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu halohalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamoiomoto* or *niu matu* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *kinabi* of *likoliko* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *kinabi* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu wakatiliki*; to grate coarsely, *vulu wakapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tauonga*) and wrung (*kuku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Valikonga*: *yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *nonu*, or *maile* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Yinu tutu*: *yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Yinu takataka tutu*: the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*olo*) on the *purga tulatala* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
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> Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Puniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the puniwi fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Puniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

> Stone throwing (*hawa hi te wutu*) or stone clubbing (*futu hi te wutu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.
>
> When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.
>
> If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamayori*, *tapenpen*, *tautau-*

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301 type, termed *taumanea*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of *aua*. There is no example of the *taumanea* on the atoll today, but Talainga reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *taumanea*.

301 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yona*) shown in figure 19,*b*, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for
643 ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yona* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (24,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the uncut hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (10,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Pukapuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to uncut hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

Ear Ornaments

301 Ear ornaments are termed *unkasvovenga*. The ear lobes of an infant are pierced with a bone of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf.
304 A piece of *pukana* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*unkasvovenga ngoipu talinga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19,*e*) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Pukapukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *kahaiwi* is made by levering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*kahaiwi*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

Head Ornaments

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *piki*; a headband is a *putiki*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*kaupua*) of the pandanus tree

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*makama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 350 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig. 1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig. 1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
381 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
103 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
164 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church
423 and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nhua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
931 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches
621 the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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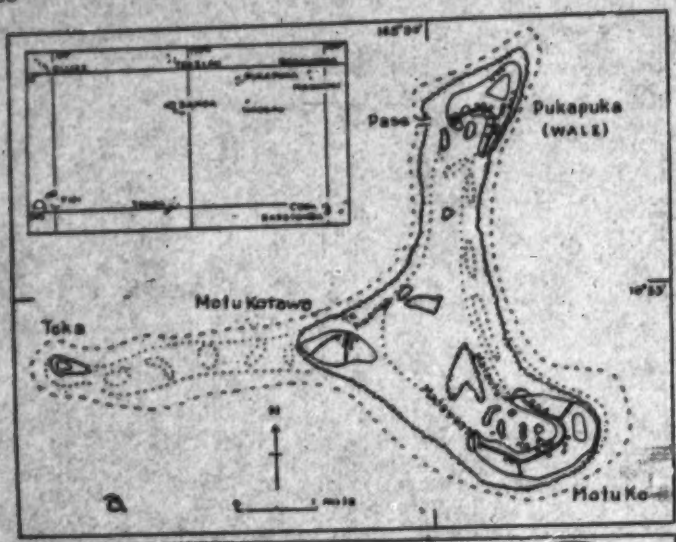

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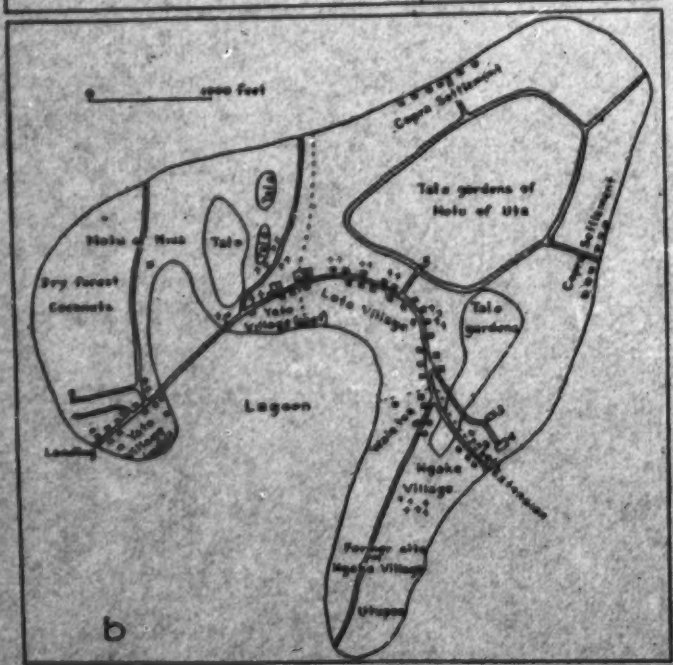

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[314] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *kaus* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kaus i te tauas lalo*) are: Te Pu, Taikaiana, Te Wale-i-te-kilikili, Te Auna. Four divisions (*na kaus i te tauas ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wale-kakala, Te Wale, Te Pungua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land west of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
341 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
428 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among
individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

Each section (*kaus*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
433 *yilanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
613 eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
692 lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency
is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or
remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections
on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds
or be said to own house sites on the lots.

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living 144
away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a 141
series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the 142
observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ 131
W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor 167
is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which 131
together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). 311●
The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the 134
western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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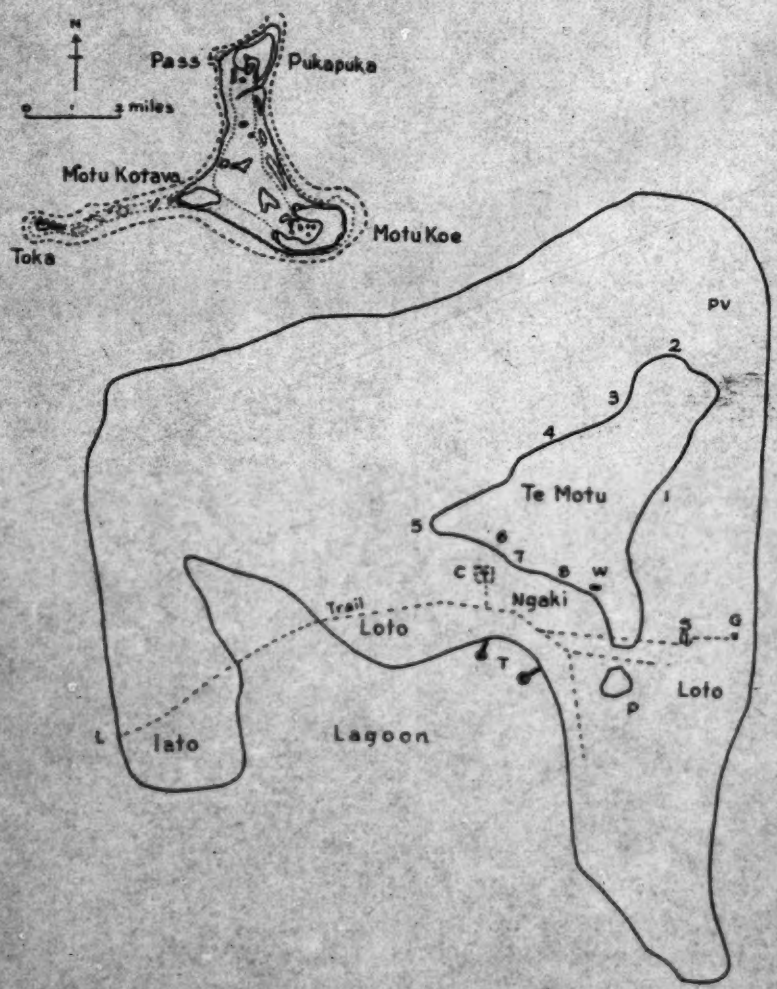

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows:

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign
805 for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
132 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
221 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina ya*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lalei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo
312 turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coconuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

221 [312] and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep
315 holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel,
241 and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and
137 bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Puka-
137 puka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond
324 Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

43 423 245 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 613 178 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mīimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 423 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 423 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[371]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola lausiu*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
312 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
284 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
171 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uka*); the method of passing the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yuki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yinshi lau*), the short midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tola*) some roof
284 sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*pa pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not dovetailed as in the *ato yinshi lau* method. The *ato tola* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yinshi* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more nearly waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yinshi* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola tamaui*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by supporting them with a lifting pole (*taka pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola tamatio*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*tahipau tamatio*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 28-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*hatihati te tahitahi uaia*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reinforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Wells

312/332 535 Deep wells dug close to the beach were always faced with coral slabs. Shallow wells, 1 or 2 feet deep, were not faced unless they were in constant use. Slabs at the bottom of the well were stood on edge and forced into the sand; the sand was dug out inside these upright slabs and the bottom of the well paved with coral gravel. Above water level, the sides of the well were faced with horizontal slabs set one above the other. The edge of the well at ground level was faced with especially large blocks of stone to give a firm foothold to the drawer of water and to ensure that the top of the well would not cave in.

226 Figure 20.—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village: walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish swept into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*afa ika*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

Stone fishweirs are found in the reef shallows opposite the northwest beach of Wale, between the beach and the reef passage. One weir is about 100 yards from the beach and consists of stones piled in line to make an enlarged W-shape; the second weir is close to the beach and consists of stones forming a W-shaped trap contiguous with a second trap in the shape of a large square-bottomed U (fig.20,*a*). The weirs face north and south; the exits are at the northern end, that is, at the points of the W and at the two sides of the bottom of the U. The ebbing tide sweeps through the weirs on its way out over the reef and carries the fish along into the weirs blocked with hand scoop nets.

A combination stone and coconut-sweep weir (fig. 20,*b*) is built in the small lagoon indentation cut off from the main lagoon by the causeway that joins the two sections of Yato village. The fisherman seated on the causeway is able to block the exit of the weir with a scoop net.

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill.

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The pump drill (sow) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reinforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

[177]

To drill is also sow. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukamo* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
844 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukamo* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukamo* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukamo* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakauiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
725 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, maloa, sleeping mats—is
168 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
072 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 Formerly wood was too precious for any man to risk failure and wastage of wood by building a canoe himself; and today, when most men consider themselves fairly skilled with the iron adz blade, the tendency is for the layman to make for himself only a rough dugout, retaining the services of the expert for his plank canoe. The following men are considered the expert canoe builders on the island today: in Ngake village, Tiele, Iti, Iliilia, Te Ingoa, Tualai, Veti; in Loto village, Pau and Nawaui; in Yato, Tuli. The men of the Ngake group are all related. Iliilia and Tualai began as helpers (*kou wainga*) to Pau and Te Ingoa. They have since set themselves up as independent experts. Iti has just finished his first plank canoe which is generally conceded to be of the first quality. Hence Iti will soon be given his first commission, probably by a relative. Nawaui is now too old to build canoes himself, but gives advice when required and is generally considered to have passed into the class of consulting experts. Tuli is the only man of his [501] family group who is an expert. The largest canoe on the island (60 feet long, 13 seats) was built by Te Ingoa, believed by some to be the cleverest builder on the atoll today.

In general, a craftsman draws his assistants from his sons, brothers, or relatives, who serve voluntarily and are taught by the master all the skills of the craft, thus keeping the knowledge within the same family group. The assistants begin by sharpening the edges of the adzes as these are blunted and handed to them by the experts. They are given small jobs such as roughing out the shape of the stern piece, or making the preliminary adzing of the hull interior. Later they graduate to the more difficult finishing and fitting jobs where much skill is required to avoid bungling and wastage. In order to become a master, an apprentice must make himself a plank canoe. People come to watch his work, closely examine it from stage to stage, and entrust their own work to the would-be master craftsman only if the completed canoe passes a final criticism.

322 The chief craftsman directs all his assistants and is solely responsible
313 for the completed canoe. He selects from the bush the principal tree for the hull and the other trees necessary for hull and superstructure. The felling and rough trimming of these trees is done in the bush. Bark is removed and sections of trunk with short grain are set aside for the canoe hull, sections with longer grain for superstructure. Formerly the hull was roughly shaped in the bush by firing and adzing. Today this is done by adzing
322 only and the hull is carried or hauled to the shady place near the beach which has been set aside as a workshop. The place Matatoki on Loto beach was a well-known canoe-building yard in former days. Each expert has his own favorite workyard (*tanga waka*) where canoe timbers may be slowly seasoned in the shade before use. Today the owner has his canoe built near his own house that he may more directly oversee the workmen's

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hamati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the bark of the stick. Place the *hamati* on this place, the name of which is *ikenga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patumate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*mahamati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
313 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
762 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

* In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three blind brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Mauikatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

776 Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

613 Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general

313 duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its

241 nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale [262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776 Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776 Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the

821 four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*taka hi langa o te ulu*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

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Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ai*) and fertilizing (*sukalapo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

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The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukamu* leaves, *lau kotauu* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukamu* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukamu* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

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In the old days a little dryland talo (*kapu*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Taki te tiapapala: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, kua tupu te aka o te waewa: 1st day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, kua vala te lau: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, kua kua te lau o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po ongaulu, kua vala te lau waewa: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Tuapao aba, kua kua kua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua vala uai te tuku o te lau: (13th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua kua tuku: (14th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua kua wa: (21st day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua kua lima: (25th day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakalaungawili: (30th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua tuaki te kua kua, kua vyi, kua tupu uai ahi te kua kua, kua ono kua tuku, kua ahi: (35th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua atauto hi langa: (40th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ahi kua hi langa: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua tuku te ulu: (1st month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua matapo te waewa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Ohu hi te vavaaga o te waewa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua kiel, kua matauto: (5th and 6th months) the corm is mature and large.

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341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
154 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the
midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these
double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*vaw kaunuku* or
322 *pepale kaunuku*) by passing them around an upright stick (*takau vaw kaunuku*). The
leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pekei kaunuku*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
285 over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are
bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A
sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so
that the coconut leaf midribs (*kaunuku*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position
on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pale kaunuku*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
386 *vaikayanaua* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12
inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts
are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to
these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the
tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise
and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor
with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved
(*vaikaule fou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped
out (*vaikaiula*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*vaikahowa*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *vaikayanaua* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles,
the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are sup-
ported at their upper, middle edges by two or three cassia cords spaced
[171] equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Venu-

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Pisato	6' 7"	2'	12¼"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Pakumaiuma	4' 5"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua wonu) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Ella	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scraped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (lau) of the uuala variety is termed *lito*, and from the yulo variety, *lauulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and husks is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

314 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua iri*) on its back (*hoa yiyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is termed *tua*, the front, *aloalo* or *vakvaka*. When the fire has burned
372 down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*hoa lala te lito hi longa o te ouri*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*vahomumuha te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yoyalo te lito hi te nguipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spikes of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yojini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side inward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pokai*) by winding one leaf
285 on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 12 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *laumilu* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spikes are trimmed off (*yiyi lau ua mata tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf strips are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*lauhie*) used for mats; the two strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hie ouro*) used for plaiting mats. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*vahomangalo i te yua*). They are then dried in the shade (*hoea lau tatau he pakapaka i loto o te uaia*), and smoothed (*yojini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*hoea lau vahala he vaumuha*) and rolled into large bundles (*pokai*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, termed *laumalo pakapaka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond
177 exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *papa* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-221). Plaiting elements are either single (*longa tai*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*longa lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*hale payua* or *manin payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*hale*). The other end (*halehale*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [483] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float. 226

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *hale* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *halehale* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*mapumpe*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *halehale* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are large piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngali(payua)* which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*uwa ai*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped 321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yayenga*, *pipi hale*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), taro scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*ahi*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of 126 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising 262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *matuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *runa* (a

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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most end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it gripe poll of ada, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of ada to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

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The pump drill (1008) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reenforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

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To drill is also tuai. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 A craftsman took great care of his drill. He rubbed the shaft, crossbar and balance smooth with coral, smoked the wood over the cooking fire and oiled it afterward with coconut oil. The fortunate possessor of a drill with an iron guard point guarded his instrument jealously because as a time saver it was of the greatest value to him.

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Awl.

322 The shell awl (*yuki vaka*), a shell *Terebra cranulata*, was used for making holes in a canoe hull or washstrake where the drill could not be used, or for enlarging holes made by the drill. (See p. 173.) The use of coral mallets for hammering caulking wedges is also described in that context.

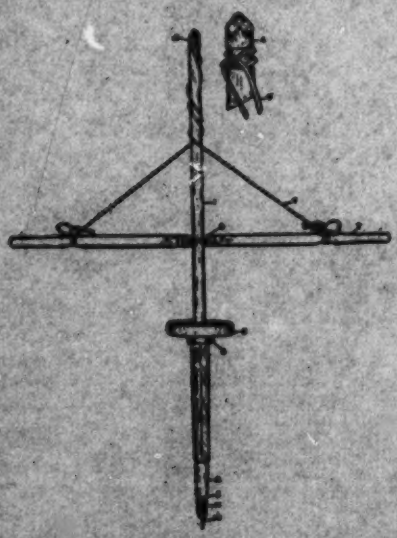

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FIGURE 22.—Pump drill, uwa (C8124): 1, shaft (*lakau tu*) of *uwiau* wood 2 feet 8 inches long, round in cross section and ¾ inch in diameter above balance, square-sided below with sides ⅝ inch wide; 2, distal end of shaft is round, ½ inch in diameter, narrowing to distal point (3) ⅜ inch in diameter; 4, head (*u'u uwa*) of shaft blunt and notched to receive pump cord (*uha uwa*); 5, balance (*petaka*), 4 inches in diameter and ⅜ inch thick, cut from same block of wood as shaft; 6, secondary balance 1½ inches square, ½ inch thick; 7, crossbar (*lakau uwa*) of *wahenuwa* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, has wide groove (8) to fit against shaft; each end also grooved to receive ends of pump cord; 9, pump cord of two-ply twisted sennit, fastened with clove hitch to head of shaft and to each end of crossbar; 10, point (*uata*) section of iron forced into end of shaft and lashed tight with 11 transverse turns of three-ply sennit braid; 11, buried commencement and finishing ends.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done
322 with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood. The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a
177 piece of *kaua* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *ui*. Other bivalve shells of about the
321 same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *ui* with an added adjective, as in *ui pakayau alango*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the tentacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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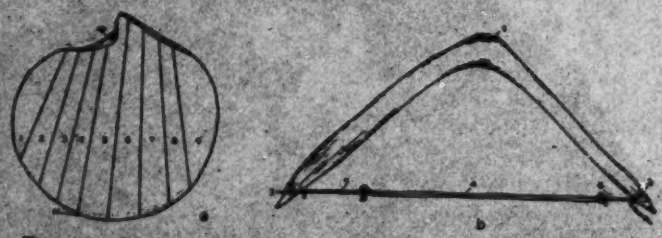

Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11); preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tauu*; 2, *patauu*; 3, *pa hi te uua*; 4, *uyolotu*; 5, 6, 7, *uyoloto*; 8, *iyumotu*; 9, *okoua*. *b*, shell file (*kauua*) of shark skin (C8037): 1, frame, small branch of *uakaatu* wood with limbs 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of limbs pointed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of limbs three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*itu ui*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (fig. 23, *a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito points.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*hauana*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut
281 into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *hauana ole* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *hauana uenga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uui hare*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
522 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
511 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

The single-piece dugout (*poti pukauna*) does not seem to be an old style
171 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
501 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested
322 that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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through a hole (*pu pa*) in the thick proximal end of the shank, and seized (*pulinnga*) by a lashing thread (*alaala*) passing from the proximal hole of the point to the shank head. The distal end of the shank on the underneath side is cross-hatched (*kotikoti*) to prevent the point-shank lashings from slipping, and filler sticks (*tua niu*), short pieces of cocoanut leaflet midrib, are pushed underneath the point-shank lashings on either side of the point base to steady the point on the shank.

The following description of the type Pukapukan bonito hook (fig.40) is summarized from an examination of 28 Pukapukan bonito hooks, 11 of these in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 17 in the field. Terminology employed for parts of the hook is that established by Buck. Lashings are described with the hook horizontal, point to the right, shank head to the left.

FIGURE 40.—Type Pukapukan bonito hook (C8:88): point (1) of gold-lipped shell, beveled at functional point, bend, and outer angle; proximal lashing (2) and snood (3) pass through proximal hole (4); oblique lashing turns on back of shank (5); lashing thread (6), after overhand binding knot around proximal lashing, makes two turns through head hole (7) and proximal hole (4); after last turn through proximal hole, thread enters snood (3) and its previous turns through head hole; lower threads occasionally left on for short distance and then included again in seizing of snood; toward head, lower threads (6') dropped and seizing continues to head hole; head lashing (8) consists of transverse turns around snood and through head hole, bound with circumferential turns; seizing of snood continues for about 1 inch above head hole (9); distal lashing (10) of point fixes hackle (11) with oblique transverse turns; half hitch binding (12) of distal lashing; thread passes around distal end of point; makes another binding around far side distal lashing, loop knotted (13) and cut to make secondary hackle (14); hackle (11) consists of number of fine threads of *uso*; filler sticks (15) of cocoanut leaflet midrib pass under both lashings on near and far sides; shank 3¾ inches long; greatest width of head ⅜ inch, height of head ½ inch; width at tail ⅜ inch; thickness of tail ⅝ inch; length of filler sticks 1¾ and 1½ inches; length of point base ⅜ inch; thickness of point ⅛ inch.

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The shank is made of strips of shell cut radially through the shell so as to include part of the hinge at one end. The shank length ranges from 3 to 4¾ inches. The length of the hinge-head section in relation to the total length of the shank varies according to the size and thickness of the part of the shell from which the shank is cut. In the hooks examined, length of the hinge-head section of the hooks ranges from ¾ to 3 inches (fig. 41). The width of the tail end of the shanks ranges from ¼ to ⅝ inch, thickness from ⅛ to 3/16 inch.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front of the shank, the rough outer surface of the shell, the back of the shank. The back is sometimes longitudinally flat, more often convex with a slight transverse convexity also. It is ground down to remove the dull rough material and to bring out a clear shiny iridescent or golden surface toward the distal end of the tail. Different surfaces are described in the ordinary color terms: *tua melo toto*, a deep gold shank back; *tua kena*, a light iridescent color; *tua fula*, a pronounced rainbow iridescent color.

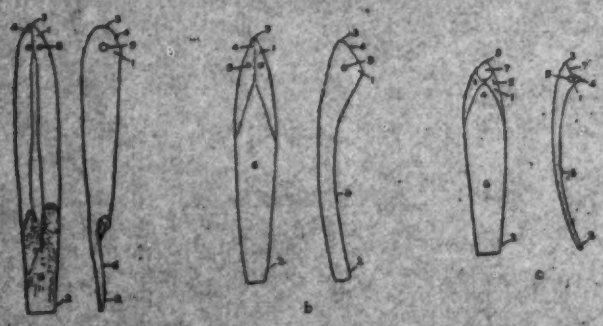

FIGURE 41.—Variation in bonito hook shanks, front and side views. *a*, long shank (Cb216) with mesial ridge, slight grinding of head end, short tail section; *b*, type shank (Cb187) with well-marked head, tail thicker than usual; *c*, small shank, head has short ridge caused by grinding of proximal end. 1, head; 2, tail; 3, head point; 4, mesial edge; 5, head hole; 6, front nacreous surface; 7, head point ground into concave surface.

A hole is bored transversely from side to side about midway down the thickness of the head. In one shank two such holes were bored, one at the extreme proximal end of the shank, the other nearer the maximum thickness of the head. Only the distal of the two holes carries the head snood lashing and it is evident that the proximal hole was bored by mistake too far back on the head to function properly.

The tails of the shanks are uniformly smooth on front, back, and lateral surfaces. In the opened grave (p. 364), however, Talainga saw a bonito shank that had two paired lateral projections at the tail end of a narrowing shank. He could give no information about the shape of the head of this shank, but the lateral projections are suggestive of similar projections on Melanesian hooks of the Solomon Islands. None could give any information about the shank type. All the hooks examined save one have a cross-hatching scratched on the back of the tail end of the shank.

The point of the bonito hook is shaped from shell cut from the lip edge of the pearl shell. One side shows the inner surface of the shell, the other side the black or gold outer surface which is smoothed down and sometimes polished. Eight points have been made of turtle shell, one of bone, the rest of pearl shell. In all the points the base is prolonged proximally to carry the technical bend of the hook. In 26 points, two holes are drilled through the base of the point to carry the point-shank lashings; two points only have three holes. In none of the points has the proximal hole broken through the upper edge of the point base. Characteristic point shapes are shown in figure 42.

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The snood consists of three-ply twisted sennet cord about ⅛ inch thick and 20 or more feet long. It is attached directly to the trolling rod without the mediation of a fishline

227 Shanks of these hooks are of uniform thickness. They do not have the raised head of the bonito shank. Instead, the head consists of a notched projection (*mutimuti*). The shank widens below the head, then narrows and flares slightly to form the tail (*vika*; fig. 43c). The greatest width of the shank in larger hooks is about ⅝ inch, in smaller hooks about ⅜ inch; the width of the tail in larger hooks is about ⅜ inch, in smaller hooks about ¼ inch; average thickness of all hooks is about ⅛ inch.

Shanks are made of both black-lipped and gold-lipped shell. The inner nacreous surface of the shell forms the front of the shank; the outer rough surface, the back of the shank. This rough surface is smoothed and polished, but the black surface is not ground away as in bonito hooks.

[321] All points are of turtle shell. Characteristic shapes are shown in figure 43d. The points range from ⅜ to ¾ inch in base length and from ⅛ to ⅛ inch in thickness. Two holes only are bored through the base; none of these was broken in the eleven hooks examined.

227 284 The lashing together of the small composite hook corresponds exactly to the method described for the larger bonito hook.

A typical lashing is shown in figure 43e. Lashing of point to tail of the shank may be with a single thread for each hole or with a continuous thread. After the proximal hole is lashed with transverse turns which cross obliquely on the back of the shank, the free end of the thread seizes the *snood* as far as the head of the shank. In these small composite hooks, no thread is run between proximal hole and the head of the shank. The distal lashing is often bound at the side with the finishing thread to make the characteristic secondary hackle of the bonito hook.

Several slight variations may be noted on this fundamental lashing pattern:

Filler sticks are not used in six out of eleven hooks; in these, the filler sticks are coconut midrib and in two the fillers are short fishbones wedged between the distal lashing and the side of the point base. In one hook, the point is lashed with a continuous thread which commences with the proximal hole. A half hitch side binding is made round the far side proximal hole lashing and the free end of the thread is passed underneath and diagonally across the back of the shank, then up to the near side distal hole to commence the lashing of this hole. In a second hook, the proximal hole lashing is completed and the lashing bound on the near side; the free end of the thread is then passed on the near side to the distal hole to make the distal hole lashing. The *snood* is passed through the proximal hole, but it is seized with a special lashing thread that is knotted round the far side proximal hole lashing, passes from this through the *snood* loop, and commences the seizing of the *snood* on the near side.

Secondary hackles are found on four out of eleven hooks. In two hooks the hackle is made according to the bonito hook pattern. In the remaining three hooks, it is made in slightly different fashion. In the first hook, the near side distal hole lashing is bound with the free finishing end of the lashing thread and the thread is cut about 1 inch from the distal hole. At the far side of the distal hole a thread about 2 inches long is passed through, up, back over the distal hole lashing. In one hook, the two free ends of this thread are twisted together and are knotted with the free end of the projecting finishing thread from the near side hole. In the second hook, the two free ends are tied in a double overhand knot effectively binding the far side distal lashing, and these two ends, together with the free finishing end from the near side, are knotted together to form the secondary hackle. In the third hook, both near side proximal and distal hole lashings are bound with a separate thread that is knotted round proximal side lashing, passes to distal lashing, is knotted round this, and passes again beyond the distal end of the point base where it is knotted with the double ends of a second thread that has been knotted round the far side distal hole lashing.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

and the midrib is pushed through the hole before the needle is withdrawn. As shown by Buck (12) the same technique is used in the Cook Islands. 000

Most dwelling houses are built on a double platform of coral rubble, the lower platform several feet larger than the floor of the house. The upper platform, which forms the floor of the house, is made on the first platform and extends about 1 foot outside the walls of the house. Each platform is retained by logs or a curbing of coral slabs 8 or 10 inches high.

ADZES

For cutting out canoes and shaping timbers, the Pukapukans, like the dwellers on other Polynesian atolls, made adzes from the *Tridacna* shell—the only local material available. 321 412

In the adz shown in figure 13, *a*, the poll is pointed and the side curves to the rounded cutting edges. The striated outer surface of the shell has been left on the convex front and only the bevel ground smooth. The concave inner surface forms the back which has the grinding surface to sharpen the cutting edge.

Another shell adz (fig. 13, *b*) is roughly rectangular in shape. The front is the outer stratified surface of the shell, except at the bevel which is ground on this surface; the back is the concave inner nacreous surface of the shell; the cutting edge is slightly convex. Part of the concavity and thickness of the shell have been removed by grinding down the outer rim until only a slight depression is left in the center. Along the slightly concave cutting edge and the two sides the surface is smooth and flat. The poll is broad and irregular and has a rough broken surface.

An adz found in Pukapuka (but obviously an importation) is made of basalt and is of the type common to western Polynesia (fig. 14). It is a long, thin, flat, quadrangular, tangless adz that tapers from the cutting edge to the poll. The front surface is slightly convex and is narrower than the back. The front, also the bevel of the back, are ground smooth. The remainder of the back and the two sides have rough chipped surfaces. The edge of the blade is straight; the bevel is convex longitudinally. Due to the rough, unground surface of the back, the chin is irregular. 177 412

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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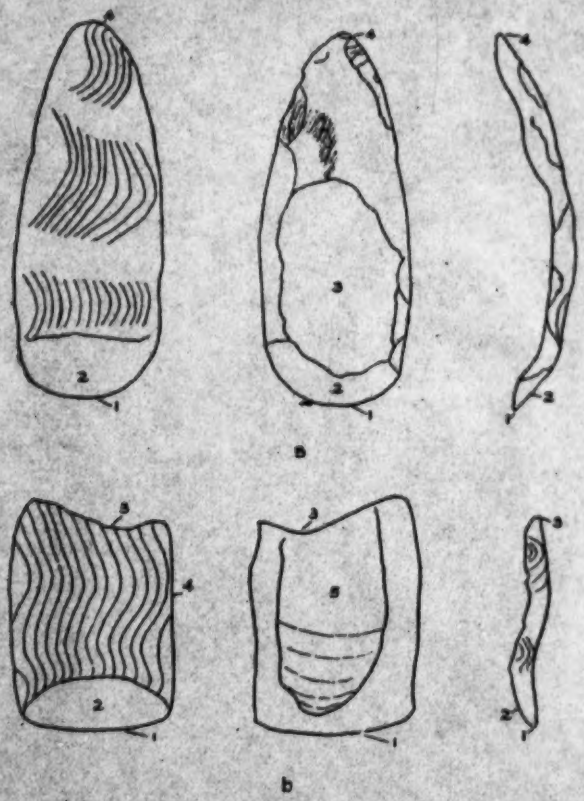

FIGURE 13.—Adzes of *Tridacna* shell. *a*, back, front, and side views (adz no. C 6527, Bernice P. Bishop Museum): 1, cutting edge; 2, bevel; 3, concavity of surface; 4, poll; greatest length, 4.75 inches. *b*, back, front and side views (adz in possession of R. D. Frisbie, Tahiti): 1, cutting edge; 2, ground bevel; 3, poll; 4, straight side; 5, central depression from natural concavity of shell; greatest length, 3 inches.

UTENSILS

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A small satchel of lauhala collected at Pukapuka has the following features.

Rectangular-sided and measuring 10 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1.5 inches wide, the satchel is made in simple check pattern. The bottom is flat and has square corners made by turning the strips as they are plaited. Each side is ornamented with strips of hala dyed red with native dyes. These strips are inserted over and included with the plaited elements. The pattern is X-shaped and is 7 inches long. On one side of the basket a solid square of the dyed hala is made between the forks formed by each arm of the X. The reverse side has two squares in each fork. The plaiting is commenced and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 476 431 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *agaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

[626 558]

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 331 412 342 669 461

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

342

Canoe Building

322 463 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waiwa*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 Formerly wood was too precious for any man to risk failure and wastage of wood by building a canoe himself; and today, when most men consider themselves fairly skilled with the iron adz blade, the tendency is for the layman to make for himself only a rough dugout, retaining the services of the expert for his plank canoe. The following men are considered the expert canoe builders on the island today: in Ngake village, Tiele, Iti, Iliilia, Te Ingoa, Tualai, Veti; in Loto village, Pau and Nawaui; in Yato, Tuli. The men of the Ngake group are all related. Iliilia and Tualai began as helpers (*kau tuinga*) to Pau and Te Ingoa. They have since set themselves up as independent experts. Iti has just finished his first plank canoe which is generally conceded to be of the first quality. Hence Iti will soon be given his first commission, probably by a relative. Nawani is now too old to build canoes himself, but gives advice when required and is generally considered to have passed into the class of consulting experts. Tuli is the only man of his [501] family group who is an expert. The largest canoe on the island (60 feet long, 13 seats) was built by Te Ingoa, believed by some to be the cleverest builder on the atoll today.

In general, a craftsman draws his assistants from his sons, brothers, or relatives, who serve voluntarily and are taught by the master all the skills of the craft, thus keeping the knowledge within the same family group. The assistants begin by sharpening the edges of the adzes as these are blunted and handed to them by the experts. They are given small jobs such as roughing out the shape of the stern piece, or making the preliminary adzing of the hull interior. Later they graduate to the more difficult finishing and fitting jobs where much skill is required to avoid bungling and wastage. In order to become a master, an apprentice must make himself a plank canoe. People come to watch his work, closely examine it from stage to stage, and entrust their own work to the would-be master craftsman only if the completed canoe passes a final criticism.

322 The chief craftsman directs all his assistants and is solely responsible
313 for the completed canoe. He selects from the bush the principal tree for the hull and the other trees necessary for hull and superstructure. The felling and rough trimming of these trees is done in the bush. Bark is removed and sections of trunk with short grain are set aside for the canoe hull, sections with longer grain for superstructure. Formerly the hull was roughly shaped in the bush by firing and adzing. Today this is done by adzing only and the hull is carried or hauled to the shady place near the beach
322 which has been set aside as a workshop. The place Matatoki on Loto beach was a well-known canoe-building yard in former days. Each expert has his own favorite workyard (*tonga vaka*) where canoe timbers may be slowly seasoned in the shade before use. Today the owner has his canoe built near his own house that he may more directly oversee the workmen's

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322/285 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*tikapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 554 461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malas puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wakamalionga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *waca vaka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kauhea hi muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*aucau*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *talani*. They are

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *hexyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*haukau hi mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309)
782 and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a
562 new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal
778 descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting
793 a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepa* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*lango*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

439 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
431 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
476 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
551 talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized,
[322] the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wokeyiua te waka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wokeyiuanga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wokeyiuanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*matanga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uwo*, one anchor line of *sennit*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one *sennit* *waka* and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pesa* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manu*, each woman five *manu*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa himne*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
574 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 3
431 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 2,000
621 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these
527 foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/n. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
354 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the midrib is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uwe kowaka* or
322 *pepale kowaka*) by passing them around an upright stick (*tokoa uwe kowaka*). The
285 leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pokai kowaka*) by placing the tip end of each leaf over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are boiled over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*ua*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midrib (*tuaaki*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pale kowaka*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
330 *wakayamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tieboams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*wakaala pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*wakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*wakahawa*) to fit against the tieboams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *wakayamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles,
284 the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house, four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced
[171] equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Venu-

hBeaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tawaw* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *tawaw ngaipu*.

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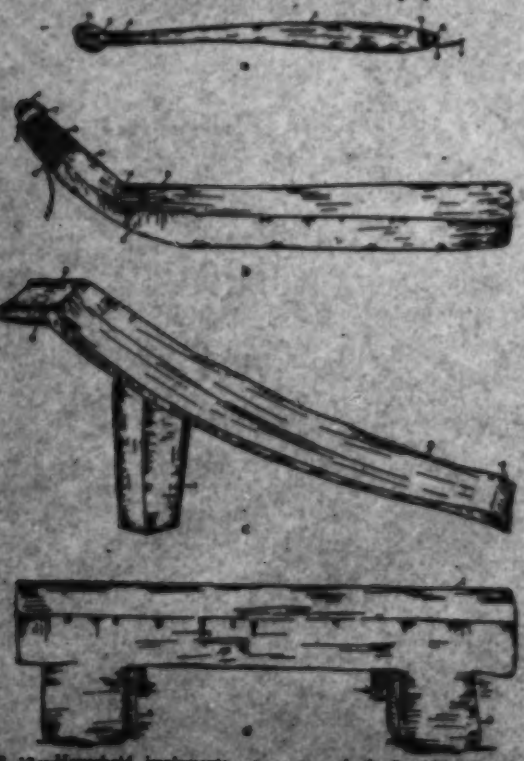

FIGURE 12—Household implements. c, scraper (*ulinga*) (Obst) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngangie* wood (1) 15½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ¾ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully shaped hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

in scraping shell (*ruhyi*, *Nerita pulla*) a little to left of spinal wheel; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (2) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted tree fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of same cord looped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit added (8) around tree cord and finishing and buried. *b*, separate stand grater (*tuai*) (Cb106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of native wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10½ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*tohe*) cut from solid block of unknown wood (Cb161): 1, four-sided stand 8½ inches high at back and 5½ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surface of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, meeting together in short medial longitudinal ridge 1¼ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulunga tohoe*) (Cb184); roughly cut from single block of *pongou* wood: 1, pillow section, 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 3½ inches high, 3½ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flaw at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*hoyo*, Cb049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*ewe*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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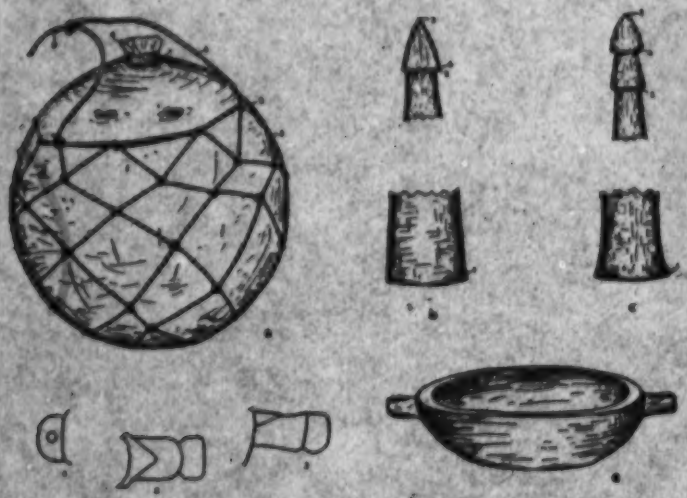

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*uwonogi*) (Cb92): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord enclosing shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; *b*, cork (*uwonono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *c*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *aganga* wood (Cb90): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¼ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¼ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1½ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *e*, talo mixer (*ivo*) of *aganga* wood (Cb91): weight 2¾ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1¾ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (5) of second truncated cone 1½ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¼ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ½ inch in diameter, runs through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1¼ inches wide and 1½ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kumete*) of *puafou* wood (Cb139): greatest diameter 14¼ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4½ inches; lugs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

[831]

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172 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that [778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the 172 two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

764 Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *nua titi ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

ADZES

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipoyua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).* They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). 177 No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

* [See 2: McGregor, p.96 ~ analysis.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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A craftsman took great care of his drill. He rubbed the shaft, crossbar and balance smooth with coral, smoked the wood over the cooking fire and oiled it afterward with coconut oil. The fortunate possessor of a drill with an iron guard point guarded his implement jealously because as a time saver it was of the greatest value to him.

Awl

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The shell awl (*yuki vaka*), a shell *Terebra granulata*, was used for making holes in a canoe hull or washstrake where the drill could not be used, or for enlarging holes made by the drill. (See p. 173.) The use of coral mallets for hammering caulking wedges is also described in that context.

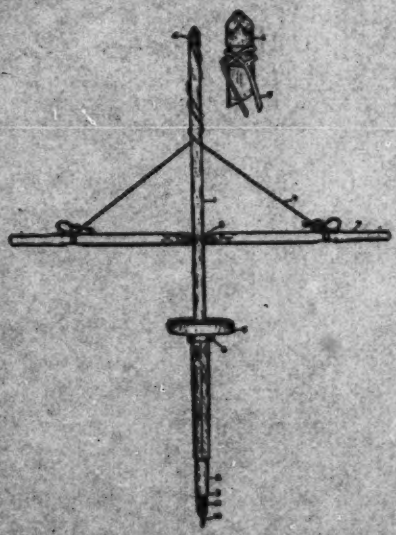

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FIGURE 22.—Pump drill, *tuva* (C8124): 1, shaft (*lakau tu*) of *uvitau* wood 2 feet 6 inches long, round in cross section and ¾ inch in diameter above balance, square-sided below with sides ⅜ inch wide; 2, distal end of shaft is round, ½ inch in diameter, narrowing to distal point (3) ⅜ inch in diameter; 4, head (*ulu tuva*) of shaft blunt and notched to receive pump cord (*uha tuva*); 5, balance (*poicha*), 4 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick, cut from same block of wood as shaft; 6, secondary balance 1⅜ inches square, ½ inch thick; 7, crossbar (*lakau tuva*) of *vuhenuva* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, has wide groove (8) to fit against shaft; each end also grooved to receive ends of pump cord; 9, pump cord of two-ply twisted sennit, fastened with clove hitch to head of shaft and to each end of crossbar; 10, point (*mata*) section of iron forced into end of shaft and lashed tight with 11 transverse turns of three-ply sennit braid; 12, buried commencement and finishing ends.

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Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done
322 with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood.
177 The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a piece of *tosa* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *si*. Other bivalve shells of about the
321 same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *si* with an added adjective, as in *si pukeyau ulango*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the tentacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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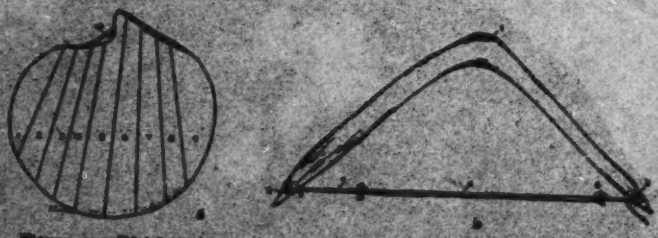

Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11); preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tauu*; 2, *pataua*; 3, *fa ki te tua*; 4, *ayolalo*; 5, 6, 7, *ayololo*; 8, *iyumoto*; 9, *ulauu*. *b*, shell file (*hauuu*) of shark skin (Cloy); 1, frame, small branch of wahoowa wood with lashes 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of lashes primed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of lashes three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*ulu si*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (fig. 23, *a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito points.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kauna*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut
281 into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kauna olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kauna punga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23,*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*ewi kaw*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
511 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

171 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukapuka*) does not seem to be an old style
501 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of
322 informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole Z-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tatai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*waka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*waka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[525] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

173 180 322

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *uukanava* and *uetau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukama* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukama* (hence its name, *poti pukama*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

322 501 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20; fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yato, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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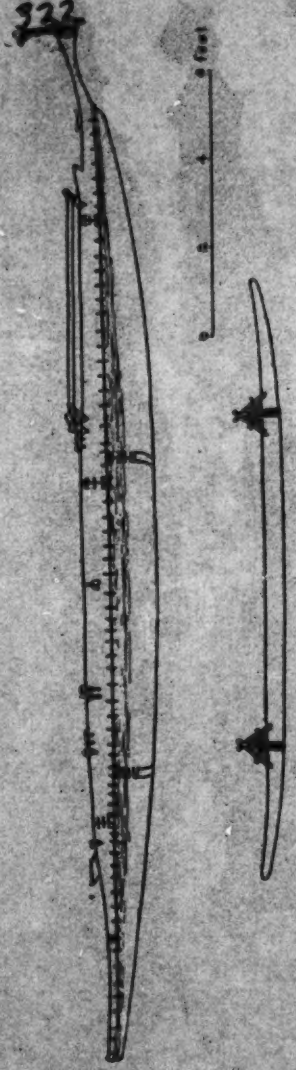

FIGURE 24.

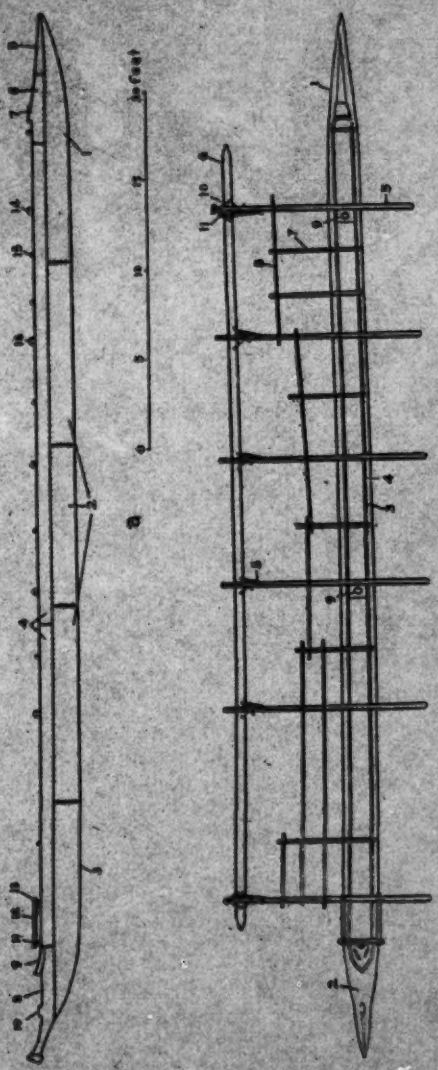

FIGURE 25.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 192 The Pukapukan *twi tuta* canoe is shown in figures 24, 25, 26 and plate 5.*A*. The native names for parts of the plank canoe are given in the following list:

Mua vaka: fore section of hull.
Wualoto: central section of hull.
Muli vaka: aft section of hull.
Oa: washstrakes.
Velo: stern cover, shaped like fishtail.
Laulau velo: after projection of stern cover.
Talamoko: raised cleat on stern cover.
Wakakauvae wonu: raised bait deck on stern cover, fashioned from cover or built up with extra wood.
Tuku: place inside wakakauvae wonu where bait and line are laid.
Kalemu: extreme after point of after section of hull.
Tala tuki: point of bow.
Tuki: forward part of bow cover.
Puka: second section of bow cover.
Tala puka: wave guard on bow cover.
Malae puka: top of wave guard.
Pu oyo: place covered by bow cover where provisions and fishing gear are stored.
Kaukau: outrigger cross booms.
Kaukau mua vaka: forward outrigger boom.
Kaukau muli vaka: aft outrigger boom.
Kiato: longitudinal spar supporting cross booms.
Manu poto: additional short cross booms, supporting kiato and running from strakes to spar.
Amu: outrigger float.
Mata amu: bow and stern points of outrigger float.
Tutuki: connecting pegs between outrigger float and cross booms.
Tutuki tokai: diagonal bracing strut running from inner pair of pegs to boom.
Oanga: suspensory lashing supporting outrigger float.
Manu ki mua: forward lifting bar.
Manu ki muli: stern lifting bar.
Manu a lua: crossbar aft of after cross boom.
Palepale langayu: short longitudinal spars lashed on either side of washstrake to lifting bar and cross boom.
Lakau iki: lifting pole.
Twinga iki: sennit lifting loops fastened to starboard washstrake just aft of cross booms.
Yeice: seats formed by cross booms and lifting bars.
Tau muli: rear seat just forward of rear lifting bar.
Kaukau katea: starboard side.
Kaukau ama: port side.

322 501 284 The hull is in three sections lashed together (*tuta*) with three-ply braid which passes through holes (*pu*) bored (*yuki*) through the hull with the shell implement termed *yuki tuka*. A shell borer might be lashed to a wooden holder about 6 inches long, to make the implement called *uuae*. The point of the shell was held against the wood with the left hand and the wooden holder tapped smartly (*paopao* or *tukituki*) with a mallet of *haupapa* coral or a whale's tooth (*tukituki paopao tuka*). The point was then worked gently from side to side (*luelue* or *tuekituki*) to enlarge the hole. Tapping and working from side to side continued until a hole was made through the wood. The *uuae* was then twisted (*yuki*) and worked back and forth until the hole was of the required size. The lashing forms a criss-cross pattern (*lu hawa lua*, fig. 27.*A*). Washstrakes (*oa*) are added to the hull sections with a single diagonal lashing (*lu hawa tai*, fig. 27.*a*). Where the *oa* are in several sections, the edges of contiguous

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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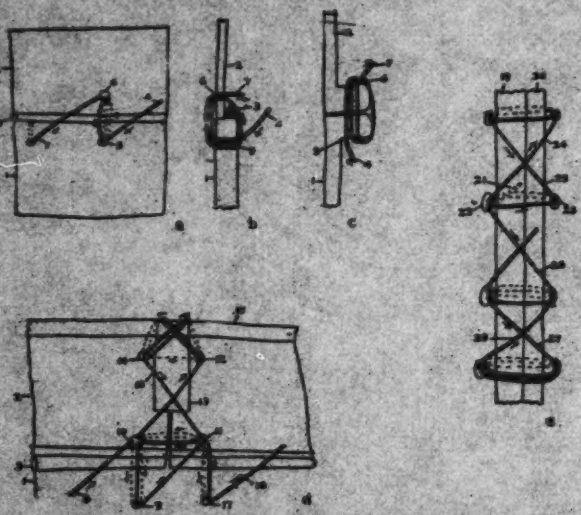

FIGURE 27.—Lashing of washstrake to hull: *a-c*, single diagonal lashing (*la hawa tai*); *d*, double diagonal lashing (*la hawa lua*); *e*, inside flange lashing. *a*, view of single diagonal lashing from hull interior: 1, hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, caulking stick (*aake*) placed against caulking husk material; 4, commencement end of sennit passes from preceding hole down to inferior hole (5), through to hull exterior, and up to superior hole (6), then back through 6 to hull interior, down to inferior hole; makes one more turn and when brought back through superior hole a second time, passes down to inferior hole (7) ready for next turns. *b*, cross section of same lashing on *tai tata* canoe (through-and-through lashing): sennit (4) makes two transverse turns through inferior and superior holes (5, 6), securely binding washstrake (2), hull (1), and caulking material (3); 7, free end ready to pass to next inferior hole. *c*, cross section of same lashing on inside flange canoe (*tai ou tiki*): lashing (4) makes two transverse turns through holes (5) in hull and (6) in washstrake, and free end (7) passes to next pair of holes. *d*, lashing of contiguous sections of washstrakes by double diagonal lashing: commencement end of sennit (8) makes two transverse turns through holes 10 and 9 of washstrake and hull; free end passes to inferior hole (11) in contiguous washstrake section; one transverse turn made between holes 11 and 10, and on second turn sennit passes on outside of canoe, through to inside at hole 10 and diagonally up to superior right hole (12), securely gripping pandanus material (13) which is laid over join of washstrake sections as caulking; sennit passes through hole 12 and along on outside of washstrake to hole 14, back through 14 and diagonally up and over edge of washstrake (15); sennit continues down on outside of washstrake to hole 12, through to inside and diagonally up, over washstrake edge, down to and through hole 14; two more diagonal cross turns made over washstrake edge and free end of sennit brought back and through hole 14 to inside of washstrake; sennit (16) continues diagonally down and across to hole 11, passes through 11 and makes two transverse turns around hull and washstrake between holes 11 and 17; free end (18) passes up to next pair of holes

1:Bonglehole and Bonglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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sections are lashed by the *te hanu hu* lashing (fig. 27,*d*). Caulking material of dried coconut husk (*pulu pue*) is hammered into the joins of hull sections with a cone-shaped wooden caulker (*ameameu*). The lower edge of the washstrake is set on the upper edge of the hull, flush with its outer surface. Sennit (*hanu ungu ika*) or coconut husk fiber is laid on the lower edge of the hull; on top of this caulking material is laid a filler stick (*tuke*). The lashing of strake to hull holds the caulking securely in place (fig. 27,*b*). The holes through which the lashing passes are caulked with coconut husk or wooden plugs hammered in from the outside with a rectangular-shaped wooden caulker (*ulu*). These plugs keep the lashing tight and prevent leakage and rotting of the lashing. The raised hull deck, which is fastened from the stern cover or *ulu* hull up with outer wood is shown in figure 28,*a*. The stern cover is lashed to the hull by through and through lashings (*te hanu tai*) and caulked on the outside by filler sticks (*pukipuki*). The two-piece bow cover is lashed to the forward section of the hull by through and through lashings.

The outrigger is attached to the canoe by cross booms lashed to washstrakes with the common alternating curve lashing which passes over the booms and through holes bored in the strakes. The longitudinal spar is also lashed to cross booms with the alternating curve lashing. The outrigger is fastened to cross booms by connecting pegs (*tutuki*). Bow and stern cross booms are connected by four pegs; additional cross booms by two pegs. The points of the pegs are driven into the outrigger, but not lashed to it. The lashing of pegs to cross booms is shown in figures 28,*c*,*f*, and 28,*h*. A diagonal bracing strut (*tutuki tuloa*) runs from the inner pair of pegs to the boom. The attachment of this strut to pegs and boom is shown in figure 28,*c*. A supporting lashing (*ooupo*) supports the outrigger and prevents it from separating from the pegs when the canoe is lifted. This lashing is shown in figure 29. The forward cross boom is shorter than the after cross boom. This enables the outrigger float to be fixed so that the fore end of the float is nearer the canoe hull than the after end (see measurements, p. 184), an arrangement which makes the canoe easier to steer.

The fore lifting bar is lashed across the washstrakes forward of the forward cross boom. A stern lifting attachment is made by fastening a lifting bar across the strakes just forward of the rear hull deck. Short longitudinal spars are lashed on either side of the washstrake to the second cross bar and cross boom (fig. 30,*a*). To lift the canoe, lifting poles are thrust between these spars and the washstrakes from the starboard side and the canoe is lifted by upward pressure on the lifting pole. In large canoes, a lifting pole is also thrust through the lifting loop (fig. 30,*b*) and when the weight is taken, the distal end of the lifting pole rests on the port side of the washstrake. All Pukapukan canoes have an extension fore and aft of the *hiato* spar beyond the fore and aft cross booms, which is a certain nuisance in paddling on the port side of the canoe because the paddle, in being raised from the water, often strikes against this extension. However, to take a canoe through shallow water over the reef, the crew wades and drags or

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to continue single diagonal lashing of washstrake to hull as shown in *a*. *c*, inside flange lashing of hull sections in the *ao tafi* canoe: 19 and 20 represent contiguous raised flanges of contiguous hull sections; 21, buried commencement end of sennit on outside of hull; sennit makes one transverse turn through holes 22 and 23, then passes diagonally up (24) to superior pair of holes; makes transverse turns through holes and passes diagonally down (25) to hole 23, makes one turn through holes 23 and 22, again binding commencement end (21); sennit passes diagonally down (26) to next pair of flange holes in hull, makes one turn through holes, passes (27) to next pair; five transverse turns made through lowest pair of holes and sennit brought back to pass diagonally upward (28) to next pair of holes, makes turn through holes, passes diagonally up to next pair; free end passes into hole 29, where it fastens by hammering of caulking wood into flange hole on top of free end.

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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paddle the canoe, using the washstrake and spar extension as shafts. The man in front stands between the side of the canoe and the spar extension, grasping the washstrake with his right hand and the *kiato* extension with his left. Similarly the man in the rear stands and paddles the canoe before him.

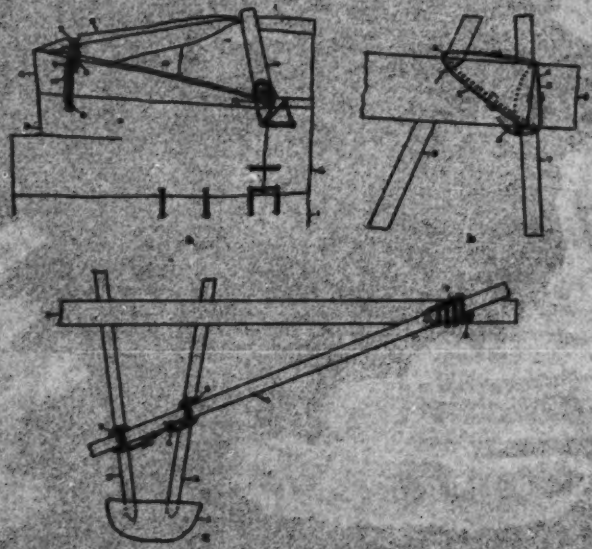

FIGURE 18—Canoe construction. *a*, two-piece stern hull deck; 1, stern hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, section of stern cover (*ngio*); 4, 5, fitted sections of wood placed on top of forward end of stern cover and lashed to cover by sennit which passes over notches 6 and 7 cut on edge of extra sections, and through hole 8, bored through head of stern cover; lashing consists of buried commencement (9), several transverse turns over notches and through hole, and buried finishing end (10); forward ends of added sections continued under first crossbar (11) lashed to washstrake on either side; lashing (12) securely binds in place added sections to washstrake; 13, platform of hull deck formed by top of stern cover. *b*, commencement lashing of connecting pegs to outrigger boom; diagram shows inner pair of pegs (7, 8) and outrigger boom (9); 1, buried lashing commencement; sennit passes around far side of inner peg (8), then diagonally down (2) and across boom to near side of outer peg; continues around far side of peg, then diagonally up and across far side of boom and around far side (3) of inner peg; continues across far side of boom, around far side of outer peg and down (4) near side of outer peg, passing over earlier turn; continues underneath and up far side of boom, down (5) again on near side of boom, underneath outer boom, then ready to pass diagonally up on far side of boom across to top of inner peg (6); lashing continues with 6 figure-of-eight turns around connecting pegs and boom, then two circumferential turns around connecting pegs superior to boom; sennit connecting pegs brought close together above boom so that thick sennit must be forced between pegs for two circumferential turns, and clearance of pegs holds turns tight; free end of sennit passes along boom to outer peg

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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of connecting pegs and repeats lashing; free end passes down outer connecting peg to commence suspensory lashing around float shown in figure 29, *c*, lashing of diagonal brace (*tuaki tokai*) to connecting pegs and cross boom of outrigger: 1, cross section of outrigger float into which connecting pegs (2) are driven; 3, outrigger boom; 4, diagonal brace lashed to connecting pegs by alternating curves pattern lashing (5); lashing has buried commencement on outer peg; after completing lashing of outer peg, free end of sennit continues to inner peg, completes similar lashing; free end (6) fastened by double overhand knot to sennit that came from outer peg; lashing of diagonal brace to outrigger boom has buried commencement (7); free end of cord makes three or more transverse turns around brace and boom, then one or more circumferential turns around lashing turns between brace and boom and finishes with overhand knot on last circumferential turn (8).

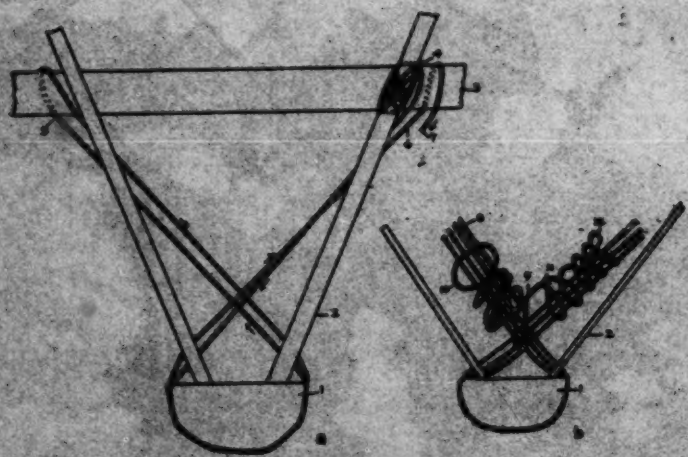

FIGURE 29.—Suspensory canoe lashing. *a*, commencement of lashing between outrigger boom and outrigger float: 1, outrigger float in cross section; 2, connecting peg between float and cross boom (3); when lashing (4) of outer connecting peg to cross boom is finished free end of sennit brought down between double pair of pegs (only outer pair shown in diagram) to inner side of float, passes around under float, up on outside of float and across to boom at 5, on hull side of inner peg; turn made over boom, and sennit brought down to outer side of float, around float, and up on inner side (6) to boom, making turn around boom on outer side of outer peg; sennit (7) continues down to float as before, making altogether five turns around boom and float (two turns only shown in diagram). *b*, continuation of suspensory lashing: after fifth turn (fourth in diagram), free end of sennit (8) brought down from hull side of inner connecting peg to pass around and under crossing of suspensory lashing (9) and continues up left hand suspension with two transverse turns; a complete final turn made around suspension, and sennit (10) brought back down suspension with two more transverse turns, continuing across to right hand suspension (11); five transverse turns made around right hand suspension with buried end finish (12).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1935 Pukapukans

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Flaws in the wood from which hull or strakes are made are cut out and in their place small sections of wood (*tapiki*) or larger sections (*wakatauhau*) are fitted in by hammering and lashed if necessary to the surrounding hull or washstrake wood. Where the washstrake wood is not sufficiently deep, additional sections (*wakapuki tai*) are lashed with through and through lashing to the washstrake base until the required depth is attained. Small cylindrical plugs of wood (*tapiki* or *mono*) are hammered into small knot or flaw holes in the outrigger float to keep the salt water from lodging in them and rotting the wood.

When surfaces are being fitted together, whether hull sections, or washstrakes to hull, or small patch sections to hull or strakes, the parts to be joined are smeared with a marking material of coconut-shell charcoal mixed with water and applied with a brush made of the chewed fibrous material of the pandanus key. Irregularities in the fitting of the parts are brought out by black marks. These irregularities are then adzed down until a perfect fit (*ewe* or *temoewoe*) is secured.

In canoes used in bonito trolling, the rear seat is made of a block of wood which is lashed on either side with through and through lashings to each washstrake. A flange is cut on the under aft side of this seat and a semit grommet (*matatiki*) is lashed to the seat in the middle of this flange. The bait holder (*tahau*) of the bonito pole (*matiki ate*) rests in this grommet and the pole rests in a groove cut in the after lifting bar.

[501] The size of a canoe is indicated by the number of seats (*yoko*) it contains. But a *waka yoko wa* (four-seater canoe) holds only three men comfortably; a *waka yoko lima* (five-seater canoe) holds four men comfortably or five men if the hull is especially wide; a *waka yoko ono* (six-seater canoe) holds six men. From this number of seats upward, the number of crew becomes greater than the formal seating capacity, so that a 60-foot canoe, officially rated as a *waka yoko hangauulu ma toko* (thirteen seater), easily holds 30 or more men. Those that cannot be accommodated with formal seats rest on the edges of the strakes. The size in feet of the various canoes is given below (p. 185).

The hull of the *tatai* plank canoe is of one piece in very small canoes such as *tamiro* or of three pieces in larger canoes. The hull sections are as before, *mau waka*, *wanakota*, *mauli waka*. Washstrakes are added and a simple bow cover (*pupawi hi mau*) and a stern cover (*pupawi hi mauli*). These covers are shaped pieces of wood lashed to hull and to washstrakes (fig.30,*c*). Very rarely, a small canoe of this type is fitted with the shaped stern piece (*wale*) and the type bow covers (*tuki* and *puke*). Outrigger support consists of two cross booms, connecting pegs, and supporting lashing. The *tatai* canoe differs from the simple one-piece dugout in the addition to the hull of washstrakes and stern and bow covers. The size of typical *tatai* canoes is given below.

The plank canoe termed *waka tai matali* (pl.5,B) is distinguished from the through and through lashed canoe (*waka tai tuta*) by the lashing of hull sections to each other, and of washstrakes to hull, and washstrake sections to each other by means of raised inside flanges (*hangai waka tiko* or *hangai tai matali*). These flanges are about 2 inches high and the lashing is through

322 holes drilled through each flange (fig. 27, *c*, *p*). No lashing shows on the outside of the hull. This lashing method may be applied to plank canoes
501 of all sizes from the simple *taisi* canoe to the largest canoe.

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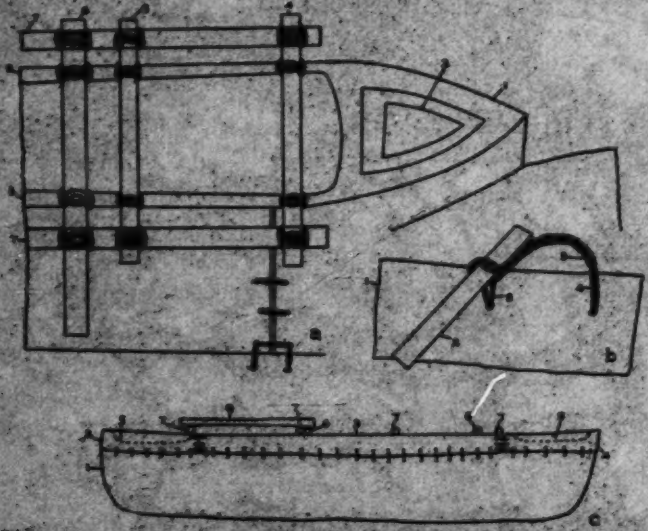

FIGURE 30.—Plank canoe. *a*, arrangement of lifting bars at stern of canoe: 1, raised bait deck (*mokokotoa mosa*); 2, bait receptacle (*tubu pakupaku*); 3, washstrakes of canoe; 4, cross lifting bar (*mosa hi mali*); 5, second cross bar (*mosa a lua*); 6, cross boom supporting outrigger float; 7, longitudinal members (*palepale longaya*) fastened to cross members; lashings all of alternating curves pattern. *b*, lifting loops of sennit (*huinga ihi*): 1, section of washstrake; 2, cross boom; 3, lashing of boom to strake; 4, four turns of sennit made through hole in strake and around lashing of boom to strake; 5, seining of these four turns, buried commencement and finish. *c*, *taisi* canoe: 1, one-piece hull; 2, stern cover (*pupuni hi mali*); 3, washstrake; 4, bow cover (*pupuni hi mua*); 5, dotted lines show lowered bait decks in covers; 6, cross booms to outrigger float; 7, short lifting bars; 8, short longitudinal spars (*palepale longaya*) forming lifting supports for stern of canoe.

501 The *tai ahuli* canoe has definite advantages for reef work over the
[221] through and through lashed canoe because of the absence on the outside of
322 the hull of lashings to be cut by sharp coral heads. It has this disadvantage, however, that the water seeps in through the hull joins and rots the wood about the joins of the hull sections. This seepage cannot be prevented by caulking as with the *waka tai tuto* lashing. If a canoe is used much, the wood

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501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood be-
322 comes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *voka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *voka tui tuta* lasts about seven years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the
[283] canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was
501 the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*tauhua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*hauhua*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood; save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were termed *tohei*. A platform (*papanga tauhua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*uale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than
502 on the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reinforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

To change the direction of any canoe is *uuli* or *uuuuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*hi katea*) or to port (*hi oma*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La oma!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tewi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan
322 canoe are few:

In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

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501 322 spar parallel to the customary longitudinal spar (*hiato*) lashed to the cross booms on the port side of the canoe. Informants also mentioned that formerly a big canoe made for fishing off the grounds by Tima Reef was fitted with two stern pieces (*wio*). The *wio* was cut from a single wide block of wood and two fish-tail ends were adzed out instead of one. This variation was characterised as a type of decoration (*waka-manea*) without utilitarian function.

One canoe in active use had attached to the hull only half of the customary two-piece bow cover. The fore part of the bow, usually covered by the *tuhi*, was open, but the after part of the cover, the *puka*, complete with wave guard (*malae puka*), was securely lashed to the hull. Informants remarked that this was an idiosyncrasy of the builder of the canoe. He had been faced by a shortage of wood during construction some years previously and had not since bothered to complete his canoe, but was on the contrary rather proud of its odd appearance.

Sails

501 285 322 Two types of sail, both said to be old, are in use today when canoes sail to the islets. The first is a triangular sail, *la mata keokeo* (*keokeo*, pointed); the second, a gaff sail, *la liahi a Te Palo*, named after the Yayake navigator who visited Pukapuka. Both types of sail were formerly made of pandanus (*lau wilu*) plaited in single element check (*langa tai*). The sail was made large enough to allow for an overlap which is basted over the sennit becket rope (*uwuuti hi loto o te la*) by which the sail is supported on the mast. (See figs. 31, 32.) The basting was done (*tui*) with pandanus material (*tua hie*) through holes made with a bone of the *akula* fish or a piece of *ngangie* wood. Sheets (*tupoupou*) of two-ply twisted sennit are fastened to the becket ropes by overhand knots.

501 322 284 Formerly the mast (*tile ta*) was made in two parts: a crutch (*tuy, mangu*) was lashed to the mast pole (fig. 31,*b*). The mast was raised by resting the crotch end on the forward cross boom (*kambu hi mua*). Several turns of sennit were made around the boom to prevent the crotch from slipping sideways. Stays (*tuku*) supporting the mast are shown in figure 31,*c*.

The sail is supported by the top of the mast in one of three ways: the guy (*uwuuti*) by which the sail is hauled aloft may be passed through a hole (*pu*) bored through the top of the mast; the guy may be passed over a natural branch cleft (*uu mango* or *keikei*) at the top of the mast and passed down to the canoe; the becket (*pu*) in the peak of the sail may be passed over the top of the mast before the mast is raised—the mast is thick enough at this end to prevent the becket from slipping down. The last method is used only in small canoes. In all three methods when the sail is aloft the guy is fastened to the port side of the forward outrigger boom.

Today, the mast is usually long enough to rest against the bottom of the canoe. It is lashed to the forward cross boom with figure-of-eight turns of heavy sennit, or else the stay passing from masthead to forward lifting bar is continued back to the cross boom to make several turns around both mast and cross boom. Ultra-modern Pukapukan sailors step the mast in cup-shaped blocks cut out from the floor of the hull, or else lash to the washstrakes planks with holes in them through which the mast is stepped.

The sail is further supported by a horizontal boom (*tile lale*) with a crutch at one end, resting against the bottom of the mast just above the lashing of mast to cross boom. The other end of the boom (*ulu tile lale*) is fastened to the sail by a becket. A main sheet (*uwuu*) of sennit is fastened by a clove hitch to the boom from which it runs to

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the hand of the sailor. When the canoe is sailing before a steady wind, the main sheet is fastened to a cross boom or lifting bar, or else it is gripped underneath the foot of the sailor.

At the inner, lower end of the sail the bocket rope passes from the sail and is now turned small in. It is fastened to the forward cross boom, or else its two ends are tied into a loop which is slipped over the crotch of the boom. Either method keeps the inner, lower end of the sail from bellying loose in a high wind.

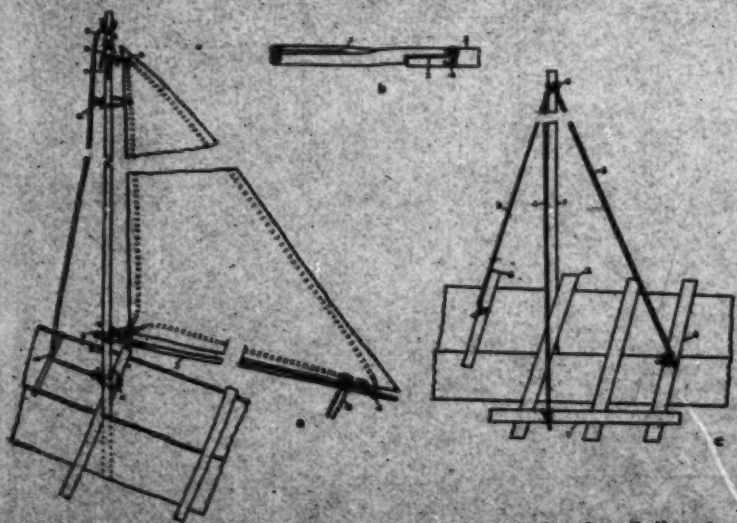

FIGURE 31.—Construction of mast and sail. *a*, mast and triangular sail (*la mata kotoa*): 1, cross boom; 2, mast; 3, beam with crotch and resting against mast; 4, outer bocket, hooked over end of boom; 5, inner bocket remit ends, fastened with overhand knot in loop which passes over end of crotch to keep sail taut; 6, peak bocket, fastened to guy by overhand knot; 7, guy passes through hole in mast and down to cross boom where it fastens; 8, mast stays passing to after booms as shown in *c* below; third mast stay (9) passes down to forward lifting bar, makes two turns (10) around bar and passes again to cross boom to make two turns (11) around boom and mast, holding mast in place against boom; overhand knot finishes turns; 12, sheet, fastened to bocket remit and to mast by overhand knot; 13, main sheet, fastened to bocket remit by overhand knot and passes to canoe aft. *b*, attachment of crotch (*vae mauga*) to mast spar: crotch (1) scarfed and fits against scarf (2) cut in mast spar (3); commencement of transverse lashing turns (4) which bind crotch and mast at scarf join. *c*, staying of canoe mast: 1, mast stands inside of canoe, lashed to cross boom (2) (lashing not figured); 3, 4, 5, stays fastened to top of mast by clove hitch (9); 3, forward stay fastened to forward cross lifting bar (6); 4, stay fastened to longitudinal spar (7) aft of cross boom; 5, stay fastened to middle cross boom (8) at washstrake; stays fastened to booms by clove hitches; weight of sail, filled by wind, provides counter-balance on starboard side of canoe to port side pull of stays.

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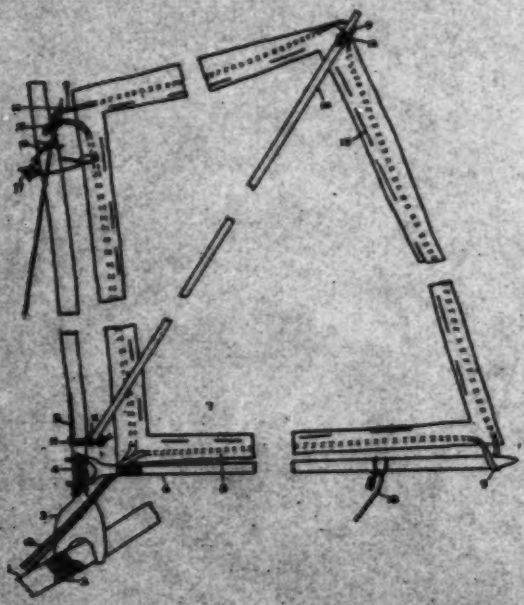
502 In a heavy wind, the mast of a triangular sail is kept vertical. To catch the greatest amount of moderate or light wind, it is bended over to an angle of about 30 degrees with the vertical. The boom runs from the mast at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the sail functions thus with its base upward and the apex down. This is the usual way of rigging the triangular sail.



501 FIGURE 32.—Mast and gaff sail (*Ia kaki a Te Palo*): 1, cross boom to outrigger, on which crotch (*vae manga*) (3) of mast (5) rests; 2, lashing on crossbar to prevent mast from slipping; 4, lashing binding crotch to mast spar (5); 6, boom with crotch resting against mast; 7, gaff sail; 8, bocket sennit basted into overlap of sail; 9, bocketts which pass over end of supporting spars and keep sail taut; 10, sprit or gaff which extends outer peak of sail, resting at lower end in scotter (11) of sennit made by taking clove hitch around mast and tying free ends of sennit in overhand knot; at upper end of sprit, bocket prevented from sliding down spar by lashing turns (12) taken around end of sprit; 13, heavy lines indicate sewing of overlap to hold bocket sennit; 14, natural branch cleft (*vae manga*), over which bocket loops when sail is hauled up by means of guy (15) fastened to bocket by clove hitch; 16, stays run to booms to support mast (see fig. 31, *c*); 17, sheet fastened to bocket sennit with overhand knot and looped around mast with double overhand knot; only one sheet shown, but average sail has about six sheets for mast and for boom; 18, main sheet, fastened to boom by clove hitch, runs to roller seated aft in canoe; 19, two ends of bocket sennit (*mali la*) pass to, and are fastened around, cross beam (1).

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An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This sprit is termed *toko*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*nakonuongo no te toko*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*kaiow*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unstepping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*haiali* or *pole*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross boom in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

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The Pukapukan paddle (*vaw*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*uuta*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau vaw*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*hoa tangi te vaw*), used to attract fish to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing stroke of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*uao*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ulo tua*) is reserved today for short sports and for making the paddle rotated, the front (*ulaulo* or *vakvaka*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toko*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko leg the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

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The bailer (*tuto*, fig. 26,*g*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

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The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater canoe shown in figure 25.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 for judging this amount, but said that they judged by the eye. Kennedy discovered from
322 a study of canoes of Vaitupu that the "limiting amount by which the forward end of the float is set to starboard is about one hand's breadth from a line through the after end of the float parallel with the keel" (19, p. 94); this amount agrees closely with the Pukapukan average for this starboard set, though there seems to be little correlation between the size of the canoe and the amount of starboard set considered necessary. The required balance weight of the float seems to be obtained almost entirely by lengthening the float, for the width and depth of the float do not vary greatly save for the larger canoes. The length of the float in relation to the overall length of the canoe indicates that the Pukapukan builders unconsciously judged the float length by some such rule as Kennedy (19, p. 79) gives for Vaitupu where the outrigger is given a length such that the forward end will be laterally opposite the feet of the bow paddler and the after end opposite the feet of the rearmost paddler. Again, Pukapukan builders could give no rule for judging the proper length of the outrigger float save an eye judgment.

Table 3. Canoe Measurements

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Type	1 Overall, Length	2 Beam (Gunwales)	3 Beam (Hull)	4 Depth (Gunwale Clear)	5 Length, Forward Cross Beam	6 Forward Cross Beam, Hull to Gunwale	7 Rear Cross Beam, Hull to Gunwale	8 Length, Longitudinal Beam	9 Length, Outrigger Float	10 Width, Depth, Outrigger Section	11 Length, Bottom Piece (Tip to Gunwale Joint)	12 Length, Bow Prong (Tip to Gunwale Joint)
Single dugout (large)	16'	14"	14"	16"	7' 3"	6' 3"	6' 7"	9' 10"	12'	5½"×4½"	—	—
Tutai tokasi one-man canoe	10' 6"	10"	8"	17"	2' 5"	4' 7"	4' 9"	6' 4"	7' 8"	5"×3"	—	—
Tutai tokalua two-man canoe	19'	11"	9"	16"	6' 6"	5' 7"	5' 10"	9'	13' 3"	6"×4"	4' 3"	3' 5"
Yaka tuka 3-seater	16' 6"	11"	7"	15½"	5' 6"	4' 10"	5'	9' 6"	12'	5"×3½"	3' 6"	3' 7"
Yaka wu 4-seater	21' 11"	14"	11"	18"	6' 6"	4' 8"	5' 1"	10' 4"	16' 4"	5½"×4"	5' 11"	3' 4"
Yaka ono 6-seater	31' 6"	15"	11"	20"	8' 1"	5' 10"	5' 10"	18'	22' 6"	7"×6"	5' 2"	6' 7"
Yaka iva 8-seater	51'	22"	14"	27"	8' 8"	7' 8"	8' 3"	27' 6"	32' 6"	7"×7"	—	—

FISHING EQUIPMENT

227 Besides fishnets (p. 208) and hooks (p. 191), fishing equipment includes lines, fishing rods, composite fishing apparatus, clubs, fish spears, and hook containers.

FISHLINES

226 Lines of vine fiber are used on composite pearl-shell fishhooks where quality rather than length of line is important. Three-ply braided sennit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

WOODEN HOOKS

227 Wooden hooks vary greatly in size according to the fish they are designed to catch. Small wooden hooks are used interchangeably with the single-piece pearl-shell hook (*tope*) for catching in deep water the smaller reef groupers. Large wooden hooks are used to catch *Ruvettus* and other large deep-sea fish. All wooden hooks are termed *hou*; the largest V-shaped hook is sometimes distinguished by the name *yemo*, the largest U-shaped hook by the name *yewe*.

Wooden hooks are of two shapes, the U-shape and the V-shape. All the hooks are made from *ngongie* wood; most of them from forked branches, [245] some of the U-shaped ones from branches that have been artificially bent and made to grow in this position. The hooks are two-piece, the point being fitted to the point limb with a lashed scarf join. The upper end of the shank is narrowed and provided with a shank knob to support the lashing of snood to shank.

227 In larger hooks used for *Ruvettus* and other deep-sea fish, the lashing of point to point limb may be in two or three separate sections. This occurs in five of the eight 284 deep-sea fishhooks available for study. The remaining three hooks are freshly lashed, probably by inexpert fishermen who knew that the hooks, intended for a museum collection, would never be used for fishing. The middle of three lashings is put on the smaller hooks about 1 inch below the head of the functional point, 2 or more inches below this point on larger hooks. After the transverse turns completing this lashing have been made, the lashing is covered by tough fish scales (*sumei*) of the *swiatos* fish which project above and below the lashing. The ends that project below are caught with the transverse turns of the lowest lashing, those that project above are caught with the turns of the topmost lashing. The fish-scale covering protects the middle lashing from being destroyed by the biting teeth of a hooked fish. Because it is usual to protect only this middle lashing, one may assume that a hooked *Ruvettus*, for example, is expected to swallow a hook to the point where his jaws close on this middle lashing, not on the lowest or topmost lashing. The free end of the lowest lashing is carried up over the fish scale covering to commence the topmost lashing; even if this longitudinal thread is severed, the topmost lashing can not become unravelled because the free end is effectively buried in the descending turns. (See lashing in figure 37,c.)

The clearance between the point and the shank limb varies greatly among the hooks. In small wooden hooks the clearance ranges from ⅜ to ⅝ inch, in the larger hooks from 1⅛ to 3½ inches. Kennedy states that the required clearance is equivalent to the thickness of the edgewise thumb with the point against the middle of the nail (19, p. 17). Four out of 12 hooks have approximately this clearance, four small hooks have less than this clearance (about ⅜ inch), four large hooks have a much greater clearance (up to 3⅝ inches). Leaving aside the four smallest hooks used to catch smaller deep-sea fish, I presume that four of the remaining eight wooden hooks used for large deep-sea fish were probably made for ordinary fishermen, the other four for expert fishermen who prefer the hook with the wide clearance. Both types of hook, those with wide and those with narrow clearance, were in common use.

In several of the hooks the point is directed away from the medial longitudinal line of the shank limb. Presumably the explanation for this in the Pukapukan hooks [322] is the same as that given by Kennedy for Ellice Islands hooks (19, p. 16), that is, the manner in which the scarf surface was cut on the point limb, previously with an adze, today with knife or saw.

524 284 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal medial line and a trailer cord (9) is knotted as midrib over small ends of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8098) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tioaga a Mawi*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*velo*) of *ngayu* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutoa*) of *ngangie* wood 1¾ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1½ inches long, ¼ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *uao* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutoa* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*yiku*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutoa* head 4¼ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *uao* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig. 49*d*). The tail (*kaua*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalowa*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo ipu*: a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kalowalewa*.

The only tops in use are teetotum tops (*potehateka*). These are *taupulopulo* shells (*Conus abbreviatus*) which are spun (*takovilivilli*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *mulimuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potehateka matu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *pungo* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¼ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *mahapotehateka* or *mahatateka*.

Discs for the game of *tupa* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8194), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3¼ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tiku*) is made of *ngayu* wood:

526 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and heated over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*puriku*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tiku*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

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The composite dart (*velo*, C8100) is made of *ngayu* wood with a head (*ulu toa*) of *ngangie* wood (fig. 49*c*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

526 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is
322 rubbed (*mukumuku*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is termed *vele tutu*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *vele* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

FIGURE 50.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (CB112): diameter from slot to bottom 2¾ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¼ inches; slot opening 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (CB112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (CB054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (CB055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *turiea*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*puyu*) (CB201): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*seete hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tao hemenie*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (8) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 4, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
501, 322, 284

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of canoes, their construction and lashings, see pp. 34-42.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tukunga vaa*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletoa, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

301 proximal end; shank (3) 3⅝ inches long, ¼ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ⅝ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; center shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¼ inches, greatest width 3⅜ inches, thickness at hinge ¼ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ⅛ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6⅝ inches long, ⅜ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted sennit cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yelu*) (CB034) with two teeth (*sutelus*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9⅝ inches long; handle (1) averages ⅜ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at 2, ⅛ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*sutetelu*) (CB035) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1⅜ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅝ inches long and average ¼ inch thick. *e*, earring (*sukaravvenga*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (CB140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅜ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at 2 so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 3/16 inch high, ¼ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c*,*d*). The two-pronged comb (*yelu mata lua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yelu mata tolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*punga*), coral conglomerate (*kaupape*), and coral pebbles (*kilikili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

PATHS

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush land from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerua-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiva and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle
836 of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet
564 wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats
717 were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used
552 for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on
114 lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats
718 was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yuyaka and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states
324 was used by the bird man Wato-ananava-ewi, is now in ruins. The remains of other
133 seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the
177 lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 33) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at
417 the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Implements

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Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tuhituhi*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

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Religious enclosures (*swanga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*uau*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Tana, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village. Two of these sites were cleared.

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At the religious structure of the god Te Aleagaga there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tuikaio. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tuikaio was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Aleagaga. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tuasulivaka and Te Matakitae are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tuasulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakitae. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

entered the land of the dead and was assigned a post before which it was to sit. Here all the spirits joined in eternal chanting. On the top of her house Ko Leva had a trap in which she caught the wandering spirits of the dead. In her house she had mats which were hung around the walls. If any spirit wandered from its body on Pukapuka and went inside these mats, it could never return and the body would die. The soul is *vaelua*, a term meaning "divided in two parts" in Samoan dialect (10). It has also a second name, *mauli*, the Tahitian term for "ghost or spirit" (16).

It was believed that the spirits lived as people of the island did, and that many of the arts practiced by the Pukapukans were learned from spirits. The making of sennit and the plaiting of lauhala malos were learned from the sennit and malo dropped by two spirits found wandering about Pukapuka. Spirits also brought to Pukapuka the trap that stood on the roof of Ko Leva's house. This was kept on the island until it was presented to some early missionary. According to Frisbie, the birds of Tema Reef between Nassau and Pukapuka Island were considered to be the souls of ancient inhabitants of the two islands.

STONEWORK

Maraes

Every god, including the family gods, had his own marae (*aoanga*) where he was worshiped. The maraes were enclosed by rectangles of coral slabs laid on edge and had a coral slab erected on each. Bunches of coconut leaves (*'iele*) were wrapped around these monoliths when prayers and ceremonies were conducted. No other offerings or human sacrifices accompanied the religious ceremonies. Before each fishing expedition the fishing gods were prayed to and *'iele* were wrapped around the sacrificial stones.

Two stone structures called *watu no'o i Manava Nui* (stone seats of Manava Nui) stand on either side of the bend of the southeastern coast of Motu Koe Islet, high above the sea on a coral embankment washed up by the waves (fig. 2). A tidal wave in 1914 partially destroyed them, leaving only two or three slabs to mark their position.

The western and smaller structure has only two remaining slabs; one is erect and one lies flat on the ground with an end against the base of the other. The slab lying flat on the ground is all that remains of the "seat," and it faces the sea. The second structure, east of the bend in the shoreline, faces inland. It was made of eight or more large coral slabs which now lie scattered about

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure. 324

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2). 177 178

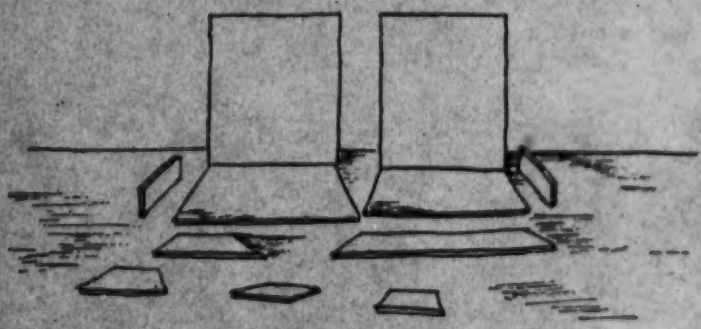

FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914. 000

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui no maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *agafuanga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 lightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
34 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
664 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded
461 slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mamata* or *tangata tea waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Wells

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Deep wells dug close to the beach were always faced with coral slabs. Shallow wells, 1 or 2 feet deep, were not faced unless they were in constant use. Slabs at the bottom of the well were stood on edge and forced into the sand; the sand was dug out inside these upright slabs and the bottom of the well paved with coral gravel. Above water level, the sides of the well were faced with horizontal slabs set one above the other. The edge of the well at ground level was faced with especially large blocks of stone to give a firm foothold to the drawer of water and to ensure that the top of the well would not cave in.

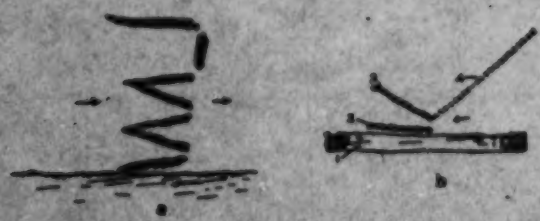

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Figure 20.—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village: walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish swept into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*ala ika*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

Stone fishweirs are found in the reef shallows opposite the northwest beach of Wale, between the beach and the reef passage. One weir is about 100 yards from the beach and consists of stones piled in line to make an enlarged W-shape; the second weir is close to the beach and consists of stones forming a W-shaped trap contiguous with a second trap in the shape of a large square-bottomed U (fig.20,*a*). The weirs face north and south; the exits are at the northern end, that is, at the points of the W and at the two sides of the bottom of the U. The ebbing tide sweeps through the weirs on its way out over the reef and carries the fish along into the weirs blocked with hand scoop nets.

A combination stone and coconut-sweep weir (fig. 20,*b*) is built in the small lagoon indentation cut off from the main lagoon by the causeway that joins the two sections of Yato village. The fisherman seated on the causeway is able to block the exit of the weir with a scoop net.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-8 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

341 Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of
333 coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

341 One house on the beach beach of Ura conforms in all particulars to the *waheyaneo*
333 style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgepoles, which stand on the lower side of the end tieborns. This house combines features from the *waheyaneo* type and the *uale atea* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pale* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *waheyaneo* type are provided with roof extensions (*tarauaia*) to cover eaves or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *waheyaneo* house, used as a sleep house in Yaro village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

341 Houses of the *waheyaneo* type used as storage houses (*uale takataka*)
343 for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The
511 floor of a *uale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

Storage Platform

[251] Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tieborns and
343 occupying the whole area marked out by the tieborns. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of
254 rodents. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (tokowa-langi) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tona and Tana, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiova and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (*m*, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Tayabe and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wata-ameave-ami, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

123 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*ta*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Wells

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226 Figure 20.—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village; walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish sweep into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*ala ika*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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771
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778
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[34]

No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the tide swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred man standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (1.p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*pisaga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pots*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

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Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

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Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

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Within each cemetery the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, bedlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (p1.2,E).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi uale* and *tuai alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

House Styles

341 797 343 A wide variety of house styles is found in Pukapuka today. In the permanent villages, the dwelling houses are either of coral lime roofed with pandanus thatch, or of a type introduced from Rarotonga by the missionaries, with slat walls reaching to the roof and often with a wide veranda. Along with these modern houses are found old style dwelling houses and cook houses. Small, square, slat-walled houses which stand close to each dwelling house in the permanent villages were evidently orginally built under missionary impetus to serve as bath houses. Some of these bath houses are used for their assumed purpose, but the majority, after their novelty wore off, were converted into storehouses for fishing gear. Loto village at one time set up a row of wooden structures on coral lime foundations in the water a few feet from the lagoon beach. These serve as privies; many of them are in sad need of repair.

In the copra villages, most dwelling and cook houses are built in an old Pukapukan style. One house in particular, a watch house at the place Matala in Uta, has acquired undue prominence in the literature because of its age. Built about three generations ago at the time of first missionary contact, it is a well-authenticated example of one style of Pukapukan house building.

SIMPLE RIDGEPOST HOUSE

341 335 The *uale tolualua* (fig.8,a) is a small, low house, usually erected on exposed outer beaches to serve as a cook house, sometimes as a sleep house. The framework consists of two ridgeposts (*pou tu*), which support a single ridgepole (*tau matua*). In one subtype, rafters (*wati poto*) run from the ridgepole to the ground. In the other subtype, two wall posts (*pou*) on each side support wall plates (*kaubau matua*). Rafters run down from the ridgepole to rest on the wall plates. There are no thatch rafters; the thatch of coconut roof sheets is laid directly against the rafters, in such a manner that the midrib bases of the roof sheets function as thatch purlins. Lashings are of sennit or, as in a rough house examined, of dried *pulaka* stalks. Smaller houses of this type have one ridgepole only, but more substantial houses have a second ridgepole (*tau lua*), which is laid in the crossings of the rafters (fig.8,a). The ridgepole roof sheet is securely fastened to the framework by pegs (*yuki*) that are pushed through the sheets and between the two ridgepoles.

A roof extension (*taumata*) is often added to the exposed end of these

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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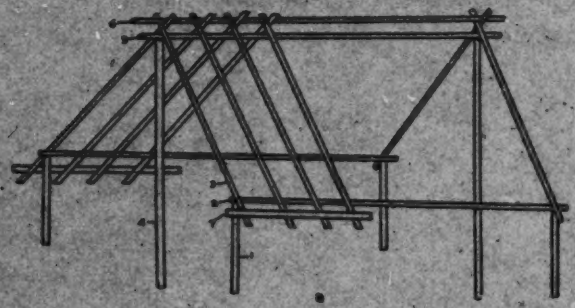
houses. Two cook houses of the *toimaka* type each with a roof extension were observed on the outer beach of Uta:

Two wall posts on each side support a wall plate. Two grooved ridgeposts support the ridgepole. Nine rafters run from the ridgepole to the wall plate on each side of the house. Coconut roof sheets are laid directly on these rafters. The northeast, southeast, and southwest sides of these houses are open, the ends of the rafters on these sides being about 3 feet from the ground. At the northwest end of the houses, two low end posts, each about 18 inches high, support an end plate. End rafters run from the side rafters to these end plates. The thatching of the extension is continued to the ground by extra wide roof sheets that hang down from the end plate. This extension provides complete shelter against severe winds from the northwest. It also acts as a shelter for the ground oven and as a storage place for dry coconut shells and firewood.



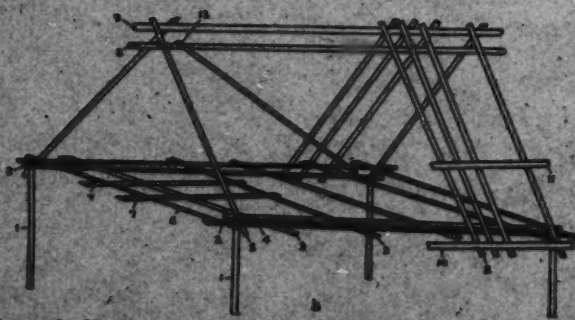


FIGURE 8.—Houses. *a*, framework for male *toimaka* type house: 1, wall post (*pou*); 2, wall plate (*kaukau matua*); 3, rafter (*wuti poto*); 4, ridgepost (*pou ai*); 5, ridgepole (*tau matua*); 6, thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*); 7, purlin (*tabilibili*). *b*, framework for *nukeyamoa* type house: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tiebeam (*oka*); 4, roof plate (*kaukau lua*); 5, rafter; 6, end purlin (end rafters not shown), braced by two supports (*yoka*); 8, main ridgepole; 9, thatch ridgepole; 10, side eaves purlin; 11, midway purlin (*taleau*); 12, diagonal brace (*yoka*), running from roof plate to main ridgepole.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TIEBEAM HOUSE

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The tiebeam house with paired side supporting posts, wall and roof plates is termed *wale wakayamoa* (fig.8,*b*). Though similar to the Rakahangan and Samoan tiebeam houses (*29*, pp. 70-75; *27*, pp. 15 ff.), the Pukapukan house customarily has no kingpost, its principal rafters cross below the ridgepole, and there is no set of wall posts other than the main series of paired wall posts which support the wall plates, tiebeams, and roof plates. For this reason I have retained the term "wall plate" for the longitudinal beam that rests on the wall posts, but this wall plate functions in the same manner as the tiebeam plate of the Samoan house. It is likely that the Pukapukan name for the type house, *wale wakayamoa*, is derived from its similarities to the Samoan house of this style.

This house type is used for dwelling and cook houses in both village and copra settlements. When the tiebeams are covered with a platform (*papanga*), on which coconuts at the *takataka* stage are stored, the house is termed *wale takataka*, a name sometimes given as the type name of the house. The *wale wakayamoa* is also constructed in the reserves as a watch house for the guards. On the outskirts of the villages rough structures of this type are used as shelters for disassembled canoe sections.

In the typical house of this style, two wall posts on either side, grooved at the upper end, support wall plates which rest unlashed in the grooves. Four tiebeams (*oka*) rest on these wall plates and project 18 inches beyond the wall plates to which they are lashed. Resting against the outer ends of each tiebeam are thin poles which serve as supports for the coconut-leaf wall sheets (*takapau*). Roof plates (*koukou lua*) are placed longitudinally on top of, and at the outer extremities of, the tiebeams. Twelve rafters (*wuti pote*) run from roof plate to ridgepole on either side of the house. They are lashed to both roof plate and ridgepole and cross above the ridgepole to support the thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*). An eaves purlin (*tshilikili*) and a second purlin (*taleva*) midway between roof plate and ridgepole are lashed to the inside of the rafters on each side of the house. The roof plate seems to function here as a third purlin, and some informants gave *taleva* as the name for both purlin and roof plate. On the two outer tiebeams at each end of the house are lashed, longitudinally, thin split sections of pandanus wood. These form end platforms for the storage of mats and household goods. They project beyond the outer tiebeam at each end to support an end purlin (*taleva tale levu*). The end rafters are lashed to this purlin and to an end eaves purlin. On one side of the roof framework, a diagonal strut (*yoka*) runs on the inside of the rafters from the ridgepole at the point where the first rafter joins the ridgepole, down to the roof plate at the point where the tenth rafter joins the roof plate. The strut is lashed to ridgepole, intermediate rafters, and roof plate. On the opposite side of the house, the strut runs from the ridgepole at the tenth rafter to the roof plate at the first rafter. In other houses of the *wakayamoa* type, two braces are used on each side. The braces run diagonally from the roof plate in the center upward to each end of the ridgepole. The type house has no other ridgepole support than rafters and struts, but in one house observed, a rough kingpost ran from the second tiebeam in from the end and supported a ridgepole. The kingpost, also called *yoka*, was of rough wood, undressed, and obviously a novel addition to the roof framework. It was lashed neither to tiebeam nor ridgepole.

Each gable end of the type house is made by running eight end rafters (*wuti pote*

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tale lawa) from the end eaves purlin (which is itself lashed at each end to the side eaves purlins) to the end side rafters. Four end rafters run to the left side rafter, four to the right side rafter. The end rafters are of varying length depending on their distance from the highest point of the ridgepole. Another end purlin, midway between eaves purlin and ridgepole supports the end rafters on the inside. A variation may sometimes be introduced into the gable end of both the *wakayamoa* and the *uale atua* house types, by using for the end purlin a piece of timber that has a slight, natural curve in the horizontal plane. The end rafters would be made of suitable length to retain the natural curve of the purlin. In small houses of the *wakayamoa* type, where the end purlin was of small diameter, it was sometimes bent into an artificial curve through binding the two ends of the purlin to the ends of the two outermost side principal rafters and through graduating the length of the end rafters in such a way that when lashed to the purlin, they thrust it out in a slight horizontal curve. There are no side or end thatch rafters on the type house. The coconut roof sheets are fastened directly to the principal rafters, the midribs of the sheets functioning as thatch rafters.

Lashing

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The lashing used for all parts of the house framework is of one pattern only, that of alternating curves, termed *yinna wahawiwi*. The lashing corresponds to the curved pattern lashing described by Buck (29, p. 72, fig. 5)

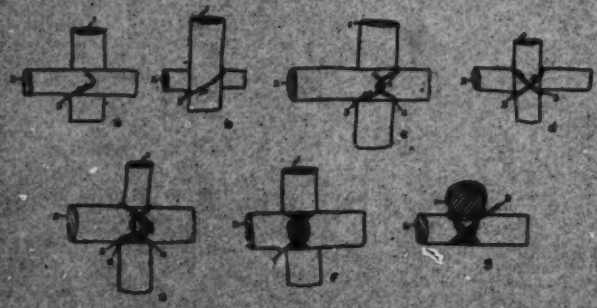

FIGURE 9.—Alternating curves lashing, used for principal parts of house framework; lashing shown for fastening together tiebeam (1) and wall plate (2). *a*, view from above: sennit braid laid on wall plate and held with thumb; free end makes curved turn on under side of wall plate (3). *b*, view from below: free end makes transverse turn across tiebeam. *c*, view from above: sennit braid (4) brought across commencement end, thumb holds crossing cords in place while braid makes curved turn across and down at wall plate (4). *d*, view from below: braid (5) makes transverse turn across and up tiebeam to curve around wall plate. *e*, view from above: braid (6) curves to right across second curve (4) and locks preceding two curves in place; thumb then removed and rough sennit does not slip. *f*, view from above: repetition of two curved turns successively applied on outer side of previous turns produces pattern (7); number of lashings varies according to elements, average number being 5 curves on either side, 10 in all. *g*, side view: crossings of turns and half of one design; braid (2) makes number of horizontal circumferential turns around lashing turns between two wooden elements; end of braid fixed by half hitches around last loops. (Diagram adapted from Buck, 29, fig. 5, p. 72.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola kanuia*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
312 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
284 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
171 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uho*); the method of passing the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yuki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yiuki lau*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch
284 apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tele*) some roof sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*pu pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato yiuki lau* method. The *ato tele* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yiuki* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more apply waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yiuki* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola uanaui*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by skewering them with a lifting pole (*tuku pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola taupato*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*tahapau taupato*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 28-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*hotihoti te tafatahi uale*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reenforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
154 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves
335 and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the
midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these
double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uwe kaunala* or
322 *pepele kaunala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau uwe kaunala*). The
leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pakai kaunala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
over the butt end and lying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are
285 bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A
sewing needle (*tai*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so
that the coconut leaf midrib (*tuaula*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position
on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pale kaunala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
336 *wakayumos* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*wakaulu pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*wakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*wakahaua*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *wakayumos* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles,
the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced
equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same
[171] as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Vene-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 tian blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
285 the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
284 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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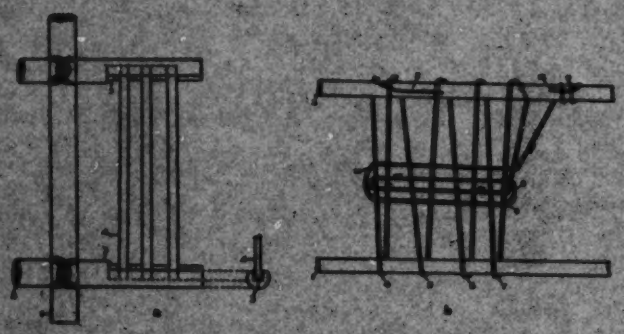

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*uaiuai*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rails fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*ginea uakaraui*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*tau matua*, *tau lua*), also bracing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautalo* and *tau ruamoli*) in model *uaka atua* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of sennit braid laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*uaiuai*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
335 of the *uakayauoa* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two *gaudauoa* logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *ewapua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10*a*), encloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *taka/ua* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting horizontal slats between uprights and tying the slats together by a continuous cord of sennit is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

341 333 Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

341 337 One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *uakayamoa* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the long side of the end tieboams. This house combines features from the *uakayamoa* type and the *uale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *uakayamoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *uakayamoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

341 343 511 Houses of the *uakayamoa* type used as storage houses (*uale takataka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *uale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tieboams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tieboams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu lua*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pu tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale tahatahe*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened
412 the hatches, retied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
414 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated
177 grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *tale*, a name probably derived from the word "scale". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale tahatahe* house with two hatches in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in
33a former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8086)[7]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eave purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,c).

[7] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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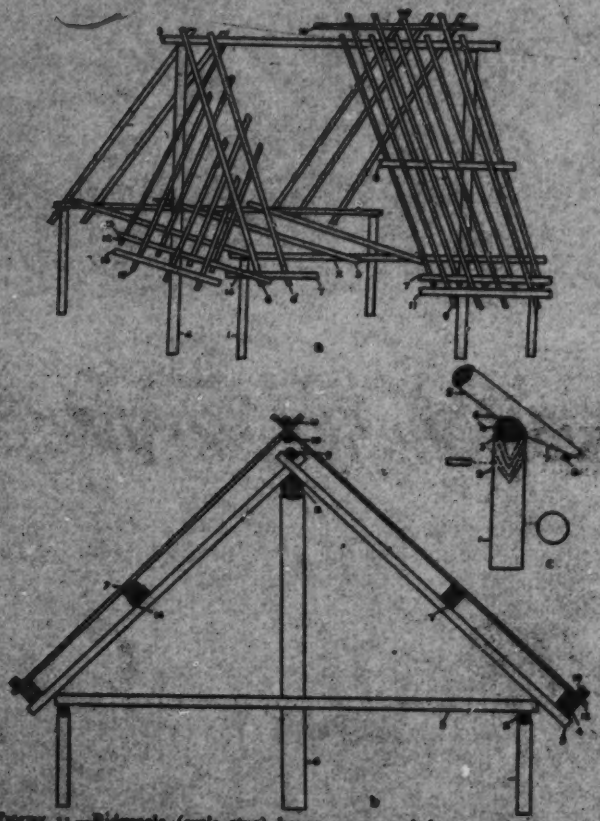

FIGURE 11.—Ridgepole (*uele ewu*) house. *a*, general features of frame construction: 1, wall post, supporting wall plate (2) on which rest tiebeams (3); ridgepost (4) passes upward on inner side of end tiebeam to support main ridgepole (5); principal rafters (6, 6') cross above ridgepole, and are lashed at lower end to wall plate and at upper end to ridgepole; eaves purlin (7) and midway purlin (8) lashed to principal rafters; thatch rafters (9) pass over purlins (7, 8) and support at top second ridgepole (10); another eaves purlin (11) lashed to lower end of thatch rafters; and principal rafters (12) pass to ridgepole and second side principal rafter (6') on each side of roof; end rafter eaves purlin (13) lies on bottom of end principal rafters, and is joined at side to side rafter eaves purlin (7) at point (14); end thatch rafters (15) pass over end purlin (13), and up to first side principal rafter (6) on each side; end eaves purlin (16) joins bottoms of end thatch rafters (15). *b*, end view: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tiebeam; 4, rafter eaves purlin (*tahilihili*); 5, rafter; 6, ridgepost; 7, midway purlin, on left side widened by chock (*neinei*) (14); 8, main ridgepole; 9, second (rafter) ridgepole (*taulua*); 10, third (rafter) ridgepole (*tautolu*); 11, fourth ridgepole (*ala momoli*); 12, thatch rafter (*hayo*); 13, thatch rafter eaves batten. *c*, detail of wall post and rafter: 1, wall post, round cross section, adzed at top to produce rectangular cross section 2; head of wall post grooved (*tuhaulu pou*) (2) to receive wall plate (4); principal rafter (5) grooved on inner side (*tuhaulua*) at 6 to fit over wall plate; inner side of rafter flattened (7) so that eaves purlin (8) will fit closely.

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On each side of the house 25 thatch rafters (*kayá*) of *tuapua* wood are lashed to the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom, the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *nukanuku* wood which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs from the end tiebeam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ¼ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ¼ to ⅛ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that described for the *wale wakayumea* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *wale atua* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

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The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 335 Model house combining features from both the *wale wukayanoa* and the *wale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgepoels, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*neinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautola*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*neinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *tau mamali* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the outer end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (yoke) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (yoke), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 335 284 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yinus wukapoko*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are bound against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinus wukamoa*; fig.10,*b*).

341 335 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the *wukayanoa* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgepoels in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 519 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People sleep on cocoanut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapuka*)

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of houses and their construction, see pp. 43-45.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

House Styles

341 A wide variety of house styles is found in Pukapuka today. In the
797 permanent villages, the dwelling houses are either of coral lime roofed with
pandanus thatch, or of a type introduced from Rarotonga by the missionaries,
343 with slat walls reaching to the roof and often with a wide veranda. Along with these modern houses are found old style dwelling houses and cook houses. Small, square, slat-walled houses which stand close to each dwelling house in the permanent villages were evidently originally built under missionary impetus to serve as bath houses. Some of these bath houses are used for their assumed purpose, but the majority, after their novelty wore off, were converted into storehouses for fishing gear. Loto village at one time set up a row of wooden structures on coral lime foundations in the water a few feet from the lagoon beach. These serve as privies; many of them are in sad need of repair.

In the copra villages, most dwelling and cook houses are built in an old Pukapukan style. One house in particular, a watch house at the place Matala in Uta, has acquired undue prominence in the literature because of its age. Built about three generations ago at the time of first missionary contact, it is a well-authenticated example of one style of Pukapukan house building.

SIMPLE RIDGEPOST HOUSE

341 The *uale toinuku* (fig.8,*a*) is a small, low house, usually erected on
335 exposed outer beaches to serve as a cook house, sometimes as a sleep house. The framework consists of two ridgeposts (*pou tu*), which support a single ridgepole (*tau matua*). In one subtype, rafters (*auti poto*) run from the ridgepole to the ground. In the other subtype, two wall posts (*pou*) on each side support wall plates (*kaubau matua*). Rafters run down from the ridgepole to rest on the wall plates. There are no thatch rafters; the thatch of coconut roof sheets is laid directly against the rafters, in such a manner that the midrib bases of the roof sheets function as thatch purlins. Lashings are of sennit or, as in a rough house examined, of dried *pulaka* stalks. Smaller houses of this type have one ridgepole only, but more substantial houses have a second ridgepole (*tau lua*), which is laid in the crossings of the rafters (fig.8,*a*). The ridgepole roof sheet is securely fastened to the framework by pegs (*yuki*) that are pushed through the sheets and between the two ridgepoles.

A roof extension (*tauwaia*) is often added to the exposed end of these

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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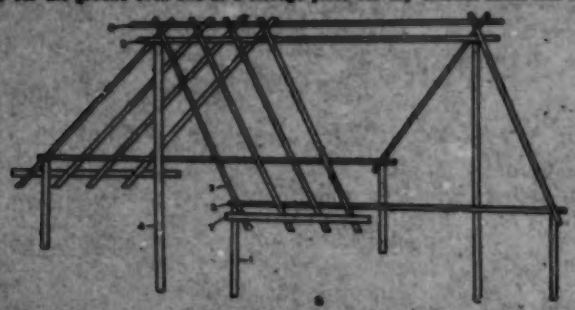
[illegible]. Two cook houses of the *teimuhu* type each with a roof extension were observed on the outer beach of Uta:

Two wall posts on each side support a wall plate. Two grooved ridgepoles support the ridgepole. Nine rafters run from the ridgepole to the wall plate on each side of the house. Coconut roof sheets are laid directly on these rafters. The northeast, southeast, and southwest sides of these houses are open, the ends of the rafters on these sides being about 3 feet from the ground. At the northwest end of the houses, two low end posts, each about 18 inches high, support an end plate. End rafters run from the side rafters to these end plates. The thatching of the extension is continued to the ground by extra wide roof sheets that hang down from the end plate. This extension provides complete shelter against severe winds from the northwest. It also acts as a shelter for the ground oven and as a storage place for dry coconut shells and firewood.



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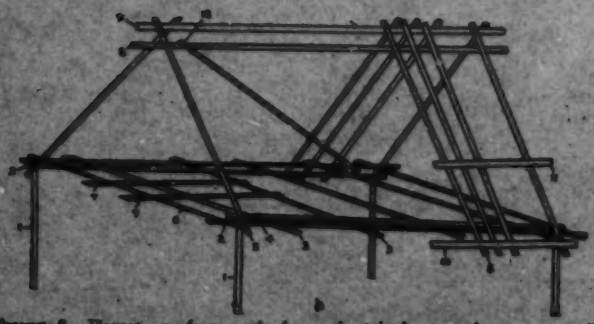

b

FIGURE 8.—HOUSES. *a*, framework for *uala teimuhu* type house: 1, wall post (*pou*); 2, wall plate (*hauhau matua*); 3, rafter (*uuti poto*); 4, ridgepost (*pou ta*); 5, ridgepole (*tau matua*); 6, thatch ridgepole (*tau lua*); 7, purlin (*tahilihili*). *b*, framework for *uala-yamuu* type house: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tieboam (*oka*); 4, roof plate (*hauhau lua*); 5, rafter; 6, end purlin (end rafters not shown), braced by two supports (*yoke*); 8, main ridgepole; 9, thatch ridgepole; 10, side eaves purlin; 11, midway purlin (*taiaca*); 12, diagonal brace (*yoke*), running from roof plate to main ridgepole.

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TIEBEAM HOUSE

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The tiebeam house with paired side supporting posts, wall and roof plates is termed *wale unkeyamoa* (fig.8,*b*). Though similar to the Rakahangan and Samoan tiebeam houses (29, pp. 70-75; 27, pp. 15 ff.), the Pukapukan house customarily has no kingpost, its principal rafters cross below the ridgepole, and there is no set of wall posts other than the main series of paired wall posts which support the wall plates, tiebeams, and roof plates. For this reason I have retained the term "wall plate" for the longitudinal beam that rests on the wall posts, but this wall plate functions in the same manner as the tiebeam plate of the Samoan house. It is likely that the Pukapukan name for the type house, *wale unkeyamoa*, is derived from its similarities to the Samoan house of this style.

This house type is used for dwelling and cook houses in both village and copra settlements. When the tiebeams are covered with a platform (*pupunga*), on which coconuts at the *taketoka* stage are stored, the house is termed *wale taketoka*, a name sometimes given as the type name of the house. The *wale unkeyamoa* is also constructed in the reserves as a watch house for the guards. On the outskirts of the villages rough structures of this type are used as shelters for dismembled canoe sections.

In the typical house of this style, two wall posts on either side, grooved at the upper end, support wall plates which rest unmated in the grooves. Four tiebeams (*oko*) rest on these wall plates and project 18 inches beyond the wall plates to which they are lashed. Resting against the outer ends of each tiebeam are thin poles which serve as supports for the coconut-leaf wall sheets (*takapau*). Roof plates (*hauhau hau*) are placed longitudinally on top of, and at the outer extremities of, the tiebeams. Twelve rafters (*uuti poto*) run from roof plate to ridgepole on either side of the house. They are lashed to both roof plate and ridgepole and cross above the ridgepole to support the thatch ridgepole (*tau hau*). An eaves purlin (*takilibili*) and a second purlin (*taleve*) midway between roof plate and ridgepole are lashed to the inside of the rafters on each side of the house. The roof plate seems to function here as a third purlin, and some informants gave *taleve* as the name for both purlin and roof plate. On the two outer tiebeams at each end of the house are lashed, longitudinally, thin split sections of pandanus wood. These form end platforms for the storage of mats and household goods. They project beyond the outer tiebeam at each end to support an end purlin (*taleve tale hawa*). The end rafters are lashed to this purlin and to an end eaves purlin. On one side of the roof framework, a diagonal strut (*yoke*) runs on the inside of the rafters from the ridgepole at the point where the first rafter joins the ridgepole, down to the roof plate at the point where the tenth rafter joins the roof plate. The strut is lashed to ridgepole, intermediate rafters, and roof plate. On the opposite side of the house, the strut runs from the ridgepole at the tenth rafter to the roof plate at the first rafter. In other houses of the *unkeyamoa* type two braces are used on each side. The braces run diagonally from the roof plate in the center upward to each end of the ridgepole. The type house has no other ridgepole support than rafters and struts, but in one house observed, a rough kingpost ran from the second tiebeam in from the end and supported a ridgepole. The kingpost, also called *yoke*, was of rough wood, undressed, and obviously a novel addition to the roof framework. It was lashed neither to tiebeam nor ridgepole.

Each gable end of the type house is made by running eight end rafters (*uuti poto*

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tele tiaru) from the end eaves purlin (which is itself lashed at each end to the side eaves purlins) to the end side rafters. Four end rafters run to the left side rafter, four to the right side rafter. The end rafters are of varying length depending on their distance from the highest point of the ridgepole. Another end purlin, midway between eaves purlin and ridgepole supports the end rafters on the inside. A variation may sometimes be introduced into the gable end of both the *nukuyamos* and the *nafe atua* house types, by using for the end purlin a piece of timber that has a slight, natural curve in the horizontal plane. The end rafters would be made of suitable length to retain the natural curve of the purlin. In small houses of the *nukuyamos* type, where the end purlin was of small diameter, it was sometimes bent into an artificial curve through binding the two ends of the purlin to the ends of the two outermost side principal rafters and through graduating the length of the end rafters in such a way that when lashed to the purlin, they thrust it out in a slight horizontal curve. There are no side or end thatch rafters on the type house. The coconut roof sheets are fastened directly to the principal rafters, the midribs of the sheets functioning as thatch rafters.

Lashing

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The lashing used for all parts of the house framework is of one pattern only, that of alternating curves, termed *yinus nukausiui*. The lashing corresponds to the curved pattern lashing described by Buck (29, p. 72, fig. 5)

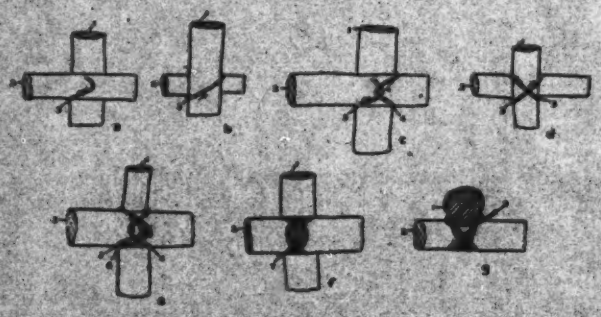

FIGURE 9.—Alternating curves lashing, used for principal parts of house framework; lashing shown for fastening together tieboam (1) and wall plate (2). *a*, view from above: sennit braid laid on wall plate and held with thumb; free end makes curved turn on under side of wall plate (2). *b*, view from below: free end makes transverse turn across tieboam. *c*, view from above: sennit braid (4) brought across commencement end, thumb holds crossing cords in place while braid makes curved turn across and down at wall plate (4). *d*, view from below: braid (5) makes transverse turn across and up tieboam to curve around wall plate. *e*, view from above: braid (6) curves to right across second curve (4) and locks preceding two curves in place; thumb then removed and rough sennit does not slip. *f*, view from above: repetition of two curved turns successively applied on outer side of previous turns produces pattern (7); number of lashings varies according to elements, average number being 5 curves on either side, 10 in all. *g*, side view: crossings of turns and half of one design; braid (2) makes number of horizontal circumferential turns around lashing turns between two wooden elements; end of braid fixed by half hitches around last loops. (Diagram adapted from Buck, 29, fig. 5, p. 72.)

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284 for a type Rakahangan house, save that the Pukapukan commencement
335 differs slightly from the Rakahangan technique. The Pukapukan lashing
171 is shown in figure 9. This lashing is extremely common in Pukapuka on both houses and canoes, and is the only lashing used when it is necessary to fasten together securely two crossing elements.

Thatching

285 All houses in former days were thatched (*ato*) with coconut roof sheets
341 (*pola launia*). The method of plaiting the double coconut sheet is that
312 described by Buck (26, pp. 7-11, figs. 6-10) for Aitutaki. Before being made
284 into roof sheets the coconut leaf midribs are soaked in salt water for a few
171 hours to free them of insects. The roof sheets are attached to the rafters by a continuous two-ply twisted sennit cord (*uka*); the method of passing the cord through the sheets from the inside of the house and back from the outside is that described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 19-21, figs. 23-25). A special thatching needle (*yuki*) is used in Pukapuka, however, to facilitate this work. Two methods are distinguished by which the sheets may be applied to the rafters:

341 In one method (*ato yinaki lau*), the sheet midribs are all of the same length. They
335 are applied in courses running from eaves to ridgepole, the midribs about one inch apart, contiguous courses overlapping. In the second method (*ato tala*) some roof
284 sheets are made with short, some with long, midribs. Long midribs (*ai pola*) alternate in each course with short midribs (*po pola*) and the sections running from eaves to ridgepole are not defined as in the *ato yinaki lau* method. The *ato tala* method of applying the sheets is more laborious than the *ato yinaki* method, but a well-thatched roof of this type is more nearly waterproof and lasts up to 10 years, whereas an *ato yinaki* roof, though more easily and quickly applied, rarely lasts longer than four to five years.

In thatching a roof section, a long doubled sheet (*pola wawati*) is placed on the rafters above the eaves. A long sheet is placed on top of this and the lashing to the rafters commences. Short sheets alternate with long sheets. As the thatching advances up the side of the roof, a worker lifts up the roof sheets to those who are lashing from the inside by showering them with a lifting pole (*tuku pola*), which has the customary shoulder point. In both methods of thatching it is arranged that the last sheet to be applied to the sides is a long one. On top of this and overlapping the ridgepole break (*ati*) between the thatchings of the two sides is placed another sheet (*pola ati*), covered by still another sheet (*pola taupoto*). Over all is placed a coconut ridging mat
[171] (*takapau taupoto*), made of two split half leaves and one whole leaf as described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 24-28, figs. 26-34). The gable ends are thatched in the same manner, starting from the double sheet at the eaves and working up to the ridgepole. The sheets are shortened as the thatching comes close to the ridgepole. At the top a small space is usually left for ventilation, and at the sides the edges of end sheets are often wedged in between the sheets that form the side thatching. Some leave the overhanging sheets at the eaves ragged and irregular, but others carefully trim the eaves edge of the sheets in an even line (*hetiheti te tulutulu uale*).

When heavy winds are expected, the thatching of coconut-leaf sheets is reinforced by knotting together the tip ends of two coconut midribs, which are then slung over the roof thatching in such a way that one midrib falls

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341 on one side of the roof, the other midrib on the other side. Where the roof
284 is low, leaflets at the butt end of each midrib are carried under the eaves and tied to a thatch rafter. Where the roof is high, the weight of the
335 midribs is sufficient to hold down the roof securely. A number of these double midrib slings are placed at intervals along the roof for added protection.

[177] House thatching with pandanus leaves was introduced into Pukapuka by missionaries from Rarotonga. The method in use conforms in every particular to the Aitutaki method (26, pp. 11-24):

314 Pandanus leaves are collected in the reserves, and straightened (*uoe lauuala* or
322 *yayalo lauuala*) by passing them around an upright stick (*lakau uoe lauuala*). The leaves are then fastened in bundles (*pohai lauuala*) by placing the tip end of each leaf
285 over the butt end and tying the ends of a number of leaves together. The leaves are bent over and sewn to strips of wood split from the aerial roots of the pandanus. A sewing needle (*tui*) is used to split the longitudinal grain of the pandanus leaves so that the coconut leaf midribs (*tuamis*) may be inserted to keep the leaves in position on the wooden strip. The completed roof sheet is termed *pola lauuala*.

Framework Construction

341 Pandanus wood is used almost exclusively in the framework of the
390 *uakayamoa* type house. Formerly the wall posts were buried about 12 inches in the ground, but in a modern house of this type, four ground posts are supported on low, grooved coral stones and the wall posts are fitted to these ground posts by mortise and tenon joints. In the modern house the tendency is also to fit together tiebeams, wall and roof plates with mortise and tenon joints, but in the old house this would have required much labor with shell adzes. Hence only the tops of the wall posts were grooved (*uakaulu pou*) to receive the wall plates, the heads of the rafters chipped out (*uakatala*) to fit against the ridgepole, and roof plates grooved (*uakakanu*) to fit against the tiebeams. If it is necessary to leave a house framework unthatched for several days all the principal posts are wrapped with coconut-leaf mats (*takapau*), and rafters are covered with a few coconut midribs, to protect the timbers from rotting or warping in sun or rain.

Wall Mats

341 In old houses of the *uakayamoa* type, walls are made with coconut-leaf
285 mats (*takapau*). Mats are made long enough to overlap two wall poles, the depth of plaiting for each mat being about 12 inches. In a typical house,
284 four mats form a set between each pair of wall poles. The mats are supported at their upper, midrib edges by two or three sennit cords spaced
[171] equidistantly between the two edges. The method of support is the same as the Samoan method (27, pp. 73-74, fig. 79). The mats operate on a Vene-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 tian blind system and are raised and lowered according to the direction of
285 the prevailing wind. The overlap of the mat screens against the wall poles
254 prevents their being blown inward by the wind.

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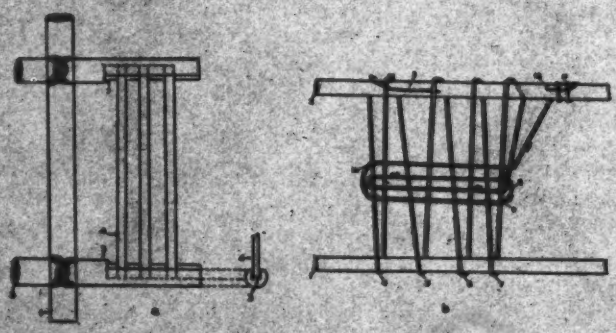

FIGURE 10.—Details of house construction. *a*, making of house wall (*uaiuai*): 1, wall post; 2, horizontal wall logs; 3, point at which slotting of inner surfaces of wall logs commences; 4, thin rails fitting at each end into slotted wall logs. *b*, suspended loop lashing (*yinu uahanau*), bracing first and second ridgepoles (*tau matua, tau lua*), also bracing third and fourth ridgepoles (*tautalu* and *tau mamoli*) in model *uale atua* house: 1, main ridgepole; 2, second ridgepole; 3, buried commencement end of sennit braid laid on ridgepole; four figure-of-eight turns (4, 5, 6, 7) made around both ridgepoles; free end (8) passes in one circumferential turn round four figure-of-eight turns; free end then passes (9) through lower loop of figure-of-eight and back through upper loop (10); lashing finishes with overhand knot made on one cord of outer loop or else free end passes up to second ridgepole where it makes two or more turns (11) and finishes buried underneath two turns (12) and pulled tight.

Wooden Walls

341 Low walls (*uaiuai*) are sometimes added to dwelling and cook houses
335 of the *uaheyonua* type by the following method, said to be old:

Two *paukuau* logs about 6 inches in diameter are run between the wall posts, one log at ground level, the other about 30 inches from the ground. A rough slot is hollowed out about 3 inches deep and 2 inches wide on the inner surfaces of the two logs. A series of *puapua* poles, about 3 feet long and 1½ inches in diameter, is inserted vertically between the two logs, the upper and lower end of each pole resting in the slots. This wall, which resembles a close-set railing fence (fig.10,*a*), incloses the house on three sides, leaving one end open for a door. On the outside of this low wall and between the top of the wall and the roof eaves (if the eaves are high), *tuhafou* mats are hung for extra protection. Cook houses rarely add the extra mat protection unless they are in exposed situations. The method of adding a wall to a house by inserting horizontal slats between uprights and tying the slats together by a continuous cord of sennit is modern and introduced from Rarotonga.

[177]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

341 333 Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

341 335 One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *wakayumoa* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inner side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *wakayumoa* type and the *uale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *wakayumoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*taumata*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *wakayumoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

341 343 511 Houses of the *wakayumoa* type used as storage houses (*uale takataka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *uale takataka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale takataka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

[251] 343 254

Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takataka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu lua*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pu tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *wale takataka*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, rested the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
417 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called
414 *tala*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *wale takataka* house with two hatches
177 in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *wale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*wale atua*), but the massive con-
330 struction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *wale atua* house (C8086)[7]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the cross purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,*c*).

[7] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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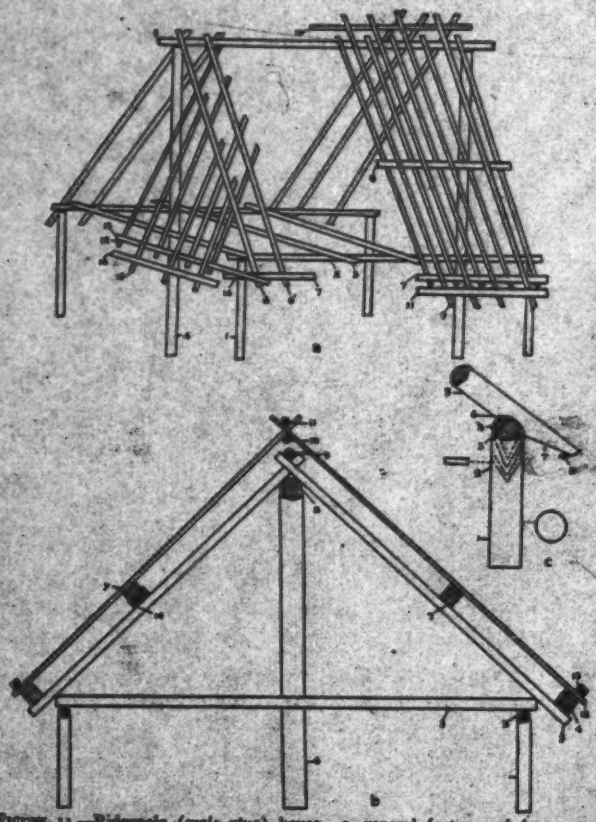

FIGURE 11.—Ridgepole (*uele atua*) house. *a*, general features of frame construction: 1, wall post, supporting wall plate (2) on which rest tiebeams (3); ridgepost (4) passes upward on inner side of end tiebeam to support main ridgepole (5); principal rafters (6, 6') cross above ridgepole, and are lashed at lower end to wall plate and at upper end to ridgepole; eaves purlin (7) and midway purlin (8) lashed to principal rafters; thatch rafters (9) pass over purlins (7, 8) and support at top second ridgepole (10); another eaves purlin (11) lashed to lower end of thatch rafters; end principal rafters (12) pass to ridgepole and second side principal rafter (6') on each side of roof; end rafter eaves purlin (13) lies on bottom of end principal rafters, and is joined at side to side rafter eaves purlin (7) at point (14); end thatch rafters (15) pass over end purlin (13), and up to first side principal rafter (6) on each side; end eaves purlin (16) joins bottoms of end thatch rafters (15). *b*, end view: 1, wall post; 2, wall plate; 3, tiebeam; 4, rafter eaves purlin (*takikiki*); 5, rafter; 6, ridgepost; 7, midway purlin, on left side widened by chock (*aeinei*) (14); 8, main ridgepole; 9, second (rafter) ridgepole (*taulua*); 10, third (rafter) ridgepole (*taudoin*); 11, fourth ridgepole (*ata mamoli*); 12, thatch rafter (*kayo*); 13, thatch rafter eaves batten. *c*, detail of wall post and rafter: 1, wall post, round cross section, adzed at top to produce rectangular cross section 2; head of wall post grooved (*uehaulu pou*) (3) to receive wall plate (4); principal rafter (5) grooved on inner side (*uehakaua*) at 6 to fit over wall plate; inner side of rafter fastened (7) so that eaves purlin (8) will fit closely.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 On each side of the house 25 thatch rafters (*koyo*) of *pusipus* wood are lashed to
the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the
344 ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom,
the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of
335 the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *wakapuna* wood
284 which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the
end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds
of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs
from the end tiebeam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from
the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To
the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch
rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the
second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward
so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave
and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side
thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ¾ inch thick, which
takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single cir-
cumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to
the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating
curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ¾ to ⅝ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that
described for the *wale wahayacoa* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid
on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *wale atua* type watch house are: length, 34 feet;
width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves
from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of
ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches;
diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
335 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
342 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There
are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four
tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters
cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with
the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being
fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house,
there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end
to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the
ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary
wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters
run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower
end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end
thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall
posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This
house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on
the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 Model house combining features from both the *uale uukayamoo* and the *uale atua* 335 types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*neinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautolu*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*neinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *nin momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoka*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoka*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal 335 rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by 284 three circumferential turns (*yimu uukapoka*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yimu uukaoua*; fig.10,*b*).

341 The variations in this model *uale atua* type house bring it close in type to the 335 *uukayamoo* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People 513 sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*inpulu*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

778 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early mission-
172 ary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make
791 walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice
728 Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative
346 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted
[361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yionga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pae-*
613 *pae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the
341 foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[127] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Chris-
565 tian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners
764 (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wale* and *uui aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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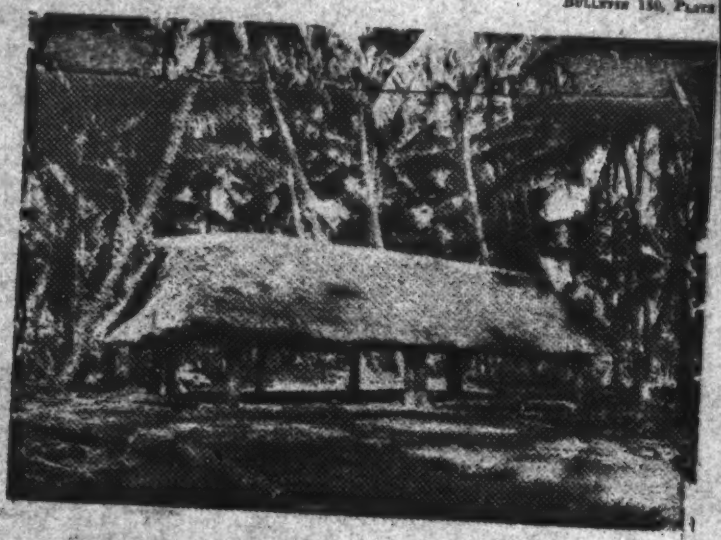

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B

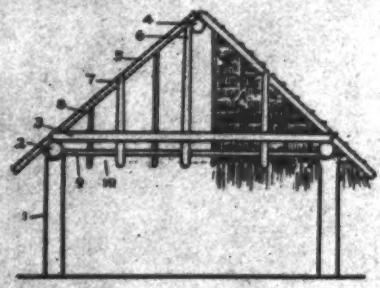
HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE *WALE ATUA* TYPE AT THE PLACE MATALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA, USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD; ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REENFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF LOTO VILLAGE; THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
341, 335

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for description of houses and their construction, see pp. 43-45.]

HOUSES

The village of Pukapuka presents an array of varied house types which have been adopted from European and Cook Islands forms. Dwellings on piles, and others with piazzas, doors, and windows, are all common. European frame buildings and houses with coral walls and roofs of thatch or corrugated iron have displaced many of the simpler native ones. No perfect native house of ancient type exists



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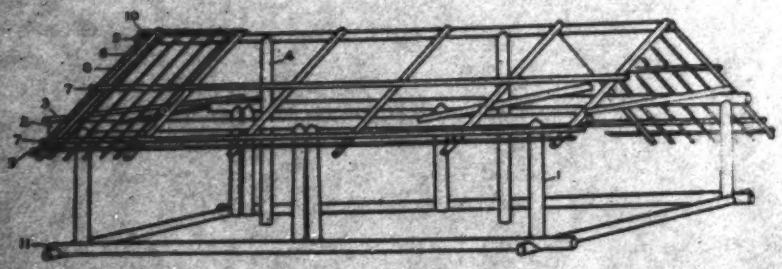

b

FIGURE 12.—House construction: *a*, framework of end: 1, supporting post; 2, tie-beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, main ridgepole; 5, rafter; 6, middle end rafter; 7, lateral end rafter; 8, end thatch rafter; 9, end purlin; 10, end eave batten. *b*, framework of house: 1, supporting post which holds up tie beam (2); 3, tie beams resting across ends of tie-beam plate; 4, center post, supporting main ridgepole (5); 6, rafter, supported on tie-beam plate and main ridgepole; 7, purlin, supported by rafters; 8, thatch rafter supported by purlins; 9, eave batten across ends of thatch rafters; 10, upper ridgepole resting in crotch formed by rafters and supporting ends of thatch rafters; 11, logs about boundaries of house floor for retaining coral pebble flooring. Sketched by Toshio Asaeda.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
538] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
33 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
664 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable,
461 and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waito*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who
431 borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
476 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
574 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

551 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
[322] talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakoyinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakamaliengo*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakoyinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malienga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uao*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *mauu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *mauu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *mauu*, each woman five *mauu*, each child one *mauu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu ipuine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
574 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
431 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5
621 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000
627 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/2 [i.e, to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 On each side of the house 23 thatch rafters (*kayo*) of *puapua* wood are lashed to
344 the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom,
335 the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of the series of rafters.
284 Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *mokonoa* wood which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs from the end tiebeam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ⅛ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating eaves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ⅛ to ¼ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that described for the *wale wahoyamoa* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *wale ainu* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
335 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
342 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 Model house combining features from both the *wale wukayamoa* and the *wale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams,
335 which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*iau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautolu*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *niu momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoka*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoka*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal
335 rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yinu wukapoka*). The first and second ridgepoles and
284 again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinu wukamou*; fig.10,*b*).

341 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the
335 *wukayamoa* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People
513 sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapulu*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tauma*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*uale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
252 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *uale uahoyamoa* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
372 build, and, in the main, of the *uale toimuhu* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*matu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*houfapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*hale*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *hale* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*fa te imu*), coconut shells (*ugaipa*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pihipihi*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*hoa matamata te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te imu*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *tua*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *puapua* leaves (*lautaloa*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *lautaloa*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *puapua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *poipole* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *poipole*. The whole oven covering is termed *tuhao*; to cover the oven is *uui te imu* or *tui te tuhao*. Whenever a woman comes back from the talo beds, she places a bundle of *puapua* leaves on her head to
[471] serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of talo and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the talo from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
262 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

House Styles

341 797 343 A wide variety of house styles is found in Pukapuka today. In the permanent villages, the dwelling houses are either of coral lime roofed with pandanus thatch, or of a type introduced from Rarotonga by the missionaries, with slat walls reaching to the roof and often with a wide veranda. Along with these modern houses are found old style dwelling houses and cook houses. Small, square, slat-walled houses which stand close to each dwelling house in the permanent villages were evidently orginally built under missionary impetus to serve as bath houses. Some of these bath houses are used for their assumed purpose, but the majority, after their novelty wore off, were converted into storehouses for fishing gear. Loto village at one time set up a row of wooden structures on coral lime foundations in the water a few feet from the lagoon beach. These serve as privies; many of them are in sad need of repair.

In the copra villages, most dwelling and cook houses are built in an old Pukapukan style. One house in particular, a watch house at the place Matala in Uta, has acquired undue prominence in the literature because of its age. Built about three generations ago at the time of first missionary contact, it is a well-authenticated example of one style of Pukapukan house building.

SIMPLE RIDGEPOST HOUSE

341 335 The *wale tsimuhu* (fig.8,*a*) is a small, low house, usually erected on exposed outer beaches to serve as a cook house, sometimes as a sleep house. The framework consists of two ridgeposts (*pou tu*), which support a single ridgepole (*tau matua*). In one subtype, rafters (*wuti poto*) run from the ridgepole to the ground. In the other subtype, two wall posts (*pou*) on each side support wall plates (*houhau matua*). Rafters run down from the ridgepole to rest on the wall plates. There are no thatch rafters; the thatch of coconut roof sheets is laid directly against the rafters, in such a manner that the midrib bases of the roof sheets function as thatch purlins. Lashings are of sennit or, as in a rough house examined, of dried *puloha* stalks. Smaller houses of this type have one ridgepole only, but more substantial houses have a second ridgepole (*tau lua*), which is laid in the crossings of the rafters (fig.8,*a*). The ridgepole roof sheet is securely fastened to the framework by pegs (*yuhi*) that are pushed through the sheets and between the two ridgepoles.

A roof extension (*tawuta*) is often added to the exposed end of these

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

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Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*parpas*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the back beach of Uin conforms in all particulars to the *wakayamoo* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the inner side of the end tieberams. This house combines features from the *wakayamoo* type and the *uale atua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pole* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *wakayamoo* type are provided with roof extensions (*tamoete*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *wakayamoo* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *wakayamoo* type used as storage houses (*uale takatoka*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *uale takatoka* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale takatoka*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *takatoka* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tieberams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tieberams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pa lao*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pa tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale taketake*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, retied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
417 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated groom's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *tala*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's
414 sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale taketake* house with two hatches
177 in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8086)[1]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eave purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11*c*).

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bishop Museum.

Z;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been reenforced by new posts.

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PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu ine*) was
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[7] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

341 On each side of the house 25 thatch rafters (*haye*) of *puapua* wood are lashed to
344 the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the
ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom,
the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of
395 the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *unhanave* wood
284 which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the
end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds
of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs
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second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward
so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ¼ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ⅜ to ½ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that described for the *uale wahayamoa* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *uale atua* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
335 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
342 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

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Stone Implements

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Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

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Religious enclosures (*atunga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*una*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Taua, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village.

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Two of these sites were cleared.

At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaua there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tulikalo. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tulikalo was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaua. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tumulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakiate. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 13 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

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No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the tale swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularise these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yionga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,B).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alii uale* and *uai alii*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

778 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
782 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

778 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*amanga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kauna*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakovae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

778 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

778 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
793 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*tauta*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *awanga*. These are *te newu o Tulikalo* and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *newu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 335 Model house combining features from both the *wale wukayamoo* and the *wale atua* types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*taw lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautala*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *nia momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yaba*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yaba*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 335 284 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yinna wukapeka*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinna wukamoo*; fig.10,*b*).

341 335 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the *wukayamoo* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 513 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapula*)

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352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
373 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other
415 items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukuma*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*toka*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *uukuuuu* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uuu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*uuuu*)
358 become vicious:

285 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end
412 of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uluuulu*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uluuulu tuuulu*, CB193) is made of midribs (*tuu*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*ilio*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *ilio* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*uuluapuu*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient handle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*uuliuuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uluuulu uuulu*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *uuuuulu* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of *uuuulu*, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

354 especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-
372 of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lauma ngaipu*.

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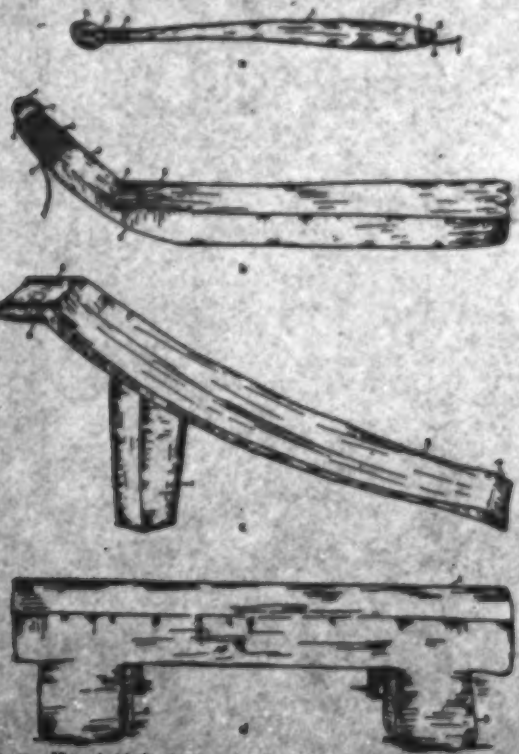

FIGURE 10.—Household implements. a, scraper (*ngaipi*) (Ch127) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngaengie* wood (1) 12½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ½ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle lightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully chipped hole

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352 in scraping shell (*vulyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing
412 turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turn; at proximal end a
322 thin cord (7) of twisted sennit fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of sennit cord lapped about notch (5) and
284 fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around sennit cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8:06): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *nutsu* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10½ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) chopped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*tebe*) cut from solid block of *nukunuku* wood (C8:61): 1, four-sided stand 8½ inches high at back and 5½ inches high at front, sides about 5½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ½ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ½ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short central longitudinal ridge 1½ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*uluuga lakau*) (C8:84); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 5½ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3½ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flaw at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

352 Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern.
573 Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests
484 or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in com-
mon use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines.
171 Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

243 To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking
412 stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*hoyo*, C8:49) of *ngangia* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants
482 were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*ama*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

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285/352 Sleeping and floor mats are made of all three pandanus materials in various sizes for children and adults. The name of the material is added to the general name for a mat (*panga*) to distinguish the various types. Pukapukan mats in Bishop Museum are:

Name	Specimen Number	Material	Size	Wefts to Inch	Use
Panga leupou	C8070	lauwila	3'5" square	6	Crawling mat for child
Panga lauwila ava	C8071	lauwila	1'11" × 1'6"	5	Mat on which new-born infant is laid
Epanga	C8074	lauwila	5' × 6'6"	5	Durable under-mat for sleeping
Panga lito	C8114	lito	5'5" × 4'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lito	C8120	lito	5'8" × 3'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lauwala pakapaka	C8123	lauwala pakapaka	4'10" × 4'	3	Coarse foundation mat placed under epanga for sleeping
Panga lauoui (mixed) lauwila ma lito	C8166	lauwila and lito	5'1" × 3'5"	6	Durable sleeping mat
Panga kie wete	C8121	kie wete	5'4" × 4'	6	Soft mat used to cover body when sleeping

285/171 All the above mats have the exposed sinistral finish described by Buck (27, fig. 118,*a*), except the last which presents two interesting variations in the fundamental plaiting technique:

> It is made of single elements to obtain a soft surface, but in order to bind the edges securely, the Samoan fine mat technique of a five-weft braid finish is used in defining the lower border. The commencement edge on the reverse side of the mat follows the method described by Buck (27, fig.161) and the continuation is the turned back fringe described by Buck (27, fig. 162 right). In the Pukapukan mat the dropped sinistrals are cut off flush with the lower border. The upper, finishing edge follows the Samoan method (27, figs.163,164) with the exceptions that the Pukapukan mat has a five-weft braid finish; the fringe ends produced by the projecting sinistrals and dextrals are cut off flush with the border; the right upper corner is not braided into a tail but the last three working dextrals are roughly interlocked by carrying the third working dextral from the end over the corner of the mat and pushing it under one sinistral, then with a forward turn, pushing it under two dextrals and cutting the ends off flush with the edge. The last two working dextrals from the end are turned back at the edge and pushed underneath the third dextral where it passes to the other side of the mat.

285/531 All the mats have overlaid or through and through designs of the customary red-dyed pandanus material. Most of the designs are old but several are obviously modern, for example the turtle (*wonu*) and the house side (*tolotulu*) designs. The mats are more heavily laden with design than is usual because the plaiters felt that many designs were appropriate for what they knew would be museum pieces.

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangenga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangenga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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88'
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826
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[352]

Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *haitau nukayoni*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be secluded. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale haitau*) for each sex. The *uale haitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*paipai te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *tau hotonu* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*tauta*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *nuku uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *haitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *haitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*haitau lakipoko*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
572 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
571 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki hai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yawaga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tukuna*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for mats and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga kakana*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga kakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

Wooden back rests (*tabe*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former times. Made of *wakonoa* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uwa*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*uwa*) become vicious:

These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uleuvale*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uleuvale tamaki*, Cl193) is made of midribs (*ua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*mahapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tapetape*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*mutimuti*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uleuvale uale*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of *aumiti*, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

354 especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-
372 of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tonma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lama ngaipu*.

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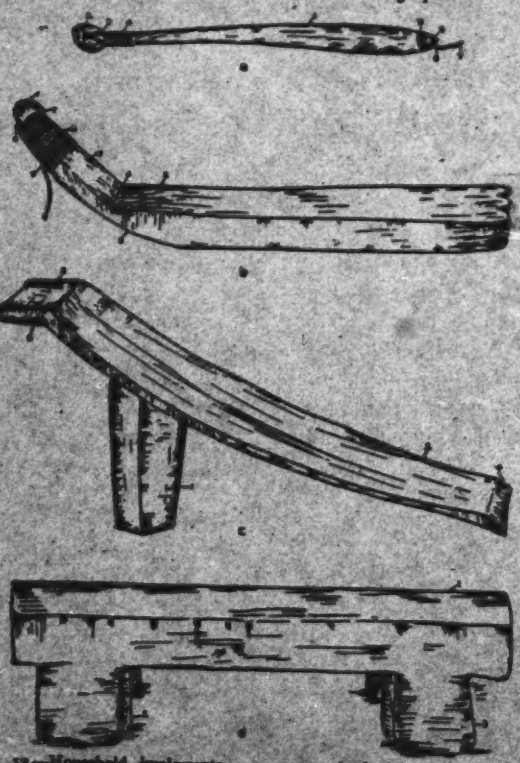

FIGURE 32.—Household implements. *a*, scraper (*valuyi*) (CB127) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngangie* wood (1) 13½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ⅜ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully designed hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245/482 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is discarded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo taumaye*, C8038) of *ngangie* wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has 25/412 a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*kalokalo ni mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *niu kalokalo*. The blade is the *uyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*aloalo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tuai*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

415 A coconut cream wringer (*tawonga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *niu mata* stage after burial in beach sand to mascerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *loulou ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*wakapona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

415/353 Water containers (*wowongi*; fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *valuyi* or *salu wowongi* (fig.12,*b*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*wawai*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
573 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukaua*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *uakanava* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*neue*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*)
358 become vicious:
285
412 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*velevele*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*velevele tuaulu*, C2193) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*uakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*uulimuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*velevele uole*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

778 the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it
793 seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga uvlo*)—one associated
778 with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung
776 up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*auanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today
778 the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone
[171] (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was
346 turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of
793 two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

778 Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*taute*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however,
793 men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this
358 or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

778 Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *auanga*. These are *te newu o Tulikalo* and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *newu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
361 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this
109 islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
164 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church
423 and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
731 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
621 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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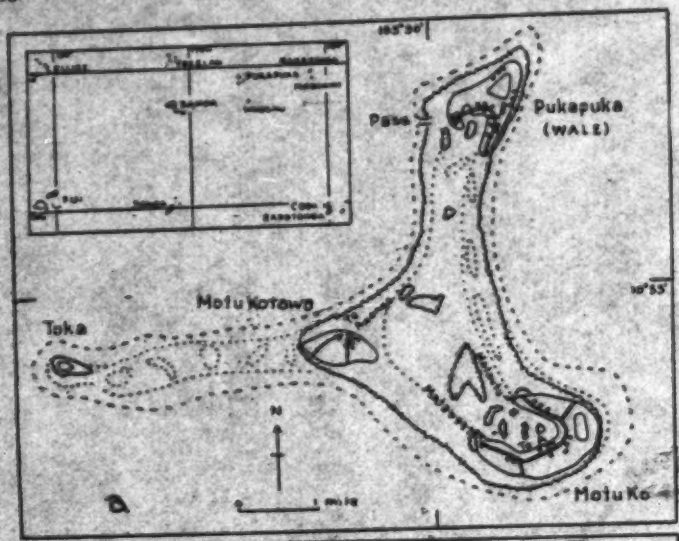

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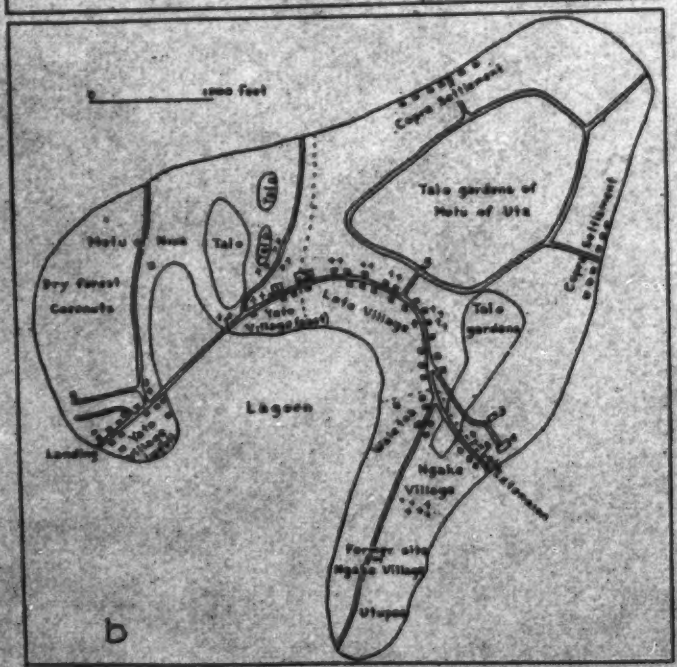

FIGURE 1.—Maps of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto, and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
423 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
621 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
491 Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the courthouse, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
487 through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Puna-ule	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kiliuaana	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Takamuni	'Circle' ?
	Ulekawa	'Penis-of-semnit' ?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Uhu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Mataliki (mata aliki, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (mata iiki, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1aBeaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
685 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*avo*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Nima. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *aotou* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
626 the high chief (*aliki uvo*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tona and requested
776 [See p. 15, category 11b — analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
132 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
321 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that
123 their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
132 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
421 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law
361 of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
221 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day
245 to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
423 (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
311 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[364] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *hanu* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na hanu i te tuaa lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na hanu i te tuaa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipele *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-kakala, Te Weli, Te Fuapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognise none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds; first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
428 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 Each section (*hanu*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
613 *yituanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
692 marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

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Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*siongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

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Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

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Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

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Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wale* and *uni aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and
613 clearings of Pukapuka is given below:
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Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale Vakayala Kui-manuila
	Maliwutu	Tamalivaka ma Maila Te Vayi Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakiate ma Malokitalangi ma Tamailangi Te Akongaea Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui Te Atua-ngafa-oli Poiva ma Taukava Wakalewiti
	i Tua	Matalikí ma Tamayei Te Uin-talagau Tupale Taua	
	Yangalipule	Kui	
Yato			i Te Umutulele i Lowia i Kailia
	Yamanga	Te Mamagatu Tamalanga	
	Yalongo	Tawinonga Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of
114 uncut stone (*sua*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taua; this is a big block of *punga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 103

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for place names and villages on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, see p. 14.]

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 491

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for short description of village divisions and paths on Wale, see p. 11.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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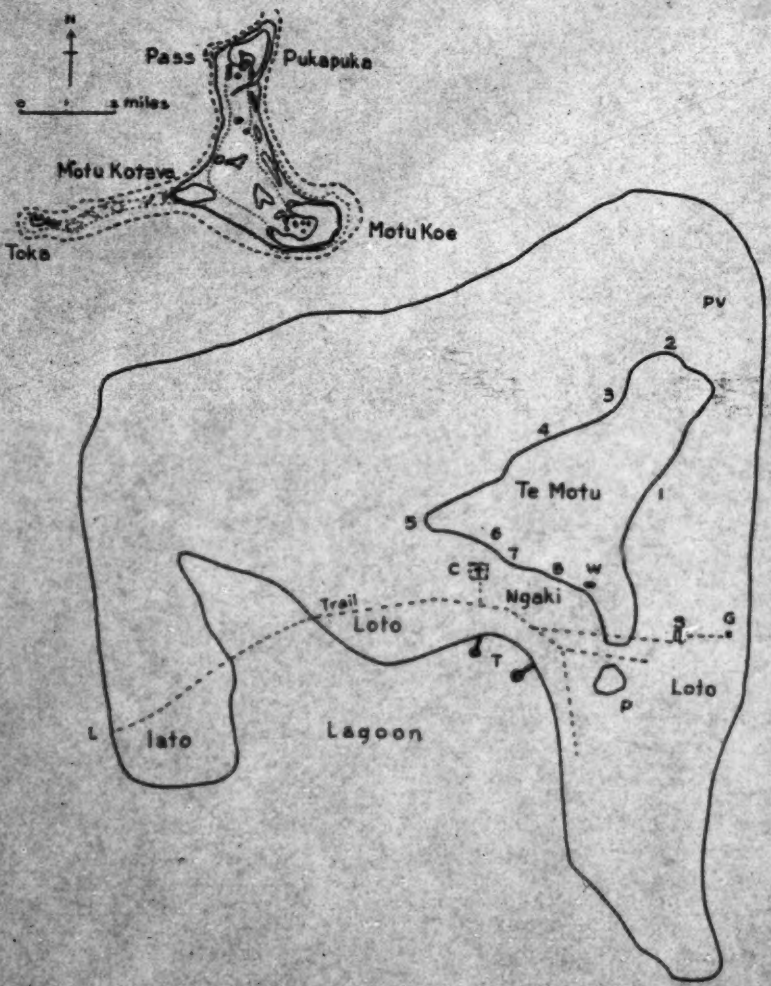

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
221 on its own *motu*, where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
[609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows:

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 764 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some 613 cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the 177 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has 364 seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited 182 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatile*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*ariki aliki*). (See pp. 234-192 237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatile* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *ariki aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatile* and the Rarotongan word *tuteiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller 618 units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uoro* 621 unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu hakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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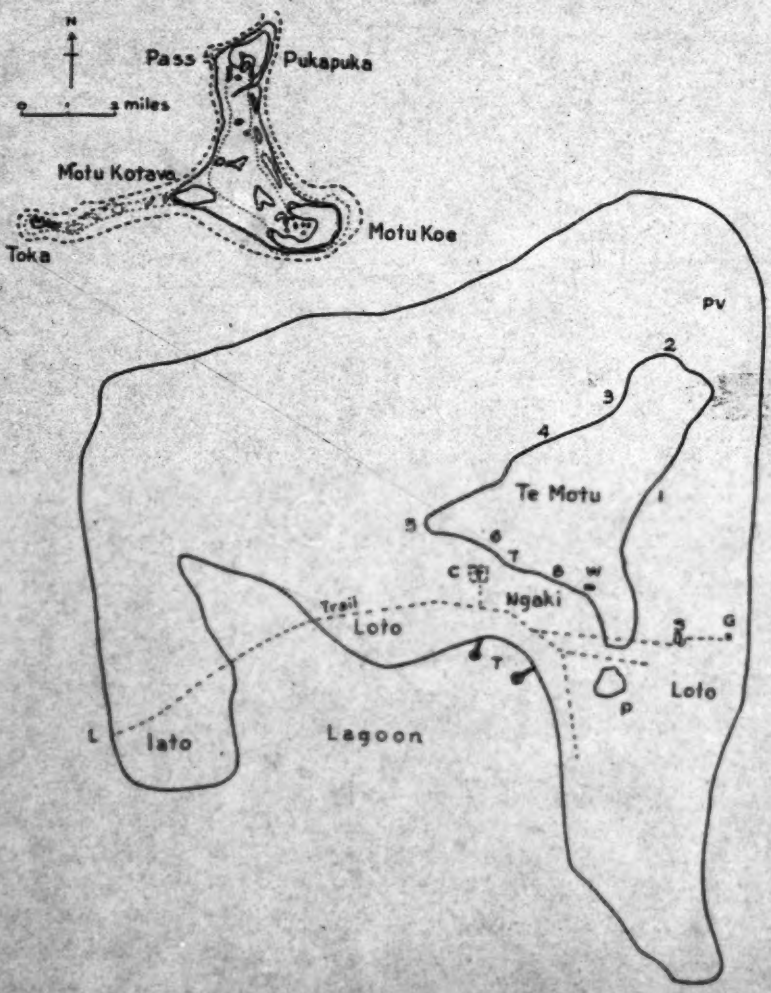

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taiknina; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach. 504 514 364

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough tàro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree. 000

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.

the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends (*'oa*) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live. 773 539

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections belonging to three groups of people. 000

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1).* [367] In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

* Lp. 12 -- Analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala, oli, puteitale, ulua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, tautaunu*; the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *wituwili, poyala, palu uli, piopio, matarle, lali*, and *fupe*. The various rays are speared with a *tao*, to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama akau*), three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, dull side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*mulioakruake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *wekapulapula*.

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226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *kalowa, ie, tuawo, ouilibi, uayi, hauar, alvalo, hatiuna*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 38) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi wekapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift *slowly* down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cranglerels, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *pa wale iko* or *tauwaga*; the method of using it, *tali tauwaga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tao yaoke*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ola wali au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

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Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
574 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
527 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
262 stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
613 little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is com-
plete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural
fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously
impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *laukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangango* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*ouvaga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tuna*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ha ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kauati*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoika*, and to make fire thus is *mate ami*.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¾ inch thick at the proximal end (*malimuli*), and about ⅜ inch thick at the distal end (*mata*). The distal end is shaped to a mesial point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yoliyoli te lakau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

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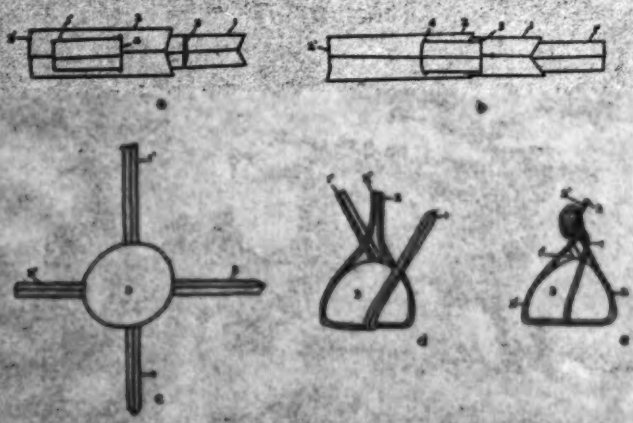

FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a-b*, *lalo* food package; *c-e*, *talo* (*lolo*) food package. *a*, leaflet midrib stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1' and 2, 2'), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1') passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (1') folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1' and 2, 2') crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2') brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1') twisted around ends (2, 2'); then ends (2, 2') bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1. Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hanuati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the bark of the stick. Place the *hanuati* on this place, the name of which is *ikunga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patumate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*matanati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
318 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

* In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informant giving this version could not remember how Mauikatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tauma*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*uale ieua*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses. In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *uale unihoyamoa* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
252 build, and, in the main, of the *uale toimaiki* style (p. 109). The kitchen
372 shelters the oven (*ieua*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cook.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*uatu ieua*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*hanipapa*), or, where available, imported volcanic stones (*hala*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *hala* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*ia to ieua*), coconut shells (*aupipi*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pikipiki*) are piled around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut shaft inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*hoa ouatuanatu te ieua*), the hot stones are packed aside (*tuku te ieua*) with the hoe of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *ioa*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *pandanus* leaves (*tautahu*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *tautahu*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *pandanus* leaves tied with coconut husks (*pikipiki*). Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *pikipiki* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *pikipiki*. The whole oven covering is turned twice; to cover the oven is said to *ioua ia te ieua*. Whenever a woman comes back from the taro *hala*, she places a bundle of *pandanus* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of taro and takes more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the taro from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

[4M]

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
262 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
573 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukanu*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
354 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *nukanuva* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uesu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*nunu*)
357 become vicious:
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These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*vaiavale*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*vaiavale tamaki*, Chap) is made of midribs (*lua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*ilio*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the ilio plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*vaikafuna*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tapetaki*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*vaiilaoli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*vaiavale vaiki*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

354 especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-
372 of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lama ngaipu*.

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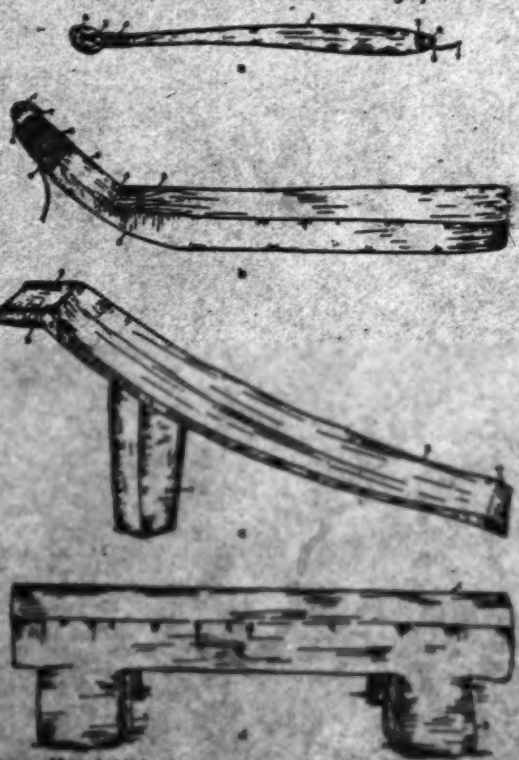

FIGURE 10—Household implements. a, scraper (*nakoi*) (Clam) for removing husk in making dummy water container; handle of *ngaiyo* wood (1) 15½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ½ inch thick at distal end; outer surface of handle (lightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully chipped hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	13½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig. 13*d*).
Filato	6' 7"	2'	12¼"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palamaimua	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua woou) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Elia	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¼"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

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Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

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Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

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Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the uala variety is termed *lito*, and from the yulo variety, *lauulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

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A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the few she has made of dry coconut midribs and bone is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

314 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua iivi*) on its back (*koa yiyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is termed *tua*, the front, *aloalo* or *vakevake*. When the fire has burned
372 down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*koa lala te lito hi lungu o te uai*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*uakawanuku te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yayalo te lito hi te ngaipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spikes of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yapini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side inward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pokai*) by winding one leaf
285 on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 12 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *lourulu* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spikes are trimmed off (*yiyi lou ne mata tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf strips are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*laubia*) used for mats; the *tua* strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hie uaia*) used for plaiting mulas. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*uakaumangalo i te yua*). They are then dried in the shade (*kave lou taina he pakapaka i loto o te uale*), and smoothed (*yapini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*kave lou uakala he ananuku*) and rolled into large bundles (*pokai*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, termed *lourulu pakapaka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond
177 exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *papa* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-221). Plaiting elements are either single (*langa tai*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*langa lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole T-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

871 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday
868 crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where
462 there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

857 Tiau, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time
857 they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukis* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

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Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

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Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

776 613

Tuliklo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nsum*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of
154 talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
[312 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
171] world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

774 The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
775 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 Lito makakakaka: brittle plaiting material, easily snapped with slight strain.
Panga punipuni: closely plaited mat.
Panga taupupu: uneven rough plaiting.
Panga matalatala: loosely plaited mat.
Yiyinu: even, straight plaiting secured through uniform tension.

In the commencement stages of plaiting, the worker uses her toes to keep elements steady until she has established a firm working edge. The finished portion of large mats is folded under as the work progresses or else kept flat under heavy stone weights (*watu mounga*) so that the working edge may be brought within reach of the hands. Some workers prefer to lay fine plaiting on a smooth board (*papa* or *palepale*). Straight edges, either right or left, are difficult to produce, and a woman's reputation as a plaiter is based on her ability to make them. Of the good plaiter, it is said that she has skilled hands (*lima pateka*), busy hands (*lima tateka*), or quick hands (*lima tovili*). These terms are used in chants by the man who wishes to comment on the plaiting skill of his mistress.

555 285

285 The plaiting of large mats is an arduous task. By continuous work a woman can plait a mat 6 feet by 4 feet in about 30 hours.

531 Design is obtained by using alternate elements of *lito* pandanus and *lauwilu pakapaka* pandanus, or by the use of overlaid or through and through elements of red dyed pandanus. The Pukapukan plaiter makes little use of contrasting check and twilled plaiting to make pleasing designs in pandanus work, save in the building-up of a few blocked geometrical designs. The method of preparing red dye and of dyeing (*pani ke kukula*) material for designs is as follows:

386 285

The worker scrapes from the roots of the *nonu* plant the dirt, rootlets, and dark brown outer bark. She places a coconut-leaf mat (*lavalava*) on the ground, covers it with *puapua* leaves, and scrapes the roots a second time to remove the dark yellow bark, which falls onto the leaves. Hot ashes from a fire of coconut butts are added to the bark scrapings and the whole well mixed together with the hands. The mixture is placed in a wringer (*tounuga*) of coconut husk fiber and the liquid wrung out into a wooden bowl. The wrung-out bark mixture (*oto*) is placed aside. Strips of *laubie* pandanus are now passed through the liquid, then rolled on the hand and placed back into the liquid. *Puka* leaves are packed on top of the rolls of pandanus and the wrung-out bark is placed on the leaves. The whole is set aside for 24 hours. The bowl is then opened, each roll of material is passed through the hands to smooth the dye on the strip, and placed back in the bowl. Sea water is poured on the wrung-out bark material which is pressed (*lomi*) and mixed with the water. It is then wrung out for a second time and the rolls resteeped for a second 24 hours. The rolls are finally removed from the dye, smoothed with the hands, placed unrolled on a coconut leaf mat (*polopolo*) and allowed to dry in the shade. When dry, the material is ready for use.

285 531

Old Pukapukan designs (*kowe*) are shown in figure 14. A group of old women recognized only these designs as definitely old. The Pukapukan worker, however, shows great skill in adapting or inventing new designs. A sampler of designs (C8208) contains 32. The names of some of the newer

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans

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[Information on canoe-building will be found in category 322, on sail-making in category 285.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

in scraping shell (*vuluyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *woo* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *woo* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *woo* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *wutau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10¾ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*teke*) cut from solid block of *wukonoro* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 5½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*alungu lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*amo*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is rubbed (*mulemula*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is turned *velo fata*.

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Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *velo* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

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FIGURE 50.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (C8111): diameter from slot to bottom 3¼ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17½ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (C8112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (C8054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (C8055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *uetou*, that of beaters *agangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*puyu*) (C8201): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*mata hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua kauwala*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (8) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
534 dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
531 types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and arrow, and shield were unknown.

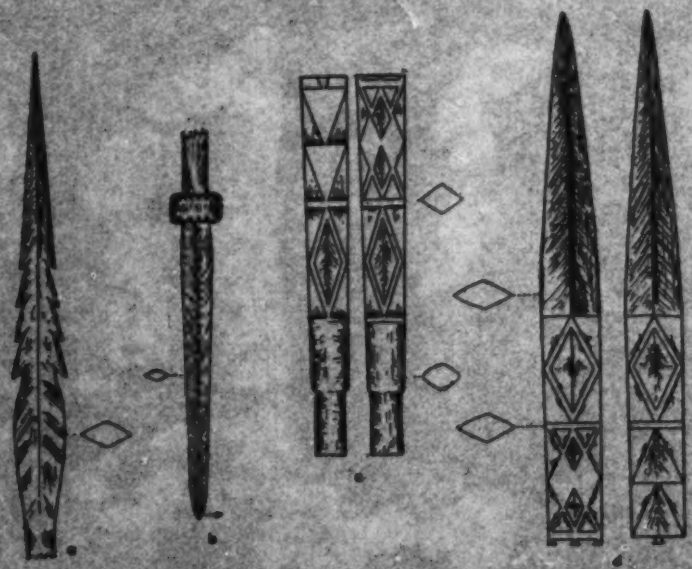

FIGURE 51.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of constant wood spear (*ao*) (CB149): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt medial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¾ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6½ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*pusolovale*) of wakasaru wood (CB066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wakatala*), single large lozenges (*paiehiole*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and medial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 2¼ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

411 Spears (*too* and *yuvelovelo*; fig. 51) were both thrusting (*yoko*) and throwing (*velo*) weapons. When thrown they were always hurled by hand, a spear thrower being unknown. The heavy throwing stick (*koko*; fig. 52,*a*) was usually thrown at an opponent, the aim being to pierce a vital organ with its sharp point. At close quarters, it might also be gripped in the hand and used as a short stabbing weapon.

The favorite weapon seems to have been the long billet club (*koio*; fig. 52,*b*). This was often decorated with streamers of *kie* pandanus. It was dipped in salt water before use to ensure a non-slip handgrip. When on guard (*apanpo*), the weapon was grasped in both hands and held horizontal at the waist. The technical stroke with the club was to strike the ankles of the opponent with a sweeping side blow (*te kowu yolo*, the tying blow), fell him to earth, and then finish him off with heavy blows on the head. The *koio* club was also used as a parrying (*alai*) weapon to strike aside spears and throwing sticks flying through the air.

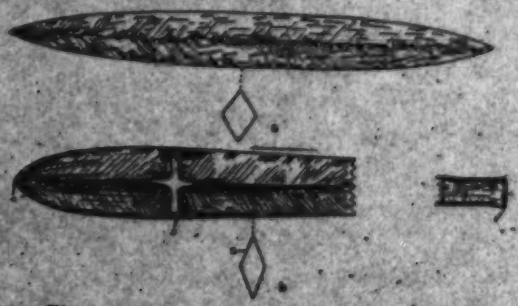

FIGURE 52.—Weapons. *a*, throwing stick (*koko*) of coconut wood (C8108): 27 inches long, width of each of four edges shown in cross section about 2 inches; each end sharply pointed; sharp lateral and mesial longitudinal ridges; weight 3 pounds. A second *koko* (C8107) of same shape is also of coconut wood; 34 inches long, edges about 2¾ inches wide, weight 5 pounds. *b*, billet club (*koio*) of coconut wood (C8141): over-all length 6 feet 3¼ inches; proximal end (1) slightly flared, 1½ inches in diameter; round in cross section up to 2 feet 6 inches from end where four blunt edges, lateral and mesial, start; width of each edge at cross section (2) about 2 inches; perceptible transverse ridge (3) intersects longitudinal ridges; four edges come to blunt point at distal end (4); weight 7 pounds. Second club (C3786) also of coconut wood: 4 feet 9⅝ inches long; diameter of proximal end about 2 inches, cross section edges of distal end about 2½ inches wide; pronounced lateral ridges, very blunt mesial ridges, no transverse ridge; weight 10 pounds.

For good aim in the use of all four weapons, the skilled warrior was careful to gain a firm foothold before engaging his opponent (p. 398). Informants were unable to elaborate on the technical strokes employed in using the *koio* as other weapon.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

557 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

519 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Puka-
526 pukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
221 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *ale atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *ale tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *tuie pae* (pp. 287, 305).

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Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadilloes. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

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The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

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Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matalihi. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitaua, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matalihi with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te uaili uavaua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiata, lived on the eastern side, *te uaiti tuvaua*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

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It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *kotuau* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)/1938 Pukapukans

244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such
912 primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the
244 migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
773 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
425 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man
428 digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
177 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions,
423 one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the
621 number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
244 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tas*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wahatuns* and *wahamunies*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*hotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures
471 that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
592 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
511 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups. On Wale, each patrilineal lineage (*ko*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 476 431 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngalunga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

[626 558] 342 34 There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that 812 342 664 961 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 463 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata manuta* or *tangata tau waka*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo
262 dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

192 Pulaka: the whole plant.
Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapulu: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Lauaua: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikupiko: the lateral cormlet or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Aka: root.
Wuiawulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy soil in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*uouai*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*uatowya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *topo tauua*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
282 basket (*hete lauaia*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*taka*). She recognizes the mature (*hiei*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*longa*) the talo plant and slices off (*topa*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*tohi*) with a stick (*hoyo ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matakoua e, Matakoua e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

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352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
373 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukuna*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*tako*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *wakonaua* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uuna*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*nanu*)
356 become vicious:
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412 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uluuulu*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uluuulu tuuulu*, C8193) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from dessicated leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*wuhapuua*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*wulinuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uluuulu uulu*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the usual way spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangio* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

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especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lama ngoipu*.

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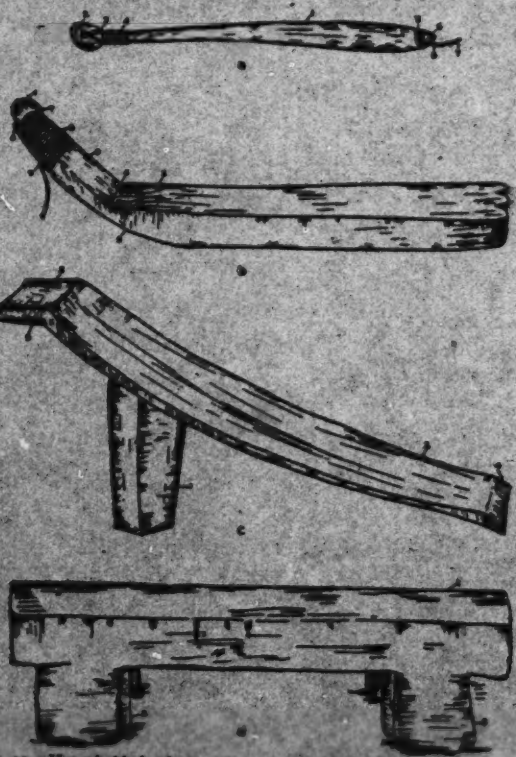

FIGURE 22.—Household implements. a, scraper (*vakai*) (C8129) for removing husk in making coconut water container; handle of *ngangie* wood (1) 13½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ¾ inch thick at distal end; under surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully chipped hole

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in scraping shell (*valuyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uso* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uetau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10¾ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*taka*) cut from solid block of *uakoseru* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*alunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*keyo*, C8049) of *ngangis* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*uso*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

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245 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is discarded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

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A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo tasmaya*, C8038) of *ngangie* wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

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A hand grater (*kalokalo ni mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *niu kalokalo*. The blade is the *uyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*aloalo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tuai*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

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A coconut cream wringer (*tawanga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *niu mata* stage after burial in beach sand to macerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *laulau ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*wakapona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

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Water containers (*wowongi*; fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *tulayi* or *tula wowongi* (fig.12,*e*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*wowai*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

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244 412 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pala*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pala* fish (*kauwa pala*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*kayo*).

252 412 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukituki tsis wawa*, C8083) is made from a section of coconut midrib (*palelawa*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tsis*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*kai*). The *kai* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tsis*) into sections with the *kai* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*matu olo wawa*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*pungu talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelawa*). Oven tongs (*pingoi* or *mangoi*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 412 413 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*kumete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13.*a*. A common type pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13.*b*. Pounders in use become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*yow*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13.*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

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[322/552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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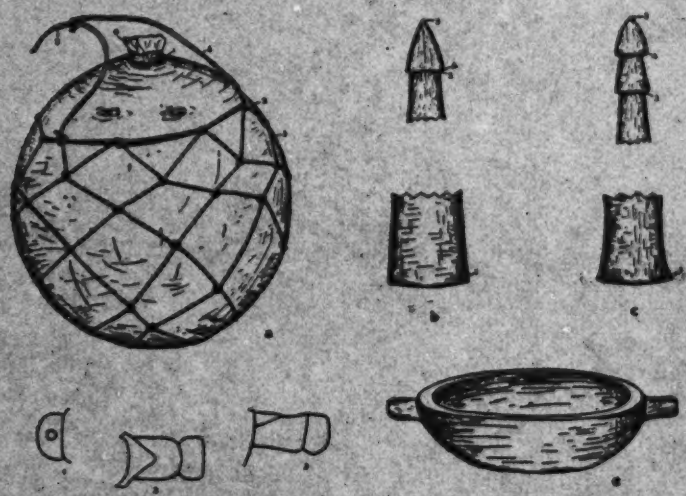

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*uuuongi*) (C8052): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord encloses shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; *b*, cork (*momono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (C8050): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¾ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¾ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅝ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*ywa*) of *ngangie* wood (C8051): weight 3¾ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1¾ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (5) of second truncated cone 1⅜ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¾ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ½ inch in diameter, rend through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1¾ inches wide and 1⅝ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kunete*) of *puapua* wood (C8139): greatest diameter 14¾ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4⅝ inches; lugs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Filato	6' 7"	2'	12¾"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23¾" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Pakuaiuma	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua woma) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Ella	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

352 Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they
415 are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

285 Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

285 Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making.
314 Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the male variety is termed *lito*, and from the yuka variety, *lauuilu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

314 A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings
372 them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

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285 290 divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ikiikinga* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of sennit, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (pl.3,*A*,2). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan C8189 (*iti yaeyae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of common string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *pulaka* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *uao* tree. *Uao*[8] fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; cocomut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and [301] quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yana*) are hung from the neck.

Uao fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*uoaole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yuli*) of the uao tree and rolled up into a bundle (*pokai*). A woman proceeds with the task. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*vaiu*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi uao*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*vayivayi*) into narrow widths (*yake*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

283 Appliances used in *uao* bark preparation are:

412 Scraping board C8167 (*papa vaiu uao*) is a board of *puapua* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper C8168 (*kaai*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-lipped pearl shell; greatest length 3¼ inches, greatest width 3¼ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the lip 1/16 inch.

283 Hank of fiber C8132 (*titi uao*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared uao bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

[8] The uao is ramie fiber prepared from the bark, uao.

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Stone Implements

324 412 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

778 346 Religious enclosures (*awanga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*unu*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Taua, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village. 778 Two of these sites were cleared.

172 At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaon there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 26 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tulikalo. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tulikalo was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaon. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tumulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matakiate. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

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172 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that [778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the 172 two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

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Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mas titi ai*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 177 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).* They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

* [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

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and from their scarcity. The quadrangular basaltic adz figured by Macgregor (20,fig.14) was picked up on the outer beach of Wale. It is similar to Samoan type I adzes (27,p.334) and was perhaps imported from Samoa. A second basaltic adz was seen by Talainga in the old grave unintentionally opened. From Talainga's description and rough sketch this adz appears to be a triangular one, perhaps corresponding in shape to the Samoan type VII or VIII (27,p.351). It was 10 inches long, the back ground smooth, the front roughly chipped, and the poll rounded. The depth of the bevel was about 2 inches.

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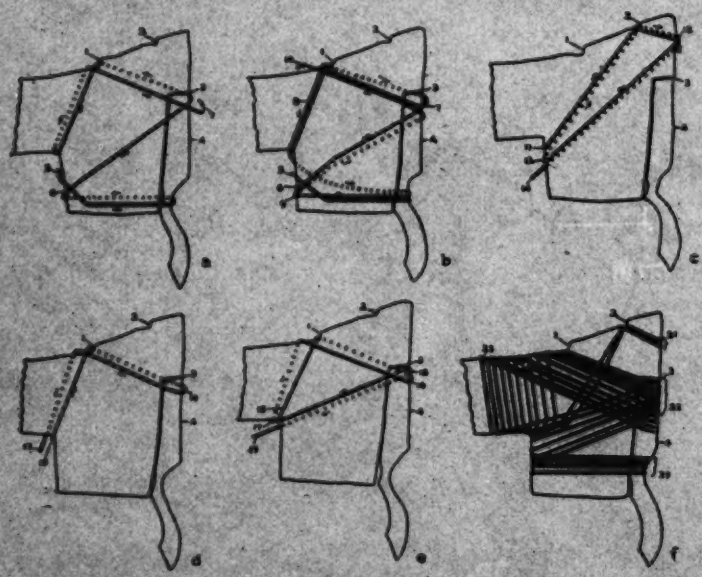

FIGURE 215—*Tridacna* shell adz (C8105) with haft of *uvahanova* wood; length of haft from toe angle to slightly flared butt, 19 inches; haft round in cross section, average diameter being 1½ inches; at heel angle a prominent longitudinal ridge runs up to point of heel; above heel angle (see *a*) is cut a notch (1) to prevent lashing from slipping; ¾ inch below point of heel a second notch (2) is cut, also to prevent lashing from slipping; 1¼ inches below point of heel on foot of haft is cut ½ inch deep shoulder (3), against which adz (4) fits to avert slipping when in use; because of irregular shape of poll of adz, shoulder is cut transversely on foot, so that distance from heel point on one side is 1¼ inches, other side 2¼ inches; lashing material threeply sennit braid ¼ inch thick. *a*, lashing commencement: commencement end of sennit (5) laid under toe angle, free end passing transversely around near side of toe and back across far side of toe and brought across toe angle to near side; grips commence-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill

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The pump drill (*uou*) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

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To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reenforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and dumped over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

[177]

To drill in also stone. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and rotating it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1tBeaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Scrapers and Rasps

412 Scrapers for smoothing wood were formerly selected pieces of coral
322 (*punga*) with rough surfaces (*talatala*). The smoothing (*oloolo*) was done with the wooden object submerged in sea water in order to soften the wood.
177 The first scraping was with the *punga* coral, the finishing scraping with a piece of *hana* coral which has a surface covered with tiny, sharp "teeth".

The use of wood scrapers to which shark or ray skin is lashed is modern in Pukapuka. Informants stated that although shark skin was used formerly for fashioning pearl-shell hooks, the idea of using it for smoothing wood was introduced from Samoa.

WORKING OF SHELL

227 Mother-of-pearl shell is termed *si*. Other bivalve shells of about the same size and shape as pearl shell are also termed *si* with an added adjective,
321 as in *si pukoyou alongo*, to distinguish them from true pearl shell. Pearl shell is procured by grasping the shell with the hand and twisting it to break the tentacles. Thick shells were used for composite pearl-shell hooks, thin shell for ornaments and for single-piece shell hooks.

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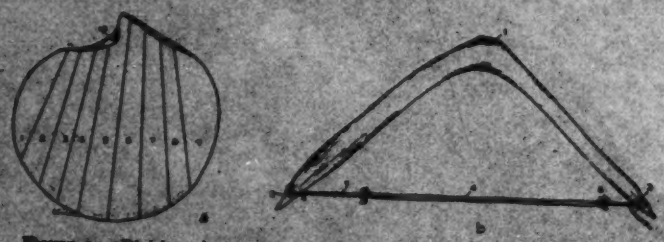

Figure 23.—Division of pearl shell; shell file. *a*, shell regionally divided into nine sections by cutting radially from hinge (10) to lip (11); preferred shanks for composite hooks cut from sections 4 to 7, other shanks from sections 1 to 3, 8 and 9; shanks for small composite hooks, single-piece hooks, and shell points for composite hooks cut from lip half of shell; named sections: 1, *tasu*; 2, *patanu*; 3, *pa hi te uwa*; 4, *uyolelolo*; 5, 6, 7, *uyelolo*; 8, *iyumotu*; 9, *okaupa*. *b*, shell file (*kawasa*) of shark skin (C8037): 1, frame, small branch of *uahanotu* wood with limbs 11 and 9 inches long; 2, 3, ends of limbs pointed and notched; 4, curled shark skin, 9½ inches long, ¼ inch diameter; 5, 6, suspension cords of two-ply twisted sennit, knotted to ends of shark skin, passed transversely around ends of limbs three times and knotted.

321 The whole pearl shell (*ika si*) is regionally divided by the Pukapukans
227 into nine named parts (*fig. 23, a*). Radial sections cut through the hinge of the shell along these regional divisions are used for the shanks of bonito trolling hooks; the lip ends of these radial sections are used for small composite hooks and for bonito pahoe.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *pungo* coral (*taku pungo*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kouna*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *pungo* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days.
281 The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kouna olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kouna pungo* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membrane. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uoi kaou*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
571 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

177 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukuma*) does not seem to be an old style
501 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
322 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross beams.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

and the midrib is pushed through the hole before the needle is withdrawn. As shown by Buck (12) the same technique is used in the Cook Islands. 000

Most dwelling houses are built on a double platform of coral rubble, the lower platform several feet larger than the floor of the house. The upper platform, which forms the floor of the house, is made on the first platform and extends about 1 foot outside the walls of the house. Each platform is retained by logs or a curbing of coral slabs 8 or 10 inches high.

ADZES

For cutting out canoes and shaping timbers, the Pukapukans, like the dwellers on other Polynesian atolls, made adzes from the *Tridacna* shell—the only local material available. 321 412

In the adz shown in figure 13, *a*, the poll is pointed and the side curves to the rounded cutting edges. The striated outer surface of the shell has been left on the convex front and only the bevel ground smooth. The concave inner surface forms the back which has the grinding surface to sharpen the cutting edge.

Another shell adz (fig. 13, *b*) is roughly rectangular in shape. The front is the outer stratified surface of the shell, except at the bevel which is ground on this surface; the back is the concave inner nacreous surface of the shell; the cutting edge is slightly convex. Part of the concavity and thickness of the shell have been removed by grinding down the outer rim until only a slight depression is left in the center. Along the slightly concave cutting edge and the two sides the surface is smooth and flat. The poll is broad and irregular and has a rough broken surface.

An adz found in Pukapuka (but obviously an importation) is made of basalt and is of the type common to western Polynesia (fig. 14). It is a long, thin, flat, quadrangular, tangless adz that tapers from the cutting edge to the poll. The front surface is slightly convex and is narrower than the back. The front, also the bevel of the back, are ground smooth. The remainder of the back and the two sides have rough chipped surfaces. The edge of the blade is straight; the bevel is convex longitudinally. Due to the rough, unground surface of the back, the chin is irregular. 177 412

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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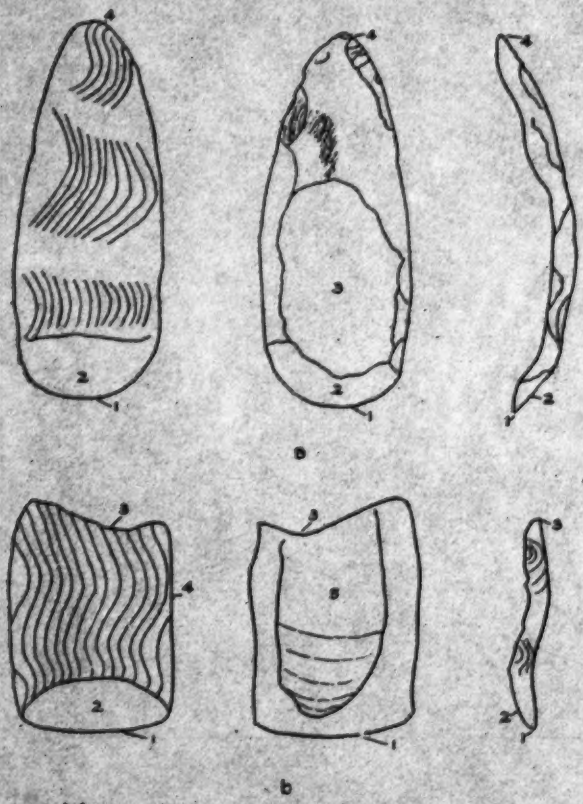

FIGURE 13.—Adzes of *Tridacna* shell. *a*, back, front, and side views (adz no. C 6527, Bernice P. Bishop Museum): 1, cutting edge; 2, bevel; 3, concavity of surface; 4, poll; greatest length, 4.75 inches. *b*, back, front and side views (adz in possession of R. D. Frisbie, Tahiti): 1, cutting edge; 2, ground bevel; 3, poll; 4, straight side; 5, central depression from natural concavity of shell; greatest length, 3 inches.

UTENSILS

415 A small satchel of lauhala collected at Pukapuka has the following
285 features.

Rectangular-sided and measuring 10 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1.5 inches wide, the satchel is made in simple check pattern. The bottom is flat and has square corners made by turning the strips as they are plaited. Each side is ornamented with strips of hala dyed red with native dyes. These strips are inserted over and included with the plaited elements. The pattern is X-shaped and is 7 inches long. On one side of the basket a solid square of the dyed hala is made between the forks formed by each arm of the X. The reverse side has two squares in each fork. The plaiting is commenced and

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

finished at the edge of the basket and is seamless. The end elements of the finishing edge are turned over and worked into the plaiting over the opposite elements. The basket has two handles made of braided strips of hala which are sewed to the sides. 415 285

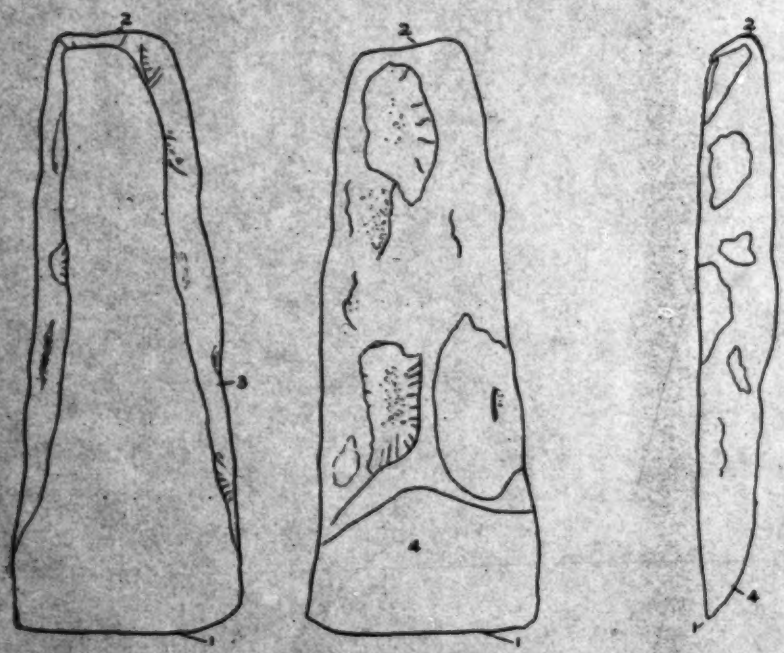

FIGURE 14.—Quadrilateral adz of basalt (no. B 8809, Bernice P. Bishop Museum), front, back, and side views: 1, cutting edge; 2, poll; 3, oblique side; 4, bevel; greatest length 7.5 inches. 412 177

Food is mixed in wooden bowls (*kumete*) (fig. 15). They are hewn from single pieces of wood and shaped into elliptical bowls with flat bottoms. Short handles are cut at either end. 415

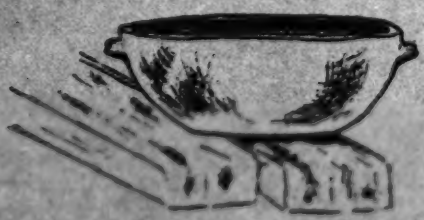

FIGURE 15.—Elliptical wooden food bowl with end lug handles and flat bottom.

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*halo payua* or *manin payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*halo*). The other end (*halohalo*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [883] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. As outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.
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By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *halo* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *halohalo* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implement in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*nafenafe*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *halohalo* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are large piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngafi payua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*uwa ni*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped
321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi hula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam [418] *ngu* was used), talo scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of
226 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising
262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *uetuta* (a black-spined sea porcupine); *rona* (a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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ment end, and passes at 6, on near side, diagonally up to shoulder (3) where it grips poll of adz, passes across far side of heel, and is brought to near side over notch 1, across to toe angle; it makes a turn under toe angle, passes to notch 1, on far side, and then across heel on near side, gripping first diagonal turn (7) of sennit from toe to heel. *b*, continuation of lashing: free end (7) passes across shoulder (3) and across heel to notch 1, where it is brought across to near side and down (8) to near side toe angle; from toe angle it passes to far side of toe and makes a transverse turn around toe, coming back on near side and passing under toe angle (9) to make diagonal turn on far side up to shoulder; brought around shoulder to near side and passes across heel (10) to notch 1, where it passes down far side of heel to make further turns, as described, until four complete turns are made of which, for clearness, only two are shown in *b*. *c*, lashing of point of heel: fourth completed turn brings free end of sennit into position at 11, to make two turns around point of heel; sennit passes diagonally across near side of foot from toe angle to heel, crosses to far side of heel at notch 2, passes across heel and is brought to near side of heel (12) and diagonally down on near side to toe angle; sennit crosses under toe again (13), runs diagonally up to heel on far side and is brought across notch 2, to near side of heel, then across heel and diagonally down on far side to toe angle (14); sennit then ready to make two more turns, repeating diagonal movements between toe angle and heel; four diagonal turns in all, of which only two are shown in *c*. *d*, continuation of lashing: last turn of diagonal lashing brings sennit into position (15) for further turns; sennit passes on near side from toe angle to notch 1, where it lies on top of turns made as in *b*; sennit crosses to far side of heel, then crosses heel to shoulder (3) and goes around to near side of heel and across heel to notch 1 where it passes to far side of heel and down to toe angle (17), forming lower loop (16) of this phase of lashing. *e*, sennit (17) comes around under toe angle and goes diagonally across to heel; turn continued around heel to far side to make upper loop (18), then diagonally down on far side to toe angle; this brings sennit (19) into position to repeat turns as in *d* and *e*; altogether six turns are made, lower loop alternating with upper loop, and free finishing end of sennit brought up on near side of toe angle and buried underneath last two turns at heel angle. *f*, completed lashing: 20, first four turns made around toe, binding lower part of adz to toe of haft; 21, four diagonal turns around point of heel and notch 2; 22, final six turns, alternating lower with upper loop; 23, point where end is buried to complete lashing.

Drill.

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The pump drill (tuou) was formerly used to drill holes in wood and shell. It was of a common Polynesian design (fig.22).

To drill a small hole or to drill fragile articles, a light balance was required; for this purpose one half of a dry coconut shell was put on the shaft by pushing the shaft through the soft eye of the shell, the eye part of the shell pointing downward, the open half of the shell pointing upward. To drill a large hole in hard material, a heavy balance was used, the wooden balance on a drill being reenforced if necessary with extra weights of wood.

The point of the drill was of shell or iron. Informants were at pains to point out that the Pukapukans were aware of iron long before white contact. They procured nails from pieces of boat wreckage which from time immemorial have drifted onto the outer beaches. They burned the wreckage and combed over the ashes for nails hammered into the wood.

[197]

To drill in stone. The worker started a hole by holding the shaft of the drill between the palms of the hands and twirling it. When he had made the slightest depression to hold the point, he worked the drill with the pump handle.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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A craftsman took great care of his drill. He rubbed the shaft, crossbar and balance smooth with coral, smoked the wood over the cooking fire and oiled it afterward with coconut oil. The fortunate possessor of a drill with an iron guard point guarded his implement jealously because as a time saver it was of the greatest value to him.

Awl

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The shell awl (*yuki voka*), a shell *Terebra cranulata*, was used for making holes in a canoe hull or washstrake where the drill could not be used, or for enlarging holes made by the drill. (See p. 173.) The use of coral mallets for hammering caulking wedges is also described in that context.

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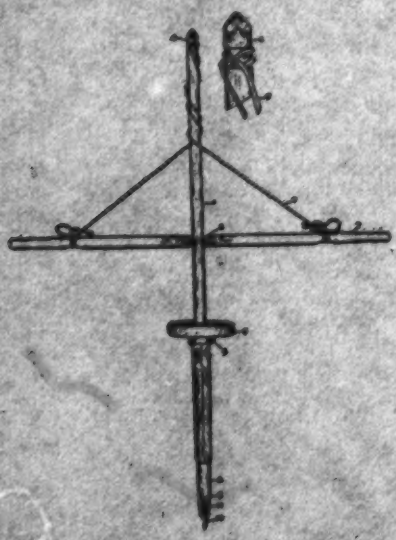

FIGURE 22.—Pump drill, uvea (C8124): 1, shaft (*lakau tu*) of *wutau* wood 2 feet 6 inches long, round in cross section and ¾ inch in diameter above balance, square-sided below with sides ⅝ inch wide; 2, distal end of shaft is round, ½ inch in diameter, narrowing to distal point (3) ⅜ inch in diameter; 4, head (*ufu uvea*) of shaft blunt and notched to receive pump cord (*uka uvea*); 5, balance (*potaka*), 4 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick, cut from same block of wood as shaft; 6, secondary balance 1½ inches square, ½ inch thick; 7, crossbar (*lakau uvea*) of *vutoavea* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, has wide groove (8) to fit against shaft; each end also grooved to receive coils of pump cord; 9, pump cord of two-ply twisted sennit, fastened with clove hitch to head of shaft and to each end of crossbar; 10, point (*mata*) section of iron forced into end of shaft and lashed tight with 11 transverse turns of three-ply sennit braid; 12, twisted commencement and finishing coils.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pa lao*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pa tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of thin vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles then formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale tabetabe*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, untied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
412 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated
414 groom's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called
177 *tale*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale tabetabe* house with two hatches in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive con-
336 struction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8066)[7]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of *pandanus* wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tieboams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tieboam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tieboam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tieboams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of *pandanus* wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tieboam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tieboam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of *pandanus* wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eaves purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,*c*).

[7] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*taku ki hinga o te ula*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

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Cultivation further consists in weeding (*kangai i te vayowaya ai*) and fertilizing (*unkalepe* or *tikkao*) the talo beds:

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The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukawa* leaves, *lau kotawa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*pulapula*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukawa* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukawa* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

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In the old days a little dryland talo (*kapa*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Tuki te tinagapula: the cutting is planted.
Fo lua, lua tapa te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Fo tolu, lua valo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Fo lima, lua lua te lito o te lua: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Fo angauio, lua valo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao ma, lua lua lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua valo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua lua tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua lua va: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua lua lima: (25d day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakaiaangauali: (29th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua tonki te lua lima, lua ayi, lua tapa mai ohi te lua lima, lua ono lua talo, lua ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua ateato ki hinga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ola lua ki hinga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua tuku te tiio: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua matapa te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Oko ki te vawaga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua kiel, lua wawalo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

372 The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¾ inch thick at the proximal end (*wulimoli*), and about ⅜ inch thick at the distal end (*wuta*). The distal end is shaped to a mesial point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp-pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yeliyeli te lakau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

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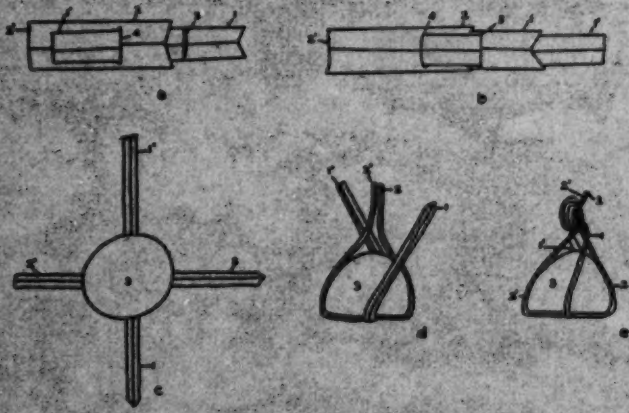

FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a-b*, *lala* food package; *c-e*, talo (*loloi*) food package. *a*, leaflet midribs stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1′) passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (1′) folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′) crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2′) brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1′) twisted around ends (2, 2′); then ends (2, 2′) bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

357 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
377 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga loukawa*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*tuke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *wakawawa* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uwu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*uwuu*)
358 become vicious:
285
412 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*velevele*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*velevele tuaale*, Ch195) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*wakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*wapetape*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*wailiwaili*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*velevele wolo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of *wawale*, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

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fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is discarded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo taumaya*, C8037) of *ngangie* wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*kalokalo ni mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *nia kalokalo*. The blade is the *nyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*alaala*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tuai*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

A coconut cream wringer (*tomunga*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *nia mata* stage after burial in beach sand to macerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *loulou ana loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*nuhopona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

Water containers (*wuwongi*; fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *vulayi* or *valu wuwongi* (fig.12,*e*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*wuwai*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 412 Various implements are used in the harvesting and preparation of talo. The worker in the talo gardens formerly sliced the petioles from the corms with a cutting implement (*taku*, C8096, C8097) made from the backbone of the turtle. This knife was also in general use as a cutting implement as was a knife (*pale*, C8145) made of the jawbone and attached teeth of the *pale* fish (*kasuar pale*). No spade was used for replanting talo; if the ground was hard it was first loosened with a short, straight digging stick (*koyo*).

252 712 Talo is prepared for cooking by scraping the dirt from the corm. A scraping peg (*tukitahi tete uuma*, C8083) is made from a section of coconut midrib (*palelauu*) about 17 inches long. The proximal end of the peg is rested on the ground and the distal end placed against a half coconut shell or piece of wood of suitable height 6 inches from the distal point. The worker holds the proximal end of the peg tight by resting her left knee on it. She holds the corm with the left hand at the distal point of the peg and scrapes (*tete*) the corm downward and toward the body with a scraper (*kai*). The *kai* (C8084) is the bottom portion of a small, discarded dry coconut shell. Part of the outer edge circumference is cut away to form a short cutting edge.

After the scraping, the talo may be sliced (*tala*) into sections with the *kai* scraper, cooked whole, or grated on a stone grater (*tuatu ola uuma*). A typical grater (C8053) is a block of coral (*punga talatala*) with a rough surface. The block weighs 8 pounds, is 15½ inches long, averages 6½ inches wide, and is 3 inches thick. The worker sits before the stone and rubs the corms under pressure up and down the surface of the stone.

An oven spreader used for spreading (*tolo*) the hot stones of the oven is a section of the butt end of a coconut midrib (*palelauu*). Oven tongs (*pingoi* or *mangoi*, C8191) are made of a piece of coconut midrib, 18 inches or more long. The leaflets are trimmed from the side edges and the midrib doubled so that the outer fibers snap while the inner ones remain to form a sort of hinge. The tongs are green when first made but dry quickly and become brown. Tongs are in constant use for shifting the hot stones of the native oven.

252 412 415 Cooked talo is pounded and mixed with coconut cream in a wooden bowl (*kumete*). A small bowl is shown in figure 13.*a*. A common type pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood is shown in figure 13.*b*. Pounders in use become polished with oil. Those seen in use ranged from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 7 inches long, with 3¼ inches diameter of pounding base. A cone-shaped proximal end is common, but a few pounders have a terminal knob. A larger wooden stirrer (*yau*) also of *ngangie*, is shown in figure 13.*c*. Other bowls in use were examined in the field. They may be briefly described to

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[322/552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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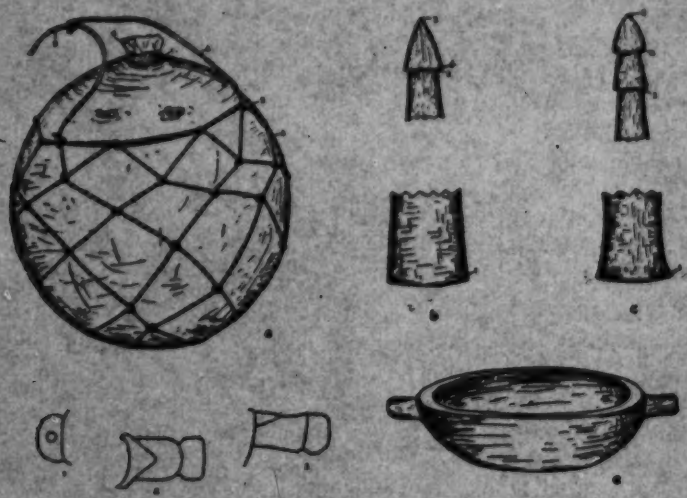

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*uwuwgi*) (C8052): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord enclosing shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; 6, cork (*mamono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (C8050): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¼ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¼ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅜ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*yoe*) of *ngangie* wood (C8051): weight 3¼ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1⅝ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (2) of second truncated cone 1⅜ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¼ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ⅜ inch in diameter, runs through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1⅜ inches wide and 1⅛ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*hamete*) of *puapua* wood (C8139): greatest diameter 14¼ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4½ inches; lugs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	20"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Filato	6' 7"	4'	12¾"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Pukamiamia	4' 2"	1' 6"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua woma) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Kilu	6' 4"	1' 3"	10½"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

352 415 Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

283 Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

285 314 Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *wala* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lowulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

314 372 A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

285 177 415 Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 26, pp. 190-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

285 415 A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tulama* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tulama* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *pa tulama*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *mali tulama*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tulama* receptacle. Larger *tulama* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit malos. The *pa tulama* (C8120) is made of *lauuala pukapuka* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9¼ inches long, 7½ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9½ inches long, 6¼ inches deep and 1½ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to compress the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*pule*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

285 846 Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt C8072 (*pale uamanu*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8½ to 10½ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *lauuala pukapuka* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are thus attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

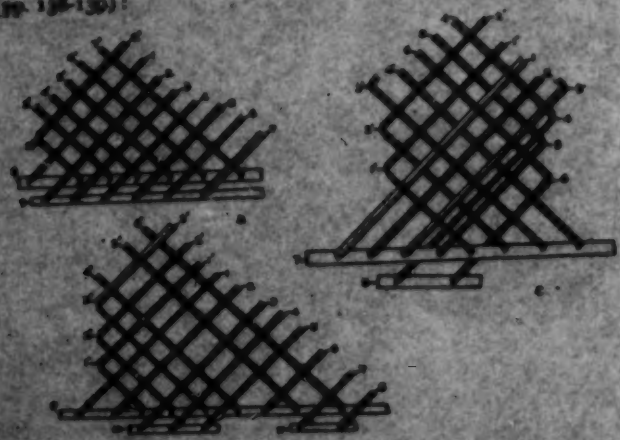
Belt C8073 (*pale tuta*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 8 to 13½ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *lauuala pukapuka* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

285 573 Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*ulu'ga loukoua*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 Baskets made with the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement
¶15 (fig. 15*a,b,c*) are called generically *kete*. They are used for transporting
taro corms, coconuts, crabs, and the like. Small baskets with one or two
points are sometimes used to hold taro pudding (*ofo*), but they are generally
used as shellfish and crabbing baskets. The plaiting technique is the same as
[174] for the Manihiki *pito* pointed receptacles (29, p. 117, fig. 33).

Pukapukan baskets in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list (pp. 138–139):



285 FIGURE 15.—Coconut-leaf mat. *a*, turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (8) with leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out first leaflet (1), remaining leaflets on strip turn back to function as sinistrals (2', 3', 4', 5', 6', 7'); sinistrals engage with naturally inclined leaflets of second strip (9) which function as natural dextrals (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). *b*, discontinuous two-strip commencement: lower continuous leaflet strip (9) carries leaflets naturally directed toward right; leaving out dextral leaflets 1 and 2, leaflets 1', 2', 3', 4' are turned back to function as sinistrals, engaging with naturally inclined dextral leaflets (3, 4, 5) carried by second strip (10); leaflet 6, of first strip (9) keeps its natural direction and acts as a dextral; the next two leaflets of this strip (5', 6') bend back to act as sinistrals engaging previous dextrals; leaflets (7, 8) of third strip (11) act as natural dextrals and will engage with turned-back sinistrals of first strip; course of plaiting continued by additional strips and turning back of naturally inclined leaflets to left to act as sinistrals. *c*, variation of turned-back two-strip commencement: midrib strip (7) carries eight leaflets naturally inclined to right; to establish stroke four leaflets (1, 2, 3, 5) function as natural dextrals; they engage in plaiting stroke remaining four leaflets on strip which are bent back to act as sinistrals (1', 2', 3', 4'); additional strip (8), carrying two natural dextrals (4, 6), placed under first strip (7), and two extra dextrals engage with turned-back sinistrals of first or upper strip (7); when stroke has been established, edges are formed by giving a half turn to sinistrals at left edge so that free sinistrals are converted back into functioning dextrals; for right edge, free dextrals given a half turn to left and continue to function as sinistrals in plaiting.

Name	Number	Size	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Basket	Plaiting Technique: Finishing	Use
Kete ava ika	Ch102 (2 specimens)	12" long, 14" deep, 4" wide; 10" long, 18" deep, 5" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail braid, free end knotted close to right side bottom on outside	used for carrying coconuts
Kete ava tuaea	Ch154	14" long, 14" deep, 5" wide	turned-back, two-strip	check	single-tail	used for carrying crabs or coconuts
Angapiko matitai (pointed, triangular)	Ch99	12" deep, 10" rim diameter	plaiting technique same as for Manihiki pito pointed receptacle (29, p. 119, fig. 33)		all sinistrals braided together and knotted; same for dextrals	shell fishing and crabbing basket; occasionally used for tuia pudding (ofu)
Angapiko matitai	Ch106	10" deep, 6" rim diameter	similar to Ch99		same as Ch99	same as Ch99
Angapiko matitau (two points)	Ch98	9½" deep, 6" rim diameter	same as Ch99; open leaf check corners made by turning normal lean of sinistrals to right so when basket is turned over to plait opposite side, sinistrals function as dextrals and dextrals as sinistrals		ends braided, passed over and around commencement strip, knotted above strip so that tail is made fast to prevent basket falling open when full	used for shellfish
Angapiko matitau	Ch89	5" deep, 5" rim diameter	single strip of leaflets with each leaflet split longitudinally, left half turned back as sinistral, right half acts as dextral; other split leaflets added to make close plaiting	check	all sinistrals braided into short tail and knotted; dextrals braided and knotted over end of commencement strip	used for shellfish
Angapiko uei kave (basket made with a handle)	Ch96	7" long, 5" deep	4 strips of midrib each carrying 2 leaflets; open leaf check similar to oldest basket of Aitutaki (26, p. 168) and to old basket of Tahiti (16, p. 22, fig. 2), whence it may have been introduced		2 dextrals and 2 sinistrals on each side braided into four-ply braid. Knot of one passed through braid of other tail, thus forming handle	used only by children as a fishing basket for yellow mullet (kuloma)

Name	Number	Size	Plaiting Technique: Commencement	Plaiting Technique: Body of Basket	Plaiting Technique: Finishing	Use
Ola wuli lua	Ch109	width, bottom 4½", top 3½"; depth, 7½"	twisted two-strip	twill with few rows of check at bottom	two-course braid, free tails tucked under crossing elements inside	child's fishing basket
Ola wulawuli	Ch177	width, bottom 6½", top 8"; depth, 5½"	twisted two-strip	twilled two's with no extra commencement leaflets	concealed double tail, free tail tucked under crossing wefts inside	child's basket used in groping for fish
Ola lua	Ch140	width, bottom 10", top 15"; depth, 15"	twisted two-strip	begun with 3 rows of twilled four's and two's followed by 4 rows of twilled two's, then alternate dextrals and sinistrals brought together and plaited as single elements in 5 rows of check	two-tail finish (28, p. 133,fig.18), free ends tucked under crossing wefts on inside	fisherman's basket used for bait or fish-line
Ola matuku	Ch105	width, bottom 18", top 30"; depth, 15"	twisted two-strip	twilled two's	two-tail finish, free ends pushed through to inside then to outside	used to hold flying-fish catch
Ola wuli ua	Ch160	58" long; 21" wide at greatest diameter	twisted two-strip	4 rows twill, 6 rows check, 4 rows twill, 3 rows check, 2 rows twill. Top shaped by plaiting 2 elements as single element in 13 rows of check	two-braid, ends knotted together on outside to form rough handle	used to block mouths of fish weirs
Kete ava wawa	Ch151	18" long, 12" deep, 6" wide at top	discontinuous strip, lower strip containing 23 leaflets, engaging with 7 discontinuous strips of 2 or 3 leaflets each (fig. 15,b)	check	two-braided tail, free end tucked under crossing wefts at one side	used for holding taro

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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A small receptacle or container of coconut leaf is sometimes made to transport young birds from the reserve islets to Wale. The containers function also as bird cages.

Receptacle Cl144 (*papa mana*) is made from a length of coconut midrib, 14 inches long and carrying 19 leaflets, cut from the tip end of a coconut leaf. The plaiter works with the midrib base uppermost, and starting from either end plaits the leaflets in a close check to form a cone 10 inches long, base diameter 4 inches (fig. 16). The base is finished with a three-ply braid, and the two free ends of the braid are knotted together. When a bird is placed inside the cone, the base is fastened together by interlacing a leaflet from side to side through and under the base braiding. If the receptacle is used to transport flowers or plants from the islets, the cone-shaped container is plaited round the objects.

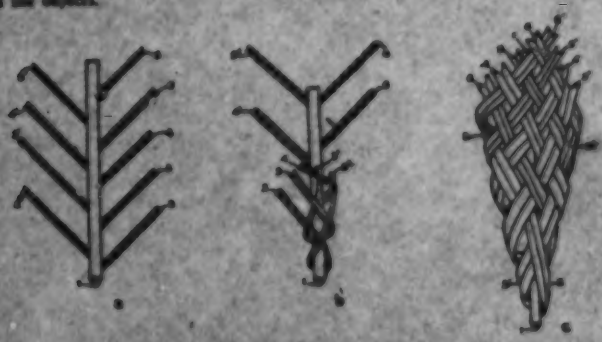

FIGURE 16.—Commencement of cone-shaped receptacle (*papa mana*). *a*, section of midrib (1), carrying nine leaflets (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′): broad base of midrib uppermost. *b*, commencement of plaiting: leaflet 2′ carries across from left to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, carried across to left; leaflet 3′ carries to right and engages leaflets 2, 3, 4; process continues, alternately bending left side leaflets to right, right side leaflets to left, plaiting leaflets in check. *c*, result after several plaiting strokes: leaflet 5′ has engaged leaflets 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and has passed around under cone; similarly, leaflet 2 has engaged leaflets 2′, 3′, 4′, 5′ and passed to other side of cone; other leaflets, those from left side functioning as dextrals, those from right side as sinistrals, plaited together in open leaf check; only six leaflets on each side figured, but process continued with all leaflets on midrib base; when cone is large enough, free ends of leaflets braided in three-ply braid, and two ends of braid knotted together, forming finishing edge for mouth of receptacle.

Platters (*laulou*) on which food is served are characterized by a natural concavity formed by the dull side of the coconut leaflets when plaited or folded together. All pudding platters for the talo dish called *ulo* have the braided finishing edge; all fish platters have the overhand knot finish; all platters for the talo dish called *lolei* have the non-braided, double-knot finish. All platters are approximately 18 inches wide and 9 to 12 inches deep.

Platter Cl181, *lolei ma ulo*, is used for serving the talo pudding (*ulo*). The platter has the Pukapukan tassel-knot, two-strip commencement. It is plaited in open

285 leaf check for 6 rows. The dextrals are gathered together and braided in three-ply,
275 and fastened with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter Cloth (*kaokao ana iko*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dextrals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plaiting closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 12 inches when dextrals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered wefts from the other side.

Platter Cloth (*kaokao ana loiei*) is a platter for serving the dish called *loiei*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf check for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dextrals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

291 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-
285 leaf malo (*malo kaowie*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following malo is typical:

Malo Cloth (*malo kaowie*) is made from a strip of width 13½ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3,*B*). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of 10½ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 12½ inches long and finished with an overhand knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 inches long on one side, 20 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

285 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ali*) are made by the women and
293 used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, *B*, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (Ali-pu), *ali kaowie kawai ana te lito*, is plaited in check with wefts of *lito* and kaowie *pukapuka* (pl.3,*A*,1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *puapua* wood 14 inches long and ¾ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a shed is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *lito* material, the width of the handle, is laid in this shed, passing under-neath and back-over the last element of the shed. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the shed on top of the *lito*. The strip of *lito* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *lito* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then gripped by the crossing wefts, as alternate elements forming the shed are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

1:Bragleholo 6nd Bragleholo E-8 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 30). This spar is termed *tabo*. At the lower end it rests in a socket (*tuhonanga no te tabo*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the spar to the stern cross lifting bar, eventually to the curve of the stern piece around which it is lashed.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and linked to the forward cross beam. The middle side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*hakau*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The crew can not tack without unshipping the mast and putting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*kakai ki pole*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross beams in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

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The Pukapukan paddle (*vaea*, fig. 26*d*) has a projecting knob (*vaea*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau vaea*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*kua tangi te vaea*), used to attract fish to the fishing canoe. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to indicate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men with short sticks imitate this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great inconvenience to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the knob (*kua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ale kua*) is reserved today for short spurts and for making the paddle resound, the front (*ahuale ki vaheuale*) of the paddle being now commonly directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*tabo*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko hang the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

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The bailer (*tuia*, fig. 26*g*) is of common Pukapukan type. It is not decorated with carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

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The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-meter canoe shown in figure 25.

The magnet by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

227 in three transverse turns round the sword (fig. 33.b). Five sprender sticks 9 inches apart are attached to the sword in this way, being lashed so that the distal ends of the sticks
284 project alternately to the left and to the right of the sword. The distal end of each sprender stick is also grooved circumferentially, and a length of twisted *ueu*, 1½ inches long, is doubled and the free ends fastened to the sprender stick groove by transverse turns of fine *ueu*. To this double sprender stick sword, the fishhook sword proper is fastened by the method of lassoing illustrated in figure 33.b. Five fishhooks are attached to the five sprender sticks. By making these sticks project alternately to left and to right, the danger of tangling the hooks in use is avoided.

Informants mentioned another type of *tamakomako* formerly in use. It consisted of two crossed sprender sticks of *spongia* wood, each stick about 18 inches long, with a cross section diameter of about 1½ inches. To the ends of each sprender a sword was fastened. The four swords ranged in length from 2½ to 6 feet so that four fish caught on wooden hooks lashed to each sword would not tangle the sword lines. At the intersection of the sprenders, a sinker line (*kamatua taka weewe*), 12 inches long, was fastened
[326] to support the sinker (*weewe*) of *pauga* coral. Also at the intersection of the sprenders was lashed a secondary sword (*weewe*) 22 feet long. To the *weewe* was fastened *pauaki* fishlines about 200 fathoms long.

Sinkers

For fishing at moderate depths of 50 or 75 fathoms, sinkers (*weewe*) consist of any coral stones of suitable weight picked up on the beach. Because these sinkers are disengaged from the line and fall to the bottom when the hook has reached the required depth it is pointless to use any but rough stones. In *takomaoao* fishing, one sinker weighing about 9 pounds is used repeatedly. Even for this the Pukapukan fisherman has apparently felt no incentive to make well-shaped or bored sinkers. He chooses as a sinker stone a block of coral that is roughly rectangular or cone-shaped. If the surface is not rough enough to hold the sinker line without slipping, it is chipped slightly to form two transverse grooves into which the sinker line fits. This line is attached to the sinker by transverse turns and knotted to the secondary sword (see figure 33.c).

Fish Club

227 Fish clubs (*pato iko*) are made of *spongia* wood; their size and weight depend on the fish which it is proposed to kill with them. A small club is used for *patuki* and other reef fish caught in reef angling or canoe fishing.

This club (Ch16) is shaped like a small tuba pounder with a blunt proximal end. It is 16 inches long, 2 inches in diameter at the distal end, 1 inch in diameter at the proximal end. The distal end is slightly convex. The club weighs 1½ pounds. Larger clubs weighing up to 5 pounds are used for larger deep-sea fish. Today a section of iron bar is often used as a fish club.

Hook Containers

[415] When not in use, small, valuable single and composite pearl-shell hooks are kept in the house stored in the double satchel (*kabowa pa*) described elsewhere (p. 134). Hooks and small fishing gear when taken into a canoe are kept for safety in a coconut-shell container (*puapu*).

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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An example of this type of container (*Chaq*) is a smoothly polished coconut shell, the eye end of which has been cut off to make a container 4 inches high, 3½ inches in diameter at the mouth. The mouth is covered with another half coconut shell (*pupua*), which fits tightly over the container.

Fishhook gorges used in fishing needle fish are kept when not in use by sticking them into a gorge cushion (*pupu ao*) which consists of a small cylindrical section of stripped coconut bark. The gorge cushion may itself be kept in the coconut container by the fisherman out in his canoe.

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FIGURE 35.—Fishing equipment. *a*, fish spear (*tao ika*) (*Chaq*): 1, shaft of *pupuo* wood 10 feet 3 inches long, diameter at proximal end (medial) ¾ inch, widest diameter of bark 1½ inches; 2, 3, barb (*mokopiu*) of *aparapio* wood, 1 foot 9 inches long, ½ inch diameter; 3, point (*mata*) of barb 2 inches long, cut in ½ inch; sharpened stem of barb forced (5) into pithy core of *pupuo* wood for 3 or more inches and held tight with 73 turns of two-ply twisted sennit (4); connecting and finishing ends buried; at point (5), observable projection above binding of barb. Second fish spear, constructed in field, was one-piece point and haft of *aparapio* wood, 8 feet long; barb 6½ inches long; proximal end finished with small terminal knob. *b*, gorge of *pandanus* spine (*mokoiuiu*) (*Chaq*): 1, 2, two spines (thorns) stripped from *pandanus* leaf and placed together so that barbs project on either side; spines joined together by sennit (3) of finest sort fiber with two pairs of half hitches (4, 5); 6, free end of sennit serves as bait tying string (*takele ennon*); length of gorge ½ inch, width ⅛ inch.

Fish Spear

Most fish spears in use today are thin iron rods or wooden shafts with iron points. Formerly both shaft and barbed point were of wood. A typical spear is shown in figure 35*a*.

Gorges

Two types of gorge (*ao*) are in common use: one of fishbone is used for catching the needle fish; the other, of *pandanus* spine, is used for the day *tupo* fish.

The fishbone gorge is a bone of the bonito fish about 1 inch long. The sennit of fine two-ply twisted fiber (*takele*) is fastened to the hook below the head by four half hitches (*tau pokoqu*). The free end of the sennit serves as a bait string (*takele ennon*).

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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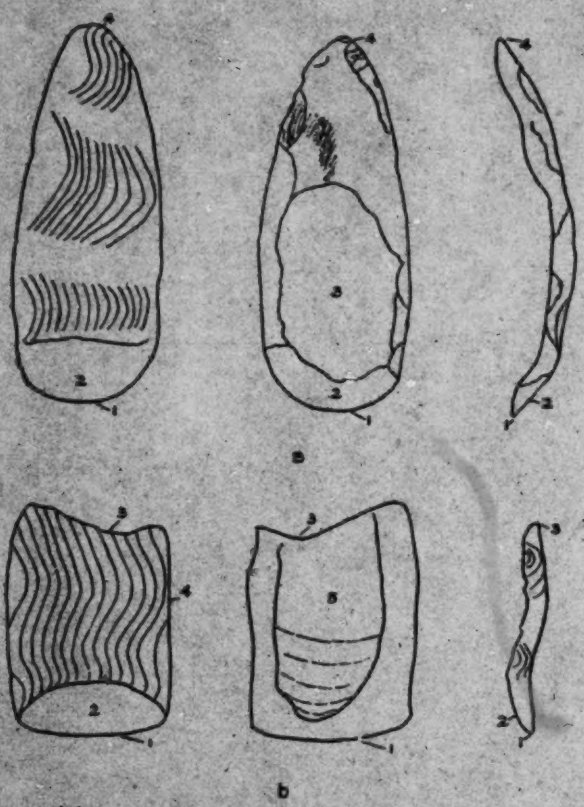


FIGURE 13.—Adzes of *Tridacna* shell. *a*, back, front, and side views (adz no. C 6527, Bernice P. Bishop Museum): 1, cutting edge; 2, bevel; 3, concavity of surface; 4, poll; greatest length, 4.75 inches. *b*, back, front and side views (adz in possession of R. D. Frisbie, Tahiti): 1, cutting edge; 2, ground bevel; 3, poll; 4, straight side; 5, central depression from natural concavity of shell; greatest length, 3 inches.

UTENSILS

415 A small satchel of lauhala collected at Pukapuka has the following
285 features.

Rectangular-sided and measuring 10 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1.5 inches wide, the satchel is made in simple check pattern. The bottom is flat and has square corners made by turning the strips as they are plaited. Each side is ornamented with strips of hala dyed red with native dyes. These strips are inserted over and included with the plaited elements. The pattern is X-shaped and is 7 inches long. On one side of the basket a solid square of the dyed hala is made between the forks formed by each arm of the X. The reverse side has two squares in each fork. The plaiting is commenced and

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

finished at the edge of the basket and is seamless. The end elements of the finishing edge are turned over and worked into the plaiting over the opposite elements. The basket has two handles made of braided strips of hala which are sewed to the sides. 415 285

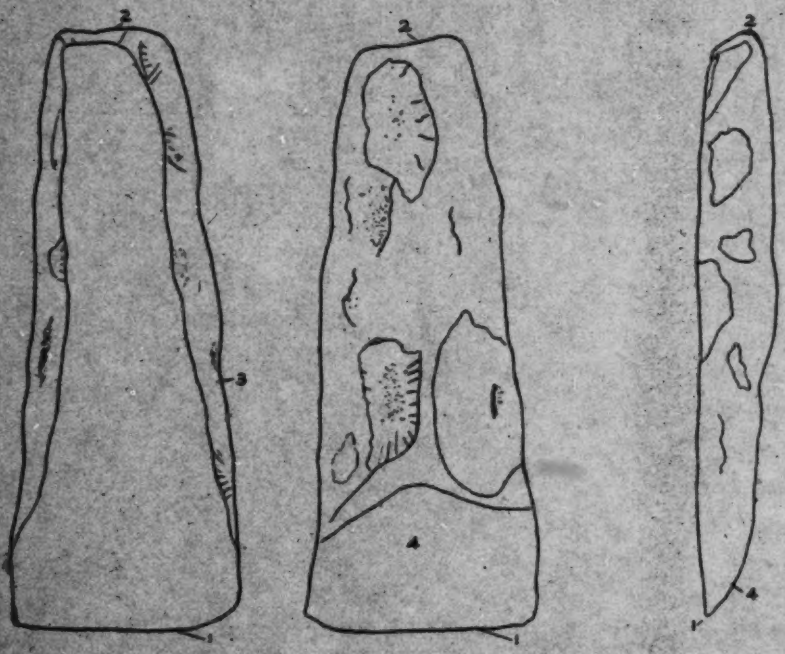


FIGURE 14.—Quadrilateral adz of basalt (no. B 8809, Bernice P. Bishop Museum), front, back, and side views: 1, cutting edge; 2, poll; 3, oblique side; 4, bevel; greatest length 7.5 inches. 412 177

Food is mixed in wooden bowls (*kumete*) (fig. 15). They are hewn from single pieces of wood and shaped into elliptical bowls with flat bottoms. Short handles are cut at either end. 415

FIGURE 15.—Elliptical wooden food bowl with end lug handles and flat bottom.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala, ali, patelatele, uku* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, tautaumu*; the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *uitiriti, soyala, pala ali, piopio, matuale, lali*, and *papa*. The various rays are speared with a *tao*, to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 572 416 2. Torch fishing. Torches (*launa*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lauulauna ahua*), three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*launa malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad tapt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, drill side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*mulivahewake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the drill side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the hand and then make it flame again by raising the hand is termed *uuhapulapula*.

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *halowa, ie, tuavao, uualibi, mayi, hauau, uloulo, hotinu*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi uuhapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *fa wata iba* or *tauvanga*; the method of using it, *tali tauvanga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tao yaahi*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ala uuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

[621 422] Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

343 ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*pu lua*) was
284 level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*pu tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of this vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale tabetake*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the
343 hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, retied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off
412 his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated
414 grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *tale*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale tabetake* house with two hatches
177 in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

341 The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more
344 ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch
320 house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8086)[1]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *puapua* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *puapua* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eaves purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,c).

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewa-longi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Watu-manava-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

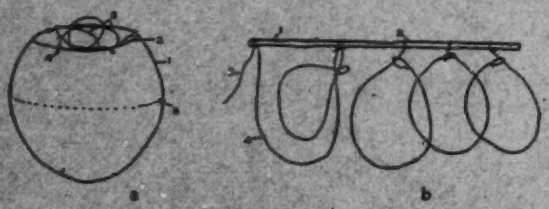
House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

974 Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan
975 culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with
417 which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul
trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum
284 may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the cen-
tral portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian
114 Digby of the British Museum.



[223
284] Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *ooso* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *ooso* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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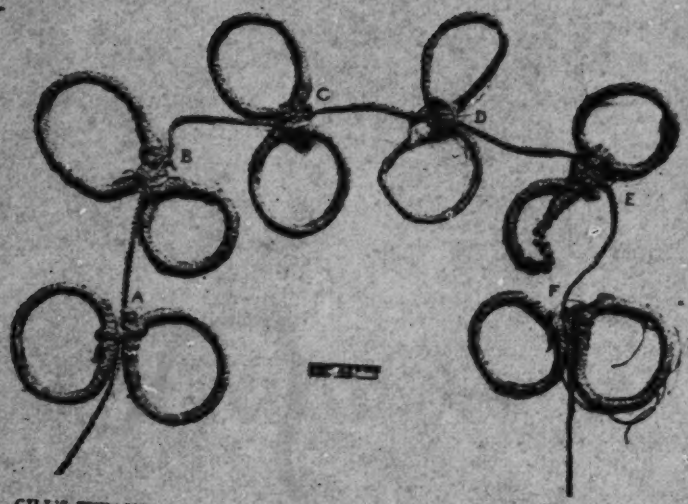

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7½ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed
ui wenua. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of
621 the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolomui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te oyanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

621 The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the
226 reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tukutui*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lani*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *tukupu* birds (tern).

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-
685 eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side.
621 Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
226 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
431 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava*
621 fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuahoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*). k

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *matau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
the high chief (*ariki matu*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested
996 k. [See p.18, category III — analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
321 reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
123 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
185 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of
121 the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
361 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
226 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale,
245 on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mota*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *makawawine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421 613 423 311] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.

[X4] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *houses* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na hanua i te tuaa lalo*) are: Te Fu, Taikinaua, Te Weka-i-te-kikiki, Te Aunua. Four divisions (*na hanua i te tuaa ngaki*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yongalipuale *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Waka-kakala, Te Weka, Te Pungua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have owned strips running from lagoon to Ninu in the western section of the village.

421 613 341 428 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 613 692 Each section (*hanua*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *pikunga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *karu* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uma*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared 422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts 226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant nut tree on the *kaava* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the sections. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uwa*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

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t:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
673 day. A tapu (*laui*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bele of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
844 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
725 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
072 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pulu, uli, potolitele, niua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, tautoonua;* the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *uiliuili, yoyalo, palu uli, piopio, matarie, lali,* and *fupa.* The various rays are speared with a *tao,* to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 372 416 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lamalama akau*), three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, dull side (*tua,* back) down, the smooth side (*mulivakevake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *unkapulapula.*

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *halomo, iu, tuuvao, tuuliki, mayi, kanae, uloulo, kotimu,* parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi unkapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *pa uuta iko* or *tauvaga;* the method of using it, *tali tauvaga:*

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tae yaeke*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ole uuli au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

[621 422] Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kavu*:

The first method is *lamalama kavu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kavu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *wakapoa kavu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *uuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and 252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were 237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the 422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards. 621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from 223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast 262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *waka kai lakia*.

231 Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a 223 bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Manester). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*wuata*) is termed *wakayai mana* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category 116 -- analysis]

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans

621, 423

[The communal ownership of and legal aspects of the reserve food lands have been classified in 621 and 423. For protection by village guards, see category 625. For cultivation and use of, see appropriate categories.]

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-wata (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The westernmost section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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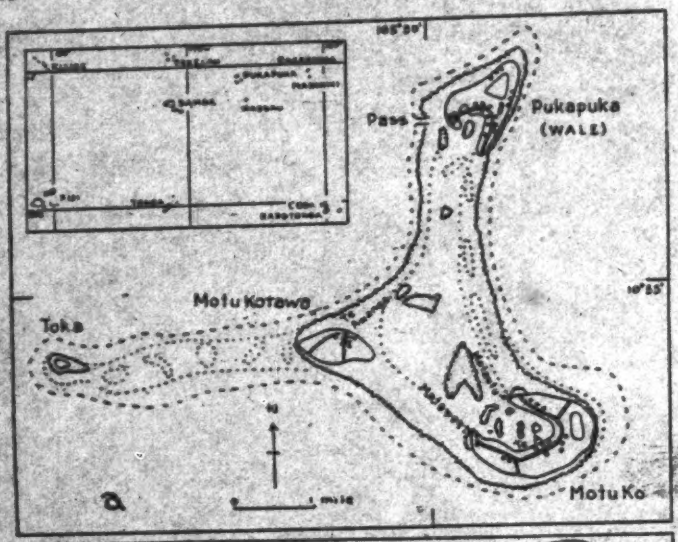

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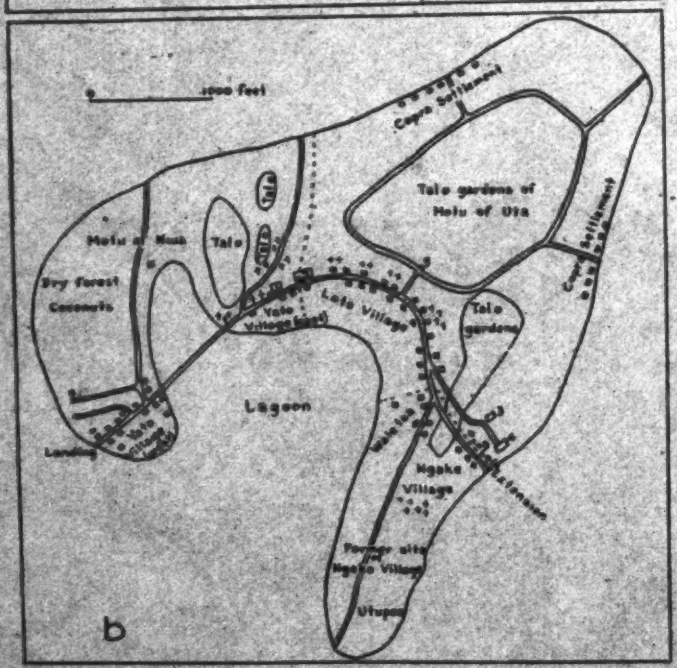

FIGURE 1.—Maps of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*nguituala*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
491 Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
487 through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ule	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimanu	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Takununi	'Circle' ?
	Ulekawa	'Penis-of-sennit' ?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Mataliki (*mata ariki*, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Mataliki (*mata iiti*, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed
621 *ui wenua*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te ayunga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef,
621 inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

226 The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Utu, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Utu was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*takutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*laui*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takupu* birds (tern).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423/226 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, 133 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a fre- 685 quent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north- 621 eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve 226 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained 431 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* 621 fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village 421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal 361 and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, 621 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuiuyanga and Alata- 361 kupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A 526 weapon (*kaio*) of *uetau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary 423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest 621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional 526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, 776 the high chief (*aliki uoto*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

7. [See p.18, category 116 — analysis]

her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Taua's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki lalo te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Taua in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te takuapa uaua*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletos, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pale foe* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Veitaua, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Alanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mull uvuna*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata uvuna*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hotuna* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawewine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[414] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *kauas* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kauas i te taua lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Weto-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kauas i te taua ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wais-kakala, Te Weto, Te Pungua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
428 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among
individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 Each section (*kauas*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
613 *yihuanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
692 marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency
is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or
remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections
on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds
or be said to own house sites on the lots.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

43 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
123 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukama* trees, and graves of
245 ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
423 the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections
423 or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuhi* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuhi* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[371] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] 623 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaow* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared 422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts 226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

[504] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lauí*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
844 talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

423 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
775 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children,
768 blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
892 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patriloeal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*paunga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*wakomuke*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yakili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, [482] making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalokalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamataka*) with a scraper (*kalokalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka: 137 *mawolawola, wakawotu, wakena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *peleua,* 177 *talaki, kalelea, newunewu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.* All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of 773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow 224 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman 423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may
be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections
running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo
362 dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting
one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences
in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
Talo: the whole plant.
192 Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapulo: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petiole and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Lauman: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral corm(s) or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Ala: root.
Wulawulu: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy mud in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wau: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child in communally owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*uwuui*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*uutouya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *tapo mauea*.

244 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
782 basket (*kete kauula*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*taka*). She rec-
ognizes the mature (*kiki*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*lauga*) the talo plant and slices off (*tapo*) the top section, tossing the corm
to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled,
digging it up (*tohi*) with a stick (*hopa ui*). She slices most of the leaves from the
petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps
the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws
the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil.
She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being
stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts
the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In
former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms
for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matuiduna e, Matuiduna e, here is your share of
talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 177 517 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

834 564 717 552 114 718

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Weto-ananuva-ani, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

324 133 177

Walls

423 333 417 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
171 explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *vakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
226 to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*tea*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
378 Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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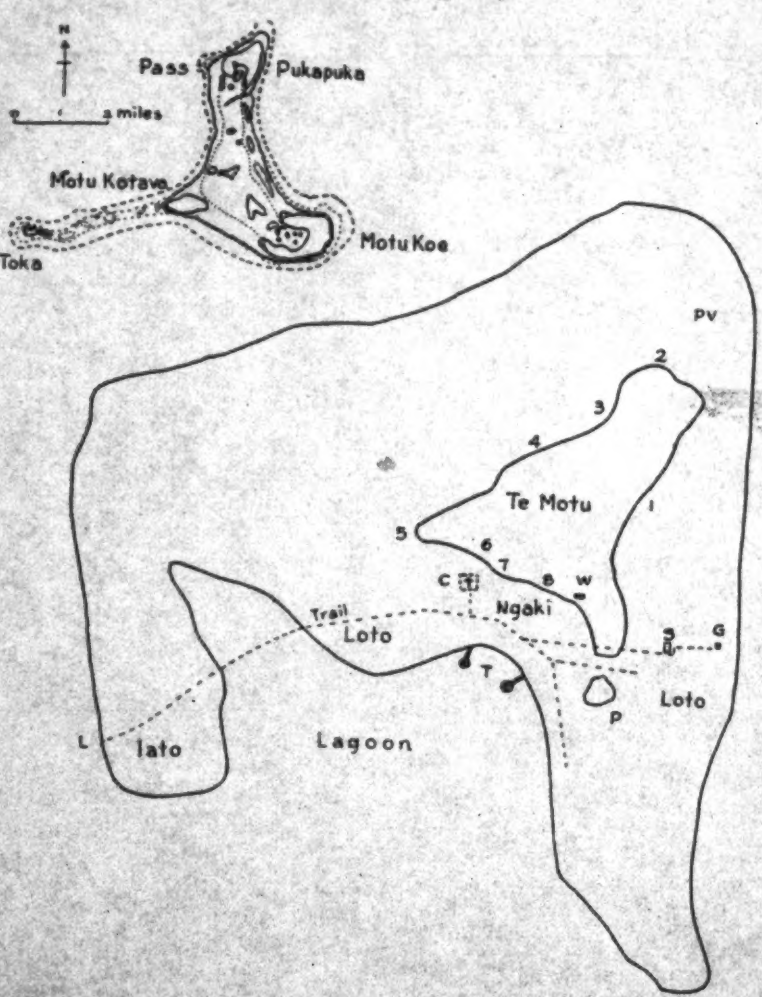

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows:

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalaknla
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatau* and *wakaruusiu*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kauu*) of indeterminate

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912 primitive implements.

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244 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
770 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
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177 have been in earlier times.

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621 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the
244 village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*makatane* and *makamowina*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*konikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
471 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
592 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.
511

Paternal Lineage Property

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[364] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *kaua* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kaua i te tawa lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kaua i te tawa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-kakala, Te Welo, Te Puapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognise none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
428 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among
individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

Each section (*kaua*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
423 *yikuaga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
613 eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
692 lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency
is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or
remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections
on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds
or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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613 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
[23 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of
245 ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
423 the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections
423 or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngulu held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[591] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To
423 protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule
613 that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *karu* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small
423 sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control.
344 These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage
428 or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a
616 more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may
556 own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared
422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts
226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
849 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*wi tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
775 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
092 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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428 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
[592] to control the house for themselves.

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If
597 it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of permit, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, mats, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lotu, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 421 731 621

In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed *ui wunu*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui hua wunui (*2* beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 621 226

The barrier reef (*te oyunga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*iu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utapoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tukutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake announced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*laui*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takupa* birds (tern).

476 431 784

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423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
187 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*holo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Nisu. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1*b*). ?

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitalapu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tuiuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kalo*) of *aotea* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki tuale*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested
776 ? [See pers, category III ~ analyst]

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226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*notonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *ate*. The *notonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ate* one year automatically became the group for meeting *pale* fish the next year. All fish caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
226 *notonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
767 were taught the elements of *ate* fishing, the rules, taps, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau matua*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *notonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *notonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
731 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*yaua*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *tuhoyaua*, and the gift itself was *yaua*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *wainaga*.

Ate fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Uta-canoe-o-te-takaka, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a *malo*, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*tuhaitoto*) to the god Malelielangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was taps for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed further but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the taps and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this taps was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a taps returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngonga elo* (stinking sponge birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with *ate* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*ioao*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

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223 crab (*waga*) or, alternately, a bait of small periwinkle meats or centipedes (*tuli*) is tied to the ends of each of several lines which are laid across the beach, the other ends being fastened to a near-by tree or to stakes. The birds swallow the baits, are unable to disgorge them, can not fly away, and are caught. *Kaaw* and *matiku* birds are caught thus with *waga* bait, *tuli* with periwinkle or centipede bait.

7. Fowling line, generally used to catch sea birds.

A length of *waa* line is attached at one end of a pole from 6 to 9 feet long. A piece of coral stone weighing about 2 ounces is fastened to the free end of the line. When a bird has been attracted close to the tree in which the catcher hides, or when it circles low over the beach, the line is thrown out. The weight of the stone carries the line round the bird. The line encircles the bird several times and entangles its wings. It is then drawn to the catcher. No decoy birds were used in this method of bird catching, nor was the stone weight shaped in any way. The use of line, shaped stone, and decoy bird is reported for Aputiteana by Woodford (19,p.254), the use of line and shaped weight for Vaitupu (19,p.194), and for Nauru (14,p.269).

House Building

342 476 The framework for small houses is erected by the owner and a few of his friends. If a big house is contemplated and speed is required, the kinship group is mobilized and the work continued until the frame is completed. The able-bodied men work on the frame while the older men work near by making the sennit for the lashings. Today the framework of most small houses is fitted together in some shady, cool place whether the actual site of the new house is unoccupied or already occupied by an old house which is to be replaced. When the frame is completed, it is taken to pieces, transported to the house site and there put together again. The roof framework is fixed together permanently at the work site and then bodily transported to the house site. In big houses, however, the frame is usually erected on the house site in the first instance. The house framework is usually built during the cooler weather just after the winds swing round to the southeast.

342 Unless the house is very small, the thatching (whether of a new or old house) is done by a working party. The sides and ends of each roof are divided into sections (*wawaga* or *tuta*) of a certain width running from eaves to ridgepole. Two to three sections are generally reckoned for the side of an average house. The pile of roof sheets for each section is termed *yinati ika*. The type of thatching desired, whether *ato tala* or *ato yinaki*, and the distance between each successive roof sheet is specified beforehand.

342 4K 131 The owner of the house arranges with as many friends as necessary, each to assume responsibility for preparing the roof sheets and sennit, and for thatching one section of the house. Each man may elect to do all the work himself or he may call in a group of friends to help him with his section. The work is paid for by a food division, one share being set aside for each section that has been contracted out. This share is redivided among the helpers in each section. The amount of food constituting a share depends

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342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngalusnga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
331 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
684 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable,
461 and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mauata* or *tangata tau uwira*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaivai uoiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulako* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by
571 the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the
household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the
431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group.
Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later
431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give
[574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tamaoloa* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for
195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tamaoloa* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 cally as *mali tukuna* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being
[195] that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tukuna* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *tamgalou*. *Wulanga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapa* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in
431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapa*, is applied to a gift to the gods,
782 whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamyoi, a gift of taro to the gods Matalomea and Matalolua, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *ambatapa* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 290).

431 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yowui*, and one of greater value, whether given through extensive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yowyou nunui*.
[578] To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *aiawai*, the mean or stingy person, *hahionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437 Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in
439 native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

437 431 476 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 554 [322] When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakayina te waka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakawaitinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakayinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*waitinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uwa*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *mauw* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *mauw*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *mauw*, each woman five *mauw*, each child one *mauw*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu himne*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 574 431 621 527 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 3 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1 [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inus kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inus kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inus kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lovaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
621 formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
527 of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*loui*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lovaya*, as *lovaya haveu* (crabs), *lovaya manu* (birds). A *lovaya* after a tapu period ensures
262 that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lovaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[621] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lovaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalaunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamatinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalaunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *mamatanga*.

5. *Kawhaw*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other
[623] inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wasle, *tamaiyanga*, and *pushi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *mulkimua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia mule* and *lulubunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lauhaw*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

Iau hai o te uau is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
431 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
574 trolled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

527 *Lauaniaupi* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo*
262 *ulai* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingolingo* (land shells), feasts
613 of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fresh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Katawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *yiangu* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have intr-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 574 527 262 613 [572]

cated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *taubaru* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aavanga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 252 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinahi*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*kawa*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ika ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoika*, and to make fire thus is *mate ami*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw
when ripe, with or without complement (*kinahi*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*wola tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wola* and *likoliko wola*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*nakano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yima, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is
said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lowuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *lowuatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in
five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A
251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of
252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is
249 owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village
621 members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
245 adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *vu*.
The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipolo*) are grown on Motu
262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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252 251 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*halava*), 30 to 40 *payua* on each string. The strung *payua* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 262 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 231 252 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mimula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*valuvalu*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*makitakita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngakau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal, and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), [554] reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*vae*), ribs (*ivi hayokoyo*), back (*tua ivi*), and finally the hind quarter (*mulimuli*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
231 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it
262 was established in Pukapuka.

431 252 Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg. A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, talo, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the talo beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipipi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *koi, taumamaya, yamnyamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
574 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
431 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*makalevalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *mako uula* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamakomako*, *lakau yili*, *pola puka*, and *maile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uuo* fiber were termed *uuo titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

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Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,a. Another

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597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama kokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama kokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the
843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama kokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference.
613 The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting
[842] parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for
597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama kokoti* to the adopting parents.

597 As distinguished from a *tama kokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wungai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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597 the feeding relationship into a permanent *kokoti* relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a renaming of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

597 An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses 848 the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his *tama kokoti*. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

597 A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to *kokoti* and *wangai* children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationships is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

Two men, Lepuama and Tiela, are cross cousins. Lepuama adopted as *tama kokoti* the son of Tiela. Tiela in turn decided to adopt from Lepuama. He contracted for Lepuama's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiela's sorrow, Lepuama's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

597 The exchange is termed *yoani* (gift), *yoani inai* (to receive in exchange), 431 or *yoani atu* (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a sentimental tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned talo beds—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called *yoani*. The practice of

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577 giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples 431 which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

597

Adopting Parent	Child	
	Kokoti	Wangai
Paternal		
1. Father's brother	4	-
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	-
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	-
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	-
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	-
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	-
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	-
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	-
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	-
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	3	-
15. Father's mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	2	-
Father's adopted paternal relatives:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	-
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	-
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	-
Maternal		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	-
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	-
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	-
Mother's paternal relatives:		
23. Mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	11	-
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	-
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	-
Mother's maternal relatives:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	-
Mother's adopted maternal relatives:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	-
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	-	1
Totals	77	14

591 The census records three examples of adoption of *tama kokoti*, the adopting parent then giving the child (*kave te tama*) to another paternal lineage 613 not the parents' own.

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581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
F31 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

574 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
584 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatopu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

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584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *hai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalonga	Yayi	Yamanuga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalonga, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamanuga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The lower indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

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584 unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*unikinnu*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *unkomaloma*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

585 431 [574]

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *unuu loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *unuu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *unkuwolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy: those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *unkuwolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *unkuwolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *unkuwolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*unkuipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
833 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Matu and Lekua, comes back to Matu's house from working
159 in the bush with Lekua, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovenga* (slightly larger corms), *uoiui uoiru* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433/571 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. 431 Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later 431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give [574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431/195 The word *tuangaloa* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tuangaloa* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
287 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 cally as *mali tulaua* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tulaua* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *tuangaloa*. *Wetanga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of talo to the gods Matalomea and Matalolua, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *mahatapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 292).

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43 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yeesi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yeeyea nunui*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pe tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atonui*, the mean or stingy person, *hahionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

[57]

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437

Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
431 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
476 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
554 talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are
[322] fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *uuhayinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*wutanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*uuhanuifanga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *uuhayinuuga eutolo* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*uuifanga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uuo*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pusu* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manu*, each woman five *manu*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu fuuine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
574 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000
431 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that
621 happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

627 Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food
1/A. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price of copra. For some time a Burns Philip trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

d:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 cally as *ruli* takoso "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being
[195] that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *takoso* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *tuungalou*. *Wakaga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in
431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of taro to the gods Matakaoa and
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A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoosi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yaayaa uumai*.
[578] To refuse to accept a gift is termed *ya tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atoosi*, the mean or stingy person, *kakinga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloulo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3,*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalawa*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ¾ inch wide and ¾ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *sau* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-137 fruit trees grow on the island.

262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro. 439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
526 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

581 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo uasiga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli. [578]

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

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Te pivaf' elo, malo pipilo,	Fig smelling, malo stinking,
E kisi ya wano ki tua	(He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)
Tuku ki ki to wakayaya	(He has) placed himself in secrecy
Kae mea loa e ao ai.	No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu emenu pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

* The charms are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pisi* for *pig* (from *ang*) and *poi* for pudding (*emenu ang*).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
331 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
669 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded
461 slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mawaru* or *tangata tau waire*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 285 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*takapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 554 461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wukamailongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wukamaliwga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *nuna vaka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*uata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wulimuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*koukou ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wulimuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*nunu*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatani*. They are

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*iua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ½ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¼ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wahaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ½ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl.3*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from stripe of coconut midrib (*halava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake nia* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅝ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uao* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

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831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vale wu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluska*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[531
461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *hamai*, and *mango* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, 453 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing 186 appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laxiness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men 226 are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women 577 was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. 461 Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a baked head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*moingango pango*). 285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*loki na pango*) and chanting as they did so.

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181 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be
831 possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate
[Kava] kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *ariki* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and tuka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
261 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
796 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
790 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

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428 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
592 to control the house for themselves.
597

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of canoe, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, nets, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and pottery Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lotu, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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462 One jealous woman is reported to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
162 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
626 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no
matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way
577 he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
462 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
244 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and
709 private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
587 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
554 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata univa*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

271 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*iaume*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*wale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
252 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *wale wakayamoa* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
372 build, and, in the main, of the *wale toinuku* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*uatu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*kale*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *kale* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*pu te imu*), coconut shells (*aguipu*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pikipiki*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*kae matemate te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te imu*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *toa*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *puapua* leaves (*loutalou*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *loutalou*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *puapua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *polapola* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *polapola*. The whole oven covering is termed *tutao;* to cover the oven is *uui te imu* or *tui te tutao*. Whenever a woman comes back from the talo beds, she places a bundle of *puapua* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of talo and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the talo from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

[484]

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
262 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

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252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *uale inna* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

267. 261 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 958 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods 252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *uamaulo* is chewed (*aguaguau*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *uakomuko* is baked (*uakomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*uako*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *uatu* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu uatu tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu helokalo* from the *niu uatu*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *helokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*yau*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu uatu* is also made *ipu niu helokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially [943] for sick persons. The unopened *niu uatu* is cooked on hot stones (*niu uatu tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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871
868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868
462 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

857 Tiua, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one
857 cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
221 on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
[609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

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124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
109 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm
191 and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that
797 time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
963] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included
612 within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence
794 most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

served by native pastors
1. [Pukapuka—analysis]

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462 162 626 677

One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 244 709

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 887

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 534

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata uoiua*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
334 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
664 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded
461 slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau uwiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
574 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
527 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
262 Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
613 stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
[572] little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is com-
plete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural
fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously
impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupale*) chose its own food dividers for the fish
brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for
laukeve feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food
dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or
cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the
old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved
solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people
for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for them-
selves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangonga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*ownnga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tuna*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iha ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihonga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikaika*, and to make fire thus is *mata ami*.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed *ui wenua*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of
621 the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wumi (*2* beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolomui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

VILLAGE PROPERTY

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te ayanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

621 The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the
226 reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Nitu (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*takutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lani*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takapu* birds (tern).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such
712 primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
244 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
773 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
425 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the
428 resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must
177 have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the
423 number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
621 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members;
244 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawawine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
471 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
692 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands
511 owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*to*) controls a section of land (*kaso*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) Pukapukan

512 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic
221 routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding
[285] day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

471 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house build-
226 ing, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determin-
285 ing factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

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476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women,
241 the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and
243 coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building
625 of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*tuis*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

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476 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of
621 representatives from each village. This number was then equally divided among the
609 three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its
621 own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe
476 building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals
[578] composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several
626 ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does
476 not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 Te pirui' ote, mako piako, — Pig snuffling, snake sticking,
626 E kini ya wano la tau — (He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)
461 Tuku ia ki ki wokapuna — (He has) placed himself in nowhere
Kae mau loa e ao ki. — No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

223 crab (*ungu*) or, alternately, a bait of small periwinkle meats or centipedes (*veli*) is tied to the ends of each of several lines which are laid across the beach, the other ends being fastened to a near-by tree or to stakes. The birds swallow the baits, are unable to disgorge them, can not fly away, and are caught. *Kawe* and *matibu* birds are caught thus with *ungu* bait, *veli* with periwinkle or centipede bait.

7. Fowling line, generally used to catch sea birds.

A length of sine line is attached at one end of a pole from 6 to 9 feet long. A piece of coral stone weighing about 2 ounces is fastened to the free end of the line. When a bird has been attracted close to the tree in which the catcher hides, or when it circles low over the beach, the line is thrown out. The weight of the stone carries the line round the bird. The line encircles the bird several times and entangles its wings. It is then drawn to the catcher. No decoy birds were used in this method of bird catching, nor was the stone weight shaped in any way. The use of line, shaped stone, and decoy bird is reported for Apemama by Woodford (19.p.294), the use of line and shaped weight for Vaitupu (19.p.254), and for Nauru (14.p.269).

House Building

342 476 The framework for small houses is erected by the owner and a few of his friends. If a big house is contemplated and speed is required, the kinship group is mobilized and the work continued until the frame is completed. The able-bodied men work on the frame while the older men work near by making the sennit for the lashings. Today the framework of most small houses is fitted together in some shady, cool place whether the actual site of the new house is unoccupied or already occupied by an old house which is to be replaced. When the frame is completed, it is taken to pieces, transported to the house site and there put together again. The roof framework is fused together permanently at the work site and then bodily transported to the house site. In big houses, however, the frame is usually erected on the house site in the first instance. The house framework is usually built during the cooler weather just after the winds swing round to the southeast.

342 Unless the house is very small, the thatching (whether of a new or old house) is done by a working party. The sides and ends of each roof are divided into sections (*mosonga* or *tafa*) of a certain width running from eaves to ridgepole. Two to three sections are generally reckoned for the side of an average house. The pile of roof sheets for each section is termed *yinaki lau*. The type of thatching desired, whether *ato tele* or *ato yinaki*, and the distance between each successive roof sheet is specified beforehand. 342 The owner of the house arranges with as many friends as necessary, each 476 to assume responsibility for preparing the roof sheets and sennit, and for thatching one section of the house. Each man may elect to do all the work 431 himself or he may call in a group of friends to help him with his section. The work is paid for by a food division, one share being set aside for each section that has been contracted out. This share is redivided among the helpers in each section. The amount of food constituting a share depends

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 476 431 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

[626 538]

342 33 There is no specialisation in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that 412 342 654 461 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 463 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mamatu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who
431 borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
476 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
574 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

554 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
[322] talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *uehayinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*uehayinunga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *uehayinunga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*maitinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *vau*, one anchor line of *tennie*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one *tennie matalo* and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, five *matana* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *matana*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *fana* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *matana*, each woman five *matana*, each child one *matana*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa himne*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
574 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
431 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5
621 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,600
527 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/2. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women 142 are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 [164] The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, 192 prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

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513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

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483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
527 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

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[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *ale atu pale* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *ale uasiaga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

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251 according to the quality of *takotako* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one of several houses stored exclusively with *takotako* nuts.

245 192 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 481 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 887 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *moka te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo,* or *takuvili te niu.* Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 534 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tamae*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*uale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
252 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *uale uuka-yamoo* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
372 build, and, in the main, of the *uale toinuku* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*uutu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*kale*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *kale* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*pu te imu*), coconut shells (*agaipu*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pihipihi*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*hoa matemate te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te imu*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *tao*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *puapua* leaves (*lautalou*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *lautalou*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *puapua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *polapola* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *polapola*. The whole oven covering is termed *tutao*; to cover the oven is *uui te imu* or *tui te tutao*. Whenever a woman comes back from the talo beds, she places a bundle of *puapua* leaves on her head to
[481] serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of talo and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the talo from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
2/12 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

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226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kalava*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo iko*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukunika or wakayrika: to pay out a line.
Wawuti: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or langa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakaautala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or momomo: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua wauine* 626 (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te mauru kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or 777 to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his 782 god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, 776 controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred 778 clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped 226 opposite the stone of the god, Malokitelangi, near the western reef channel to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish- 782 hook. The gift (*uakaieta*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pauuga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yuhili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemple*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayani*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayani*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

[482]

275 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *patunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*take*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *halohale* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*malimali*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakamaka*) with a scraper (*halohale*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mamalamala, wakamota, wakena, hala, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelena,*
talaki, halelea, nawunawu (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.*
177 All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Mani (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
214 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*taka ki luaga o te ula*).

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There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

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Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ai*) and fertilizing (*wakalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

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The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukawa* leaves, *lau kotawa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in cocoanut-leaf mats (*palapala*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukawa* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Sense is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukawa* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

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In the old days a little dryland talo (*kapa*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Tuki te tingapula: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, koa tupu te ala o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, koa velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, koa loa te fito o te lava: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po angaulu, koa velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taeyao atu, koa kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Koa velo aui te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Koa kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Koa kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Koa kau lima: (25d day) there are five petioles growing.
Koa wakalaungavali: (29th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Koa toaki te kau lima, koa uyi, koa tupu mai oki te lau luma, koa ono lau talo, koa ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Koa ulaulo ki luaga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Koa ola loa ki luaga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Koa taka te ula: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Koa matapo te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Oko ki te vavaga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Koa kiel, koa wawaio: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

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372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *koko* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E polia e te kakavai;	Hearth holder the *koko* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *kauati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the bark of the stick. Place the *kauati* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patumate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*mahauti*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule said the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
313 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

* In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently was related to one of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Maui-tamaki procured fire in the first instance.

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352 in scraping shell (*culuyi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing
412 turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where
commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal
end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a
322 thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two
notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and
284 fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around
handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seised (8) around *uso* cord and
finishing end buried. *b*, coconut stand grater (*tuai*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1)
mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uetau* wood; horizontal base 1
foot 10¾ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two tri-
angular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3)
7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves hori-
zontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique
arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell
grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave sur-
face of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and
around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal
conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off
flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung
up by free end. *c*, back rest (*iake*) cut from solid block of *uakonotu* wood (C8161):
1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about
2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longi-
tudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges;
continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end
resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension
(3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches
high. *d*, wooden headrest (*ulunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of
puapua wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches
thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¾ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight
flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

352 Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern.
573 Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests
404 or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in com-
177 mon use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines.
Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are
generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

245 To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking
412 stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie*
wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants
482 were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker
kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick
is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The
carrying pole (*ono*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which
a stick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

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245 fiber joining end pairs resting in these nicks. The carrying pole is dis-
482 carded when the worker returns to the village. Shaped, permanent carrying poles are never used.

A spatula-shaped implement (*kalokalo taumaya*, C8038) of *ngangie* 25'3 wood is used to scrape out the soft flesh of the drinking nut. One end has a sharp point used for opening the nut by piercing the soft eye. The other 412 end is broad and is used for scraping out the flesh after the liquid has been drunk. The implement is a combination of scraper and spoon.

A hand grater (*kalokalo ui mata*, C8091) is used for grating the flesh of the coconut to make the coconut food called *niu kalokalo*. The blade is the *uyoloto* section of a pearl shell. The nacreous inner surface of the shell forms the front surface (*aloalo*) of the blade, the black outer surface forms the back (*tua*) of the blade. The teeth of the serrated edge of the blade are termed *mata*. The blade is fixed to the handle of *ngangie* wood by 17 transverse turns of three-ply sennit, with buried commencement and finishing ends.

A stand grater (*tusi*) is used to grate the flesh of the mature coconut to make coconut cream. No shell graters (fig.12,*b*) are in use on the atoll today, but the stand-grater principle is retained in the use of a toothed metal grater attached to a wooden arm which is fastened to a box. To use the shell grater, the worker sat on the horizontal base. Holding the half coconut with both hands, she worked the flesh against the grater teeth with a downward rotary movement. The gratings fell onto a coconut mat on which the grater rested.

415 A coconut cream wringer (*teuungu*) is made from the husks of the coconut at the *niu mato* stage after burial in beach sand to macerate the interfibrous material. The husks are beaten with a stick to remove the decayed parts, washed in water, and are ready for use when dry.

Food packages for transporting talo pudding or fish are made by placing the food on the platter called *loulau ava loloi* and then folding back the two tails (*uwakapona*) of its finishing edge over the food; the tails are pushed through the plaiting just below the midrib commencement edge, their free ends tied in a reef knot to make a compact package.

415 Water containers (*uuwongi*; fig.13,*a*) are made from especially large
303 coconut shells. The husk is removed and the shell opened at the soft eye. The liquid is poured off and the shell filled with salt water. When the flesh has rotted, it is removed through the soft hole with a special scraper called *valuyi* or *valu uuwongi* (fig.12,*a*). A handle of sennit is tied to the netting on either side and the containers hung in pairs (*uuwei*) to the rafters of the cook house. No containers were seen in use, their place being taken by buckets or empty cans.

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857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

443 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
224 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo uanga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watunoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
571 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[354] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splashing up the water were blamed by the people to shoals of

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173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

177 203 554 The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *hiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 484 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful 177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one 554 paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through 167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might some- 829 day be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and anti-social interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

173 I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, 484 have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Wakalanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakatava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to ugliness, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the beauty rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Matu-o-te-tokalua (*Stars-of-the-pair*).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tomu (captain) and Tana with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tomu and Tana was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tawna (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky) the navigators tried to pick the flower called *tokelangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the coagulating pieces tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Metalikl, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

[114] Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Weki was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Weki a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nuku-matatole (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-nanatole (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Weki that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

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173 484 171 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-nanutole" (Go you to Nuku-nanutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamanuga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

[626 558]

173 177 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the taotalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taro. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 amount of talo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli ngapta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Na'nau, Te Palo sewed his tail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Tana was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's armpit with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

173 [502] 484 As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*wakamana*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The canoes were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puoyo*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her atoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tama e, ka ni o mo mea la langa ake te inu o to tama kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trials of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 tore apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was revenged on the Tongan people.

173 Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring
167 expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of
484 Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

173 All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travellers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Nistao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngaya* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Nistao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Nistao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Nistao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Nistao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yamanaga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaua, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitongauuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitongauuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaua who had voyaged abroad. But Talitongauuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaua sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

173 Taluawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawani, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the canoe and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

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This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tina reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Nine, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

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361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto, and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
423 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
621 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*agatuala*) of
491 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-
487 house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

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Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pasa-ole	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikuia	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimaua	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Awaka	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Tuenuta	—
Yato	Takaunui	'Circle'?
	Ulekowa	'Penis-of-ostrich'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[a]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[a]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[a] Mataliki (mata ariki, elderly eyes) refers to the lineage and supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (mata iki, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

301 proximal end; shank (3) 3¼ inches long, ¼ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ⅜ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; outer shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¼ inches, greatest width 3⅜ inches, thickness at hinge ⅛ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ⅛ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6⅜ inches long, ¼ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted sase cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yela*) (C8034) with two teeth (*matolua*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9⅝ inches long; handle (1) averages ½ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at 2, ⅛ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*matatola*) (C8035) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1½ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅜ inches long and average ¼ inch thick. *e*, earring (*mahaserouapa*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (C8140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅛ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at 2 so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 3/16 inch high, ⅛ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c*,*d*). The two-pronged comb (*yela mato lua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yela mato tolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*punga*), coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), and coral pebbles (*hilihili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

Paths

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

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921 Na Pongapongo-iyu-o-te-kiole, Nostrils-of-the-rat (visible binary, 4 ν Lyrae and 5 Lyrae). Some confusion over identification of the name. Likely that almost any visible binary may be correctly called by this name, in same way that Jupiter and Sirius may both be correctly called Tapao.

Te Tolunga-Mani, Three-Maui-Brothers (ζ, ε, and δ Orionis). Veti alone included Orion's sword as well as his belt in this constellation. Used as star course from Pukapuka to Olosenga and return.

Te Wao-a-Mani, Fishline-of-Maui (θ, η, ζ, ε, and δ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis). Most informants agreed on including these stars as the main ones in the Fishline, in reality a group of stars strung out north along the Milky Way from Scorpio. An unimportant constellation, figuring neither as star-course guide nor as fishing sign.

Taki-piki-tolu (group of stars in Piscis Australis). Veti and Pau maintain this identification, and refer Tolu alone to α, β, and γ Aquilae. Possibly this distinction is old.

Mataliki (Pleiades). Morning rising marks change of wind to southeast, heralds flying fish, reef fish, and bigger deep-sea fish (then full of roe) seasons. Hence the saying, "Tuna te kau ika o Mataliki ka yau" (Here are all the fish of Mataliki coming). Formerly morning rising introduced the six-moon period of pleasuring. Mataliki directly overhead in the sky is a sign of turtles coming to lay eggs on the outer beaches.

Te Kau-o-Mani, Fishhook-of-Maui (cluster of 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitude stars in Sagittarius). Often confused with the tail of Scorpio, though it lies southeast from the southernmost stars in the tail.

Lua-tama-lelei, Two-beautiful-children or Lua-palotu-koki, Two-beauties-close-together (λ and ν Scorpionis). Their modern name, Pipili-ma, is said to be Tahitian.

Taumakomako (γ, α, and σ Scorpionis). Some informants do not recognize this constellation. Identification is doubtful, as it includes Antares, definitely named Melemele.

Te Ala-kaveinga-o-te-ika, Star-sign-of-fish (Ursa Major). Descriptive name only because this constellation is known by all as sign for reef fish. Pau's identification given above.

Te Muma-o-ngama. Group of small stars known to some, could not be identified.

STAR COURSES

502 The value of Pukapukan star courses from the viewpoint of modern navi-
[487] gation has been worked out by Robert Dean Frisbie, whose notes follow. The accuracy of the star courses to the west and from Sāmoa to Pukapuka is noteworthy. Informants knew of no star courses which would help a navigator sailing eastward from Pukapuka, an indication perhaps of the predominating contact of Pukapuka with western islands.

The course from Pukapuka to Niue was equal to the bearing of α and β Centauri (Na Mata-o-te-tokalua) when low in the sky to west of south. Informants emphasized that the stars must be low in the sky; evidently the old navigators were aware of the Centauri's rapid change of bearing when at a higher altitude (no such emphasis was laid on the Antares, or the ε Orionis, star course). Informants were not aware of the stars being in their lower transit when observed low in the sky; but a navigator sailing as far south as Niue, lat. 19° 10′ S., would undoubtedly observe this.

The true course from Pukapuka to Niue, calculated by Mercator sailing, is 204° 48′. The course that would be steered by a canoe headed toward α Centauri, at 5° altitude, would be equal to that star's bearing, which is, in the latitude of Pukapuka, 207° 10′. This is computed by the formula: $1/2\ Z = \sqrt{\cos. s, \cos.(s-p), \sec. L, \sec. h}$. (In this $s = 1/2\ h+L+p$; Z is bearing; L, latitude; h, altitude; p, polar distance.)

562 The course arrived at by the above altitude azimuth calculation is 4° 20′ to westward of the true course, and, if only one bearing was taken at the beginning of the course, it would take a canoe to a point approximately 30 miles to the westward of the south point on Niue. At this distance a native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction. He would, however, arrive at a point somewhat closer to the land, for as the canoe sailed south, α Centauri's bearing when low in the sky would shift to the south, due to the star's being in its lower transit. Thus the navigator, by degrees imperceptible to himself, would shift his course more and more to the south, as follows:

At Pukapuka the true course would be roughly 205° while the bearing of α Centauri is 209°.

After sailing 200 miles the true course would be 203.5° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 208.5°.

After sailing another 200 miles the true course would be 198° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 207.5°.

Another 100 miles and the true course would be 178° while by steering by α Centauri the navigator would be making a course 207°.

Finally, after following the last course for 65 miles, the navigator would fetch up at a point 31 miles to the west of Niue.

Steering by a course equal to α Centauri's bearing when lower in the sky would bring the navigator closer to Niue; while if the bearing of α Centauri was taken when it was high in the sky there would be little appreciable difference until the star was above 15°, when it would go into its upper transit. This rule, however, would not hold true when the canoe had made considerable southing, but the variation in the course made good would be slight.

[487] If, as some of the Pukapukans claim, Nassau was used by the old navigators as a point of departure, then a canoe headed for Niue would fetch up within 12 miles of the land. It is perhaps within reason that a navigator would stop at an uninhabited island, such as Nassau, where an abundance of food could be gathered for the voyage.

An interesting detail in relation to the α Centauri course lies in the fact that during July, August, and September, when the star sets during the early part of the night and thus is in a position to be used as a bearing, the normal winds in this part of the Pacific are favorable for the voyage to Niue, blowing steadily from the east to northeast.

Informants state that the old navigators steered a course to Upolu which was equal to the bearing of Antares (Melemele) when low in the sky to westward. As it is improbable that this star would be visible, over a period of nights, when below 15° altitude, that altitude has been used in calculating the true course that such a bearing would give. The results follow:

True course to Apia by Traverse Tables	243°
Course by Antares at 15° altitude	245°
Course by Antares (at setting. Asm. tab.)	243°

Antares is last seen to westward during the latter part of October, and thus it is in the western sky during the trade-wind months when the weather is favorable for the above voyage. Also, being a conspicuous red star, in a line with and between τ and σ Scorpionis, it is easy to pick out on a cloudy night.

Informants gave Orion's Belt (Te Tolunga-Maui) as the star course for the voyage from Pukapuka to Olosenga. Taking it at 15° altitude, the course equal to its bearing is 271.5°. As the true course is 264.5°, the star course is in error 7°, and this error would fetch the canoe to a point 31.5 miles to the north of Olosenga. Due to many kinds of sea birds nesting on Olosenga and flying far to sea to feed, the native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction well beyond a 31.5 mile radius. Also, it is probable that after the first few voyages, navigators learned to sail a little to the left of Orion's Belt. Orion sets to westward during the early part of the trade-wind season, when the weather is favorable for the voyage. If, as one suggests,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

487 In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using *l*, *e*, and *δ* Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 239 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 239 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

[171 193] 192

1. Tayi	90. Lau lua
2. Lua	96. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma lauangaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lau lua
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lua
8. Valu	400. Wanga lua
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or lauangaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Lauangaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Lauangaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngauku tini

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 115° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
487 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme
522 realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

611 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Motala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tokanga tuna*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te kawi ulo ki tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te kawi tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informant could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *kawi* (a strong foreshore fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *kawi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
135 *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taro beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waitua, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

625 517 694 203 is known by the way in which the *loui* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook tuo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*wasanga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorised by the village. When the report [653] is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

> Waiaiaapaiaaga mai kaiua,[1] e ta mai' kaia ki te vasanga a te pale ko ewera ki a kaiua ia. I a kaiua, ewe taku kaiua. I a kaiua tama ko vakatakaiaka wea i te nuoa. Ko pakua nuoa i koto, e vayi koe, ngakapakaga. Mo i ai ne nuoai ia te vasanga ko kaiga kaiua taiaga. Wakamamaki kaiua vakakiki. Ko te vasanga ia na nuoai ni ki a kaiua. Taagi ai kaa ia te nuoa ia.
>
> Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

628 291 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wala, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotaua* fern to use as fertilizer for village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second persons plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kaiua*, *kaiua*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Bangiehole and Bangiehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 241 489 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (wakatane), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 241 203 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakakapitanga mai koua ki te wenua ko ewete ki te taua kaka. Ko wo kai taua ki te motu. Ko taua taua ka tumai: E takiyaua te nio pupuka, e takiyapakapaka te nio. Ya na taua a te tinia ka tumai: E takiaatiroviai te wowa. E takiyapakapaka te tautiki. Ko wo taua ki te motu mai, e ya te kawa, e ya te tapuapu, e ya te kakia, e ya te kaka ki, e ya te kape, e ya te kaipua, e ya te ungu, e ya te wuki, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wai mea ia e wakapatia i te taua matu. Ka mate taua i ki e whai po, wananaki ka taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 20 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 20 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and spongia wood will be taps. These are the things to be taps in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes serve by inspection visits during the day that the taps foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. 226 223 623 245 685 622 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

5K 156 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 167 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 300 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,a) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire 311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,b). The 101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for 387 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-wata (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin 103 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 505 491 766 164 423 361 731 621 The landing passage (*ana*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Ilato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
423 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two exten-
sions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
621 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and
not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngatuale*) of
491 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-
487 house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This
wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and
smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the
many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contempo-
raries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contempo-
raries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants
of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103 Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ute	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Longaikuku	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimoana	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipalo	'Cutting of palm leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Tahuanui	'Circle'?
	Ulekuwa	'Penis-of-squid'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nukuʼ-ya-o-Matalikiʼ	Sacred-isle-of-Matalikiʼ
Motu Ko	Te Nukuʼ-loa-o-Matalikiʼ	Long-isle-of-Matalikiʼ

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-langa no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, taro gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

ʼ Matalikiʼ (more alike, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage and supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matalikiʼ (more like, they stare), the name of the Pleiades.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 491

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for short description of village divisions and paths on Wale, see p. 11.]

1:8eaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
526 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

501 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*ewhetike*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
864 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolon (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka mano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
756 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*laui*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
844 talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl. 1, *A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
735 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
042 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Leto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 A man catches his *kalomo* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola lauula*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is lodged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.

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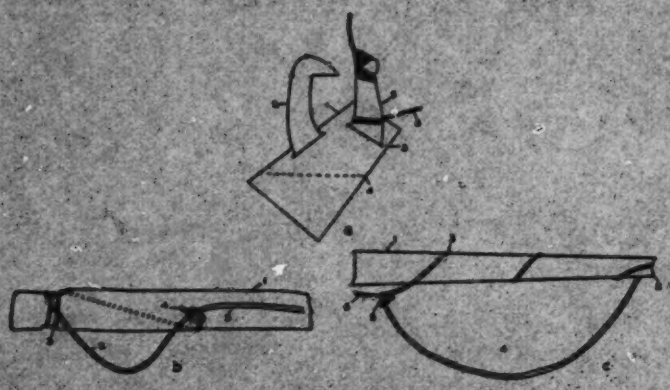

227 Figure 4.—Implements for fishing and bird snooing. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*mamoa mata*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yele mamoa*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*hoayele*) (CB152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¼ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted *uao*, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

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226 *Tuku moana* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *luku* and *tauulo* fishing: *tuku moana* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 Formerly wood was too precious for any man to risk failure and wastage of wood by building a canoe himself; and today, when most men consider themselves fairly skilled with the iron adz blade, the tendency is for the layman to make for himself only a rough dugout, retaining the services of the expert for his plank canoe. The following men are considered the expert canoe builders on the island today: in Ngake village, Tiele, Iti, Iliilia, Te Ingoa, Tualai, Veti; in Loto village, Pau and Nawani; in Yato, Tuli. The men of the Ngake group are all related. Iliilia and Tualai began as helpers (*kau uainga*) to Pau and Te Ingoa. They have since set themselves up as independent experts. Iti has just finished his first plank canoe which is generally conceded to be of the first quality. Hence Iti will soon be given his first commission, probably by a relative. Nawani is now too old to build canoes himself, but gives advice when required and is generally considered to have passed into the class of consulting experts. Tuli is the only man of his [501] family group who is an expert. The largest canoe on the island (60 feet long, 13 seats) was built by Te Ingoa, believed by some to be the cleverest builder on the atoll today.

In general, a craftsman draws his assistants from his sons, brothers, or relatives, who serve voluntarily and are taught by the master all the skills of the craft, thus keeping the knowledge within the same family group. The assistants begin by sharpening the edges of the adzes as these are blunted and handed to them by the experts. They are given small jobs such as roughing out the shape of the stern piece, or making the preliminary adzing of the hull interior. Later they graduate to the more difficult finishing and fitting jobs where much skill is required to avoid bungling and wastage. In order to become a master, an apprentice must make himself a plank canoe. People come to watch his work, closely examine it from stage to stage, and entrust their own work to the would-be master craftsman only if the completed canoe passes a final criticism.

322 The chief craftsman directs all his assistants and is solely responsible for the completed canoe. He selects from the bush the principal tree for the 313 hull and the other trees necessary for hull and superstructure. The felling and rough trimming of these trees is done in the bush. Bark is removed and sections of trunk with short grain are set aside for the canoe hull, sections with longer grain for superstructure. Formerly the hull was roughly shaped in the bush by firing and adzing. Today this is done by adzing only and the hull is carried or hauled to the shady place near the beach 322 which has been set aside as a workshop. The place Matatoki on Loto beach was a well-known canoe-building yard in former days. Each expert has his own favorite workyard (*tonga vaka*) where canoe timbers may be slowly seasoned in the shade before use. Today the owner has his canoe built near his own house that he may more directly oversee the workmen's

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *punga* coral (*taku punga*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*kouma*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *punga* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days.
281 The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin that is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *kouma olo* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *kouma tunga* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a course abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uwi hare*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
522 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
511 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

171 The single-piece dugout (*poti pukauna*) does not seem to be an old style
501 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of
322 informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*sutai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[825] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale
173 and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan
186 canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they
322 engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *mahamoa* and *matau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukana* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukana* (hence its name, *poti pukana*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

322 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: out-
501 rigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect seamit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yato, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

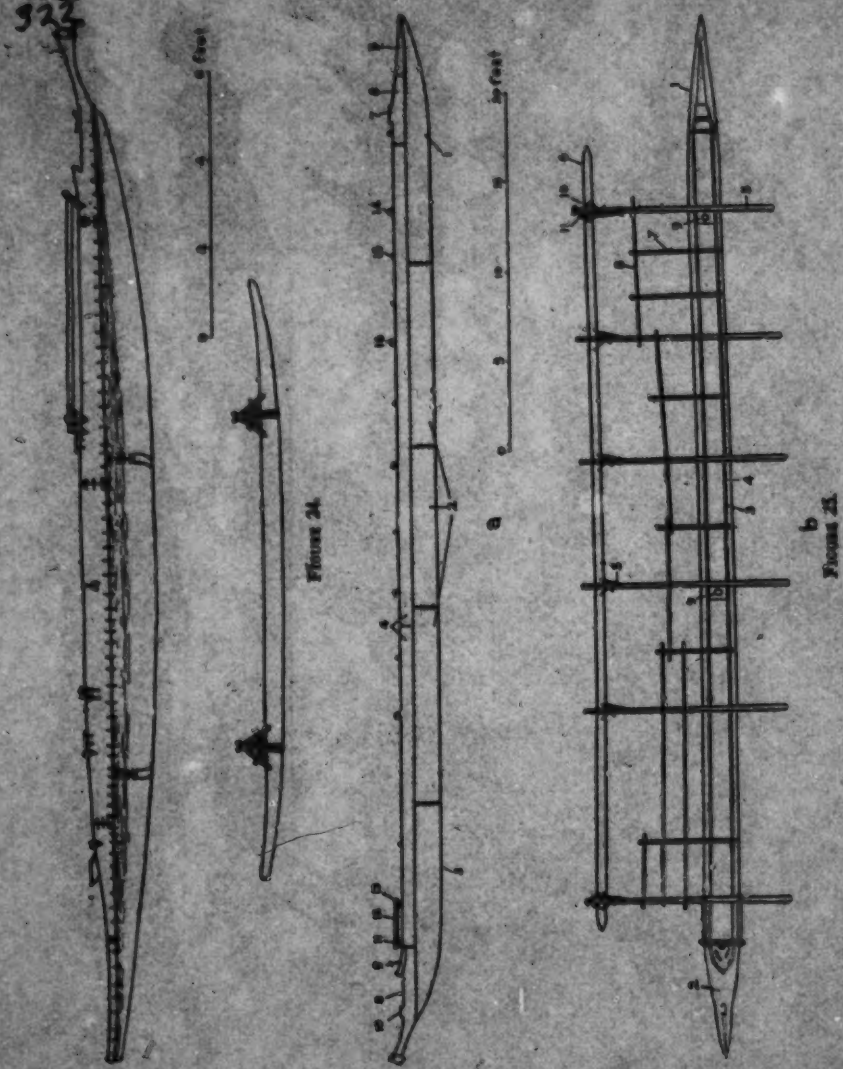

FIGURE 24.

FIGURE 25.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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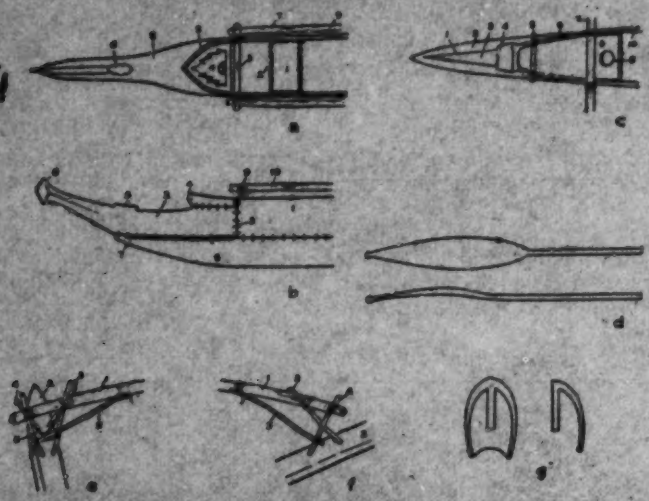

FIGURE 26.—Details of six-boom canoe. *a*, stern, top view: 1, stern seat; 2, groove under after edge of stern seat for holding bonito rod in place, sennit grommet in which handle of pole rests not shown; 3, groove cut in aft crossbar against which rod rests; 4, bait deck; 5, stern wave guard; 6, cleat on stern cover; 7, short longitudinal spar; 8, stern cover; 9, gunwale. *b*, view of starboard side: 1, washstrake; 2, stern cover; 3, through-and-through lashed join of washstrake and stern cover; 4, raised side piece of wave guard lashed to stern cover; 5, cleat; 6, fishtail-shaped stern cover; 7, outer rod caulking over join between stern cover and (8) after section of hull; 9, bar rest for trolling rod; 10, short longitudinal spar between which and top of washstrake (1) lifting poles are inserted. *c*, bow: 1, fore section of bow cover; 2, after section of bow cover, lashed join between fore and after sections not shown; 3, deck of bow cover; 4, bow wave guard; 5, forward cross lifting bar; 6, lashing of aft end of bow cover to forward end of washstrake; 7, bow outrigger boom, lashed across washstrake; 8, bow seat with hole (9) for forward mast (modern technique of stepping mast); 10, washstrake. *d*, canoe paddle (*uee*) of *pukaua* wood, face and side view; handle 2 feet 4 inches long, about 1½ inches in diameter; blade 2 feet 7 inches long, greatest width 5½ inches; terminal knob 1¾ inches long, 1 inch thick; weight of paddle 3 pounds; one side of paddle blade convex transversely, slightly concave longitudinally; other side slightly convex longitudinally, flat or faintly concave transversely; distal end of blade with faint mesial transverse ridge which meets two edges (*kauhau*) of blade to produce terminal knob with four sides and blunt point; paddles range in length from 4 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, blades 5 to 6 inches wide; size and weight depend on choice and strength of maker. *e*, outrigger boom, end attachment: 1, bow boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner pair of connecting pegs, crossed above boom and running obliquely outward to float; 4, outer pair of pegs; 5, diagonal brace between boom and after connecting pegs of inner and outer pairs; 6, suspensory lashing holding float to boom. *f*, middle boom attachments found only on larger canoes such as this six-boom canoe: 1, outrigger boom; 2, outrigger float; 3, inner connecting peg; 4, outer connecting peg; 5, diagonal brace between boom and outer connecting peg. *g*, canoe bailer (*tata*) of *uakauau* wood top view and longitudinal section; handle projects from mesial line of top of back; sides and bottom rounded and meet at back in slight mesial longitudinal ridge which continues along outside bottom of bailer to meet customarily beveled lip (not shown); bailer 14 inches long, 6½ inches wide, 3 inches deep; lip bevel ¾ inch wide; weight of bailer 2 pounds. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 10.)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The Pukapukan *tui tuta* canoe is shown in figures 24, 25, 26 and plate 5*A*. The native names for parts of the plank canoe are given in the following list:

Mua vaka: fore section of hull.
Wualoto: central section of hull.
Muli vaka: aft section of hull.
Oa: washstrakes.
Velo: stern cover, shaped like fishtail.
Laulau velo: after projection of stern cover.
Talamoko: raised cleat on stern cover.
Wakakauvae wonu: raised bait deck on stern cover, fashioned from cover or built up with extra wood.
Tuku: place inside wakakauvae wonu where bait and line are laid.
Kalemu: extreme after point of after section of hull.
Tala tuki: point of bow.
Tuki: forward part of bow cover.
Puka: second section of bow cover.
Tala puka: wave guard on bow cover.
Malae puka: top of wave guard.
Pu oyo: place covered by bow cover where provisions and fishing gear are stored.
Kaukau: outrigger cross booms.
Kaukau mua vaka: forward outrigger boom.
Kaukau muli vaka: aft outrigger boom.
Kiato: longitudinal spar supporting cross booms.
Mana poto: additional short cross booms, supporting kiato and running from strakes to spar.
Ama: outrigger float.
Mata ama: bow and stern points of outrigger float.
Tutuki: connecting pegs between outrigger float and cross booms.
Tutuki tokai: diagonal bracing strut running from inner pair of pegs to boom.
Oanga: suspensory lashing supporting outrigger float.
Manu ki mua: forward lifting bar.
Manu ki muli: stern lifting bar.
Manu a lua: crossbar aft of after cross boom.
Palepale langayu: short longitudinal spars lashed on either side of washstrake to lifting bar and cross boom.
Lakau iki: lifting pole.
Tuinga iki: sennit lifting loops fastened to starboard washstrake just aft of cross booms.
Yeke: seats formed by cross booms and lifting bars.
Tau muli: rear seat just forward of rear lifting bar.
Kaukau matea: starboard side.
Kaukau ama: port side.

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The hull is in three sections lashed together (*tuta*) with three-ply braid which passes through holes (*pu*) bored (*yuki*) through the hull with the shell implement termed *yuki suka*. A shell borer might be lashed to a wooden holder about 6 inches long, to make the implement called *suaa*. The point of the shell was held against the wood with the left hand and the wooden holder tapped smartly (*paopao* or *tukituki*) with a mallet of *haupapa* coral or a whale's tooth (*tukituki paopao tuka*). The point was then worked gently from side to side (*luchu* or *uukiuuki*) to enlarge the hole. Tapping and working from side to side continued until a hole was made through the wood. The *suaa* was then twisted (*yuki*) and worked back and forth until the hole was of the required size. The lashing forms a crisscross pattern (*lu kerau lua*, fig. 27*A*). Washstrakes (*oa*) are added to the hull sections with a single diagonal lashing (*lu hauu tai*, fig. 27*B*). Where the *oa* are in several sections, the edges of contiguous

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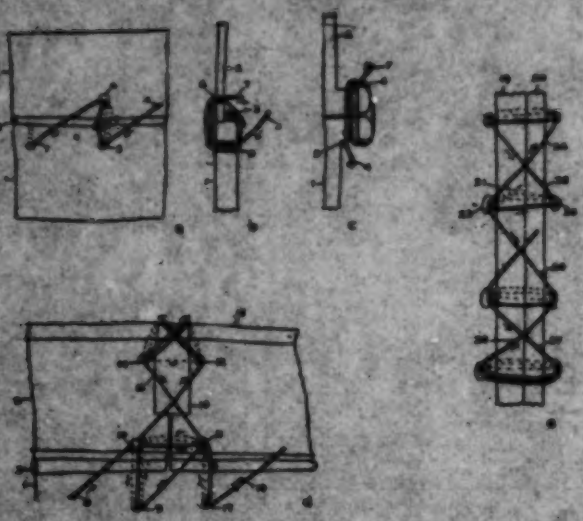

FIGURE 67.—Lashing of washetrake to hull: *a-c*, single diagonal lashing (*ka hawe kai*); *d*, double diagonal lashing (*ka hawe hua*); *e*, inside flange lashing. *a*, view of single diagonal lashing from hull interior: 1, hull section; 2, washetrake; 3, caulking stick (*tuka*) placed against caulking back material; 4, commencement end of sennit passes from preceding hole down to inferior hole (5), through to hull exterior, and up to superior hole (6), then back through 6 to hull interior, down to inferior hole; makes one more turn and when brought back through superior hole a second time, passes down to inferior hole (7) ready for next turns. *b*, cross section of same lashing on *tai hata* canoe (through-and-through lashing): sennit (4) makes two transverse turns through inferior and superior holes (5, 6), securely binding washetrake (2), hull (1), and caulking material (3); 7, free end ready to pass to next inferior hole. *c*, cross section of same lashing on inside flange canoe (*tai ua tuki*): lashing (4) makes two transverse turns through holes (5) in hull and (6) in washetrake, and free end (7) passes to next pair of holes. *d*, lashing of contiguous sections of washetrakes by double diagonal lashing: commencement end of sennit (8) makes two transverse turns through holes 10 and 9 of washetrake and hull; free end passes to inferior hole (11) in contiguous washetrake section; one transverse turn made between holes 11 and 10, and on second turn sennit passes on outside of canoe, through to inside at hole 10 and diagonally up to superior right hole (12), securely gripping gaudereu material (13) which is laid over join of washetrake sections as caulking; sennit passes through hole 12 and along on outside of washetrake to hole 14, back through 14 and diagonally up and over edge of washetrake (15); sennit continues down on outside of washetrake to hole 12, through to inside and diagonally up, over washetrake edge, down to and through hole 14; two more diagonal cross turns made over washetrake edge and free end of sennit brought back and through hole 14 to inside of washetrake; sennit (16) continues diagonally down and across to hole 11, passes through 11 and makes two transverse turns around hull and washetrake between holes 11 and 17; free end (18) passes up to next pair of holes

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[illegible] are lashed by the *to* lower bar lashing (fig. 27,*d*). Cushing material of dried coconut husk (*pulu, pu*) is hammered into the joins of hull sections with a cone-shaped wooden caulker (*tamaunu*). The lower edge of the washstrake is set on the upper edge of the hull, flush with its outer surface. Beside (*kaua, ouki ola*) or coconut husk fiber is laid on the lower edge of the hull; on top of this caulking material is laid a lash fiber is laid on the lower edge of the hull; on top of this caulking material is laid a fiber cable (*tuke*). The lashing of cordage to hull holds the caulking securely in place (fig. 27,*b*). The holes through which the lashing passes are caulked with coconut husk (fig. 27,*b*). The holes through which the lashing passes are caulked with coconut husk or wooden plugs hammered in from the outside with a rectangular-shaped wooden or wooden plugs hammered in from the outside with a rectangular-shaped wooden caulker (*ati*). These plugs keep the lashing tight and prevent leakage and rotting of caulker (*ati*). These plugs keep the lashing tight and prevent leakage and rotting of the lashing. The raised hull deck, which is fashioned from the stern cover or also hull deck up with extra wood is shown in figure 28,*a*. The stern cover is lashed to the hull by through and through lashings (*to kaua ou*) and caulked on the outside by fiber cable (*pukipuki*). The two-piece bow cover is lashed to the forward section of the hull by through and through lashings.

The outrigger is attached to the canoe by cross beams lashed to washstrake with the common alternating curved lashing which passes over the beams and through holes bored in the strakes. The longitudinal spar is also lashed to cross beams with the alternating curved lashing. The outrigger is fastened to cross beams by connecting pegs (*tatuki*). Bow and stern cross beams are connected by four pegs; additional cross beams by two pegs. The points of the pegs are driven into the outrigger, but not lashed to it. The lashing of pegs to cross beams is shown in figures 28,*e,f*, and 28,*h*. A diagonal bracing strut (*tatuki tuka*) runs from the inner pair of pegs to the beam. The attachment of this strut to pegs and beam is shown in figure 28,*c*. A supporting lashing (*ouapu*) supports the outrigger and prevents it from separating from the pegs when the canoe is lifted. This lashing is shown in figure 29. The forward cross beam is shorter than the after cross beam. This enables the outrigger float to be fixed so that the fore end of the float is nearer the canoe hull than the after end (see measurements, p. 184), an arrangement which makes the canoe easier to steer.

The fore lifting bar is lashed across the washstrake forward of the forward cross beam. A stern lifting arrangement is made by fastening a lifting bar across the strakes just forward of the rear hull deck. Short longitudinal spars are lashed on either side of the washstrake to the second cross bar and cross beam (fig. 30,*a*). To lift the canoe, lifting poles are thrust between these spars and the washstrake from the starboard side and the canoe is lifted by upward pressure on the lifting pole. In large canoes, a lifting pole is also thrust through the lifting loop (fig. 30,*b*) and when the weight is taken, the distal end of the lifting pole rests on the port side of the washstrake. All Pukapukan canoes have an extension fore and aft of the hull's spar beyond the fore and aft cross beams, which is a certain nuisance in paddling on the port side of the canoe because the paddle, in being raised from the water, often strikes against this extension. However, to take a canoe through shallow water over the reef, the crew wades and drags or

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to continue single diagonal lashing of washstrake to hull as shown in *a*, *c*, inside flange lashing of hull sections to set on hull canoe; 19 and 20 represent contiguous raised flanges of contiguous hull sections; 21, buried commencement end of cement on outside of hull; cement makes one transverse turn through holes 22 and 23, then passes diagonally up (24) to superior pair of holes; makes transverse turns through holes and passes diagonally down (25) to hole 23, makes one turn through holes 23 and 22, again binding commencement end (21); cement passes diagonally down (26) to next pair of flange holes in hull, makes one turn through holes, passes (27) to next pair; two transverse turns made through lowest pair of holes and cement brought [illegible] pass diagonally upward (28) to next pair of holes, makes turn through holes, passes diagonally up to next pair; free end passes into hole 29, where it fastens by hammering of caulking wood into flange hole on top of free end.

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pushes the canoe, using the washstrakes and spar extension as shafts. The man in front stands between the side of the canoe and the spar extension, grasping the washstrake with his right hand and the *hiato* extension with his left. Similarly the man in the rear stands and pushes the canoe before him.

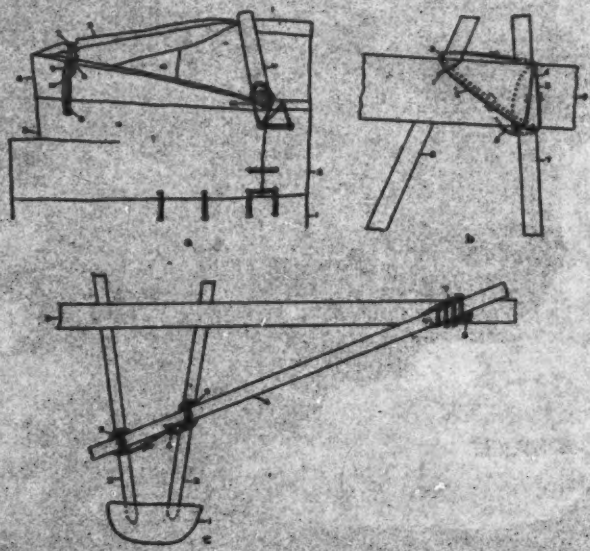

FIGURE 28.—Canoe construction. *a*, two-piece stern bait deck: 1, stern hull section; 2, washstrake; 3, section of stern cover (*velo*); 4, 5, fitted sections of wood placed on top of forward end of stern cover and lashed to cover by sennit which passes over notches 6 and 7 cut on edge of extra sections, and through hole 8, bored through head of stern cover; lashing consists of buried commencement (9), several transverse turns over notches and through hole, and buried finishing end (10); forward ends of added sections continued under first crossbar (11) lashed to washstrake on either side; lashing (12) securely binds in place added sections to washstrake; 13, platform of bait deck formed by top of stern cover. *b*, commencement lashing of connecting pegs to outrigger boom: diagram shows inner pair of pegs (7, 8) and outrigger boom (9); 1, buried lashing commencement; sennit passes around far side of inner peg (8), then diagonally down (2) and across boom to near side of outer peg; continues around far side of peg, then diagonally up and across far side of boom and around far side (3) of inner peg; continues across far side of boom, around far side of outer peg and down (4) near side of outer peg, passing over earlier turn; continues underneath and up far side of boom, down (5) again on near side of boom, underneath outer boom, then ready to pass diagonally up on far side of boom across to top of inner peg (8); lashing continues with 6 figure-of-eight turns around connecting pegs and boom, then two circumferential turns around connecting pegs superior to boom; actual connecting pegs brought close together above boom so that thick sennit must be forced between pegs for two circumferential turns, and closeness of pegs holds turns tight; free end of sennit passes along boom to outer pair

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of connecting pegs and repeats lashing; free end passes down outer connecting peg to commence suspensory lashing around float shown in figure 29, *c*, lashing of diagonal brace (*tutuki iohai*) to connecting pegs and cross boom of outrigger: 1, cross section of outrigger float into which connecting pegs (2) are driven; 3, outrigger boom; 4, diagonal brace lashed to connecting pegs by alternating curves pattern lashing (5); lashing has buried commencement on outer peg; after completing lashing of outer peg, free end of sennit continues to inner peg, completes similar lashing; free end (6) fastened by double overhand knot to sennit that came from outer peg; lashing of diagonal brace to outrigger boom has buried commencement (7); free end of cord makes three or more transverse turns around brace and boom, then one or more circumferential turns around lashing turns between brace and boom and finishes with overhand knot on last circumferential turn (8).

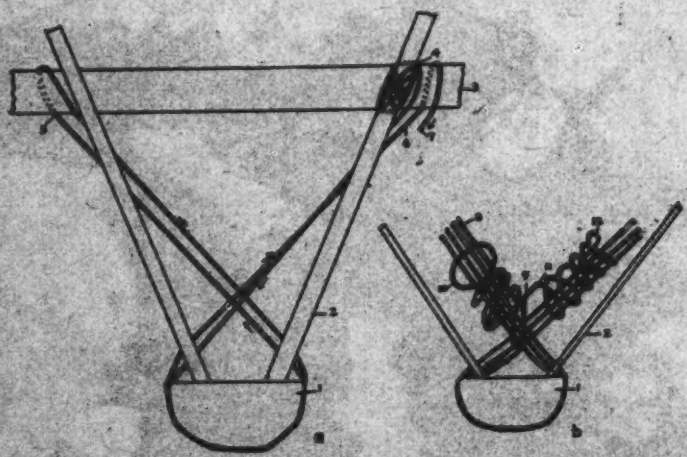

FIGURE 29.—Suspensory canoe lashing. *a*, commencement of lashing between outrigger boom and outrigger float: 1, outrigger float in cross section; 2, connecting peg between float and cross boom (3); when lashing (4) of outer connecting peg to cross boom is finished free end of sennit brought down between double pair of pegs (only outer pair shown in diagram) to inner side of float, passes around under float, up on outside of float and across to boom at 5, on hull side of inner peg; turn made over boom, and sennit brought down to outer side of float, around float, and up on inner side (6) to boom, making turn around boom on outer side of outer peg; sennit (7) continues down to float as before, making altogether five turns around boom and float (two turns only shown in diagram). *b*, continuation of suspensory lashing: after fifth turn (fourth in diagram), free end of sennit (8) brought down from hull side of inner connecting peg to pass around and under crossing of suspensory lashing (9) and continues up left hand suspension with two transverse turns; a complete final turn made around suspension, and sennit (10) brought back down suspension with two more transverse turns, continuing across to right hand suspension (11); five transverse turns made around right hand suspension with buried end finish (12).

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Flaws in the wood from which hull or strakes are made are cut out and in their place small sections of wood (*tapiki*) or larger sections (*wakakaukau*) are fitted in by hammering and lashed if necessary to the surrounding hull or washstrake wood. Where the washstrake wood is not sufficiently deep, additional sections (*wakapali tai*) are lashed with through and through lashing to the washstrake base until the required depth is attained. Small cylindrical plugs of wood (*tapiki* or *mone*) are hammered into small knot or flaw holes in the outrigger float to keep the salt water from lodging in them and rotting the wood.

When surfaces are being fitted together, whether hull sections, or washstrakes to hull, or small patch sections to hull or strakes, the parts to be joined are smeared with a marking material of coconut-shell charcoal mixed with water and applied with a brush made of the chewed fibrous material of the pandanus key. Irregularities in the fitting of the parts are brought out by black marks. These irregularities are then adzed down until a perfect fit (*ave* or *tomoemoe*) is secured.

In canoes used in bonito trolling, the rear seat is made of a block of wood which is lashed on either side with through and through lashings to each washstrake. A flange is cut on the under aft side of this seat and a semit grommet (*matapili*) is lashed to the seat in the middle of this flange. The butt holder (*tuhau*) of the bonito pole (*matiki atu*) rests in this grommet and the pole rests in a groove cut in the after lifting bar.

[501] The size of a canoe is indicated by the number of seats (*yeke*) it contains. But a *vaka yeke ma* (four-seater canoe) holds only three men comfortably; a *vaka yeke lima* (five-seater canoe) holds four men comfortably or five men if the hull is especially wide; a *vaka yeke ono* (six-seater canoe) holds six men. From this number of seats upward, the number of crew becomes greater than the formal seating capacity, so that a 60-foot canoe, officially rated as a *vaka yeke lomguala ma tola* (thirteen seater), easily holds 30 or more men. Those that cannot be accommodated with formal seats rest on the edges of the strakes. The size in feet of the various canoes is given below (p. 185).

The hull of the *taisi* plank canoe is of one piece in very small one-man canoes or of three pieces in larger canoes. The hull sections are as before, *mua vaka*, *maaloto*, *muli vaka*. Washstrakes are added and a simple bow cover (*pupuni hi mua*) and a stern cover (*pupuni hi muli*). These covers are shaped pieces of wood lashed to hull and to washstrakes (fig.30,*c*). Very rarely, a small canoe of this type is fitted with the shaped stern piece (*vulo*) and the type bow covers (*tuki* and *puka*). Outrigger support consists of two cross booms, connecting pegs, and suspensory lashing. The *taisi* canoe differs from the simple one-piece dugout in the addition to the hull of washstrakes and stern and bow covers. The size of typical *taisi* canoes is given below.

The plank canoe termed *vaka tai mitali* (pl.5,*B*) is distinguished from the through and through lashed canoe (*vaka tai tuta*) by the lashing of hull sections to each other, and of washstrakes to hull, and washstrake sections to each other by means of raised inside flanges (*hongo wakatiko* or *hongo tai mitali*). These flanges are about 2 inches high and the lashing is through

322 holes drilled through each flange (*fig.27,c,e*). No lashing shows on the outside of the hull. This lashing method may be applied to plank canoes
501 of all sizes from the simple *tatai* canoe to the largest canoe.
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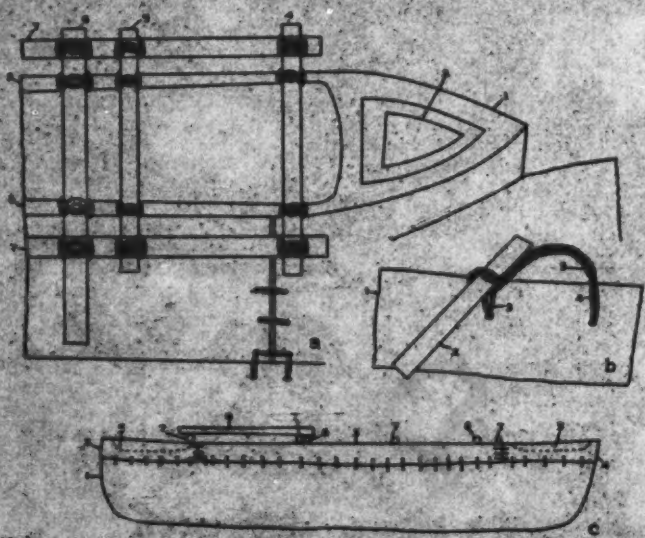

FIGURE 32.—Plank canoe. *a*, arrangement of lifting bars at stern of canoe: 1, raised bait deck (*wokahatua mana*); 2, bait receptacle (*taha pakapaka*); 3, washstrake of canoe; 4, cross lifting bar (*mana hi mali*); 5, second cross bar (*mana a lua*); 6, cross boom supporting outrigger float; 7, longitudinal members (*palepale langaya*) lashed to cross members; lashings all of alternating curves pattern. *b*, lifting loops of sennit (*taiaga ika*): 1, section of washstrake; 2, cross boom; 3, lashing of boom to strake; 4, four turns of sennit made through hole in strake and around lashing of boom to strake; 5, seizing of these four turns, buried commencement and finish. *c*, *tatai* canoe: 1, one-piece hull; 2, stern cover (*papani hi mali*); 3, washstrake; 4, bow cover (*papani hi mua*); 5, dotted lines show lowered bait decks in covers; 6, cross booms to outrigger float; 7, short lifting bars; 8, short longitudinal spars (*palepale langaya*) forming lifting supports for stern of canoe.

501 The *tai ahuki* canoe has definite advantages for reef work over the
[221] through and through lashed canoe because of the absence on the outside of the hull of lashings to be cut by sharp coral heads. It has this disadvantage,
322 however, that the water seeps in through the hull joins and rots the wood about the joins of the hull sections. This seepage cannot be prevented by caulking as with the *vaka tai tuta* lashing. If a canoe is used much, the wood

501/322 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood becomes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *vuka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *vuka tui tuta* lasts about seven years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage. [283]

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe (*tauiua*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only: [226] 177

The larger of the two canoes was to leeward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*hauhau*) joining the two canoes were probably logs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were named *tekei*. A platform (*papanga tauiua*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*uale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than as the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reenforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe. 502

To change the direction of any canoe is *uuli* or *uuuuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*ki katea*) or to port (*ki ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La ama!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tausi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501/322 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan canoe are few:

In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

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spar parallel to the customary longitudinal spar (*histo*) lashed to the cross booms on the port side of the canoe. Informants also mentioned that formerly a big canoe made for fishing off the grounds by Tima Reef was fitted with two stern pieces (*welo*). The welo was cut from a single wide block of wood and two fish-tail ends were adzed out instead of one. This variation was characterized as a type of decoration (*waka ramea*) without utilitarian function.

One canoe in active use had attached to the hull only half of the customary two-piece bow cover. The fore part of the bow, usually covered by the *tuhi*, was open, but the after part of the cover, the *puha*, complete with wave guard (*malae puha*), was securely lashed to the hull. Informants remarked that this was an idiosyncrasy of the builder of the canoe. He had been faced by a shortage of wood during construction some years previously and had not since bothered to complete his canoe, but was on the contrary rather proud of its odd appearance.

Sails

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Two types of sail, both said to be old, are in use today when canoes sail to the islets. The first is a triangular sail, *la mata keokeo* (*keokeo*, pointed); the second, a gaff sail, *la llaki a Te Palo*, named after the Yayake navigator who visited Pukapuka. Both types of sail were formerly made of pandanus (*low uala*) plaited in single element check (*langa tai*). The sail was made large enough to allow for an overlap which is basted over the sennit becket rope (*uuuuti hi loto o te la*) by which the sail is supported on the mast. (See figs. 31, 32.) The basting was done (*tui*) with pandanus material (*tuu hio*) through holes made with a bone of the *akula* fish or a piece of *ngangia* wood. Sheets (*tupoupou*) of two-ply twisted sennit are fastened to the becket ropes by overhand knots.

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Formerly the mast (*tila tu*) was made in two parts: a crotch (*tuu manga*) was lashed to the mast pole (fig. 31,b). The mast was raised by resting the crotch end on the forward cross boom (*kaukau hi uuu*). Several turns of sennit were made around the boom to prevent the crotch from slipping sideways. Stays (*tuka*) supporting the mast are shown in figure 31,c.

The sail is supported by the top of the mast in one of three ways: the guy (*uuuuti*) by which the sail is hauled aloft may be passed through a hole (*pu*) bored through the top of the mast; the guy may be passed over a natural branch cleft (*tuu manga* or *kokeo*) at the top of the mast and passed down to the canoe; the becket (*pu*) in the peak of the sail may be passed over the top of the mast before the mast is raised—the mast is thick enough at this end to prevent the becket from slipping down. The last method is used only in small canoes. In all three methods when the sail is aloft the guy is fastened to the port side of the forward outrigger boom.

Today, the mast is usually long enough to rest against the bottom of the canoe. It is lashed to the forward cross boom with figure-of-eight turns of heavy sennit, or else the stay passing from masthead to forward lifting bar is continued back to the cross boom to make several turns around both mast and cross boom. Ultra-modern Pukapukan sailors step the mast in cup-shaped blocks cut out from the floor of the hull, or else lash to the washstrakes planks with holes in them through which the mast is stepped.

The sail is further supported by a horizontal boom (*tila lalo*) with a crotch at one end, resting against the bottom of the mast just above the lashing of mast to cross boom. The other end of the boom (*uhu tila lalo*) is fastened to the sail by a becket. A main sheet (*tuuu*) of sennit is fastened by a clove hitch to the boom from which it runs to

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the hand of the sailor. When the canoe is sailing before a steady wind, the main sheet is fastened to a cross boom or lifting bar, or else it is gripped underneath the foot of the sailor.

At the inner, lower end of the sail the bocket rope passes from the sail and is now termed *mali la*. It is fastened to the forward cross boom, or else its two ends are tied into a loop which is slipped over the crotch of the boom. Either method keeps the inner, lower end of the sail from bellying loose in a high wind.

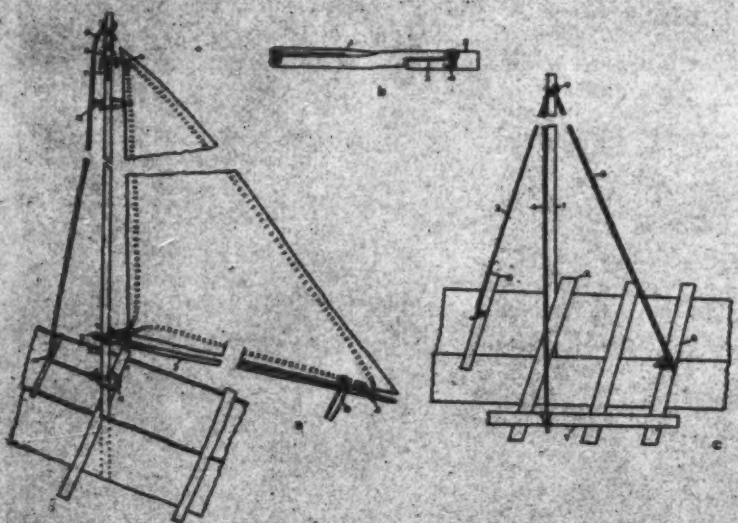

FIGURE 31.—Construction of mast and sail. *a*, mast and triangular sail (*la mata kaoho*): 1, cross boom; 2, mast; 3, boom with crotch end resting against mast; 4, outer bocket, hooked over end of boom; 5, inner bocket sennit ends, fastened with overhand knot in loop which passes over end of crotch to keep sail taut; 6, peak bocket, fastened to gay by overhand knot; 7, gay passes through hole in mast and down to cross boom where it fastens; 8, mast stays passing to after booms as shown in *c* below; third basic stay (9) passes down to forward lifting bar, makes two turns (10) around bar and passes again to cross boom to make two turns (11) around boom and mast, holding mast in place against boom; overhand knot finishes turns; 12, sheet, fastened to bocket sennit end to mast by overhand knot; 13, main sheet, fastened to bocket sennit by overhand knot and passes to canoe aft. *b*, attachment of crotch (*vae manga*) to mast spar: crotch (1) scarfed and fits against scarf (2) cut in mast spar (3); commencement of transverse lashing turns (4) which bind crotch and mast at scarf join. *c*, staying of canoe mast: 1, mast stands inside of canoe, lashed to cross boom (2) (lashing not figured); 3, 4, 5, stays fastened to top of mast by clove hitch (9); 3, forward stay fastened to forward cross lifting bar (6); 4, stay fastened to longitudinal spar (7) aft of cross boom; 5, stay fastened to middle cross boom (8) at washstrake; stays fastened to booms by clove hitches; weight of sail, filled by wind, provides counter-balance on starboard side of canoe to port side pull of stays.

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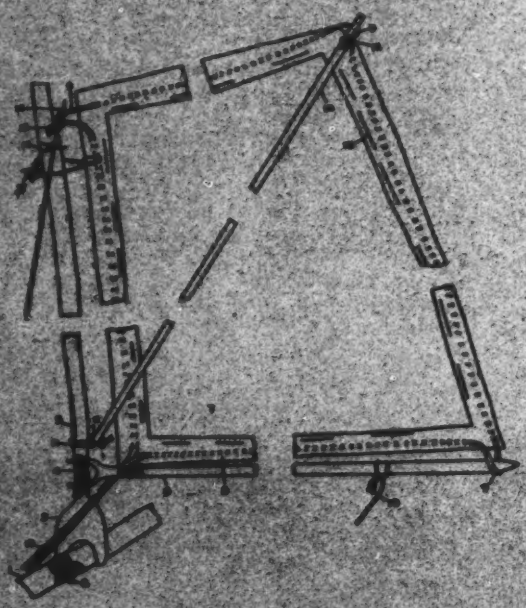
502 In a heavy wind, the mast of a triangular sail is kept vertical. To catch the greatest benefit of moderate or light wind, it is hauled over to an angle of about 30 degrees with the vertical. The boom runs from the mast at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the sail functions then with its base upward and the apex down. This is the usual way of mounting the triangular sail.



501 Figure 32—Mast and gaff sail (*la Sabi* a *Te Pale*): 1, mast boom to outrigger, on which crutch (*ure ausuga*) (2) of mast (3) rests; 4, holding on crutches to prevent mast from slipping; 4, holding binding crutch to mast spar (5); 6, boom with crutch resting against mast; 7, gaff sail; 8, bucket mast hauled into overlap of sail; 9, bucket which pass over end of supporting spars and keep sail taut; 10, spirit or gaff which extends outer peak of sail, resting at lower end in crutch (11) of mast made by taking clove hitch around mast and tying free ends of mast in overhand knot; 12 upper end of spirit, bucket prevented from sliding down spar by holding turns (13) taken around end of spirit; 13, heavy line indicates seizing of cordage to hold bucket mast; 14, natural branch cleat (*ure ausuga*), over which bucket loops when sail is hauled up by means of guy (15) fastened to bucket by clove hitch; 16, stays run to boom to support mast (see fig. 31, *c*); 17, sheet fastened to bucket mast with overhand knot and looped around mast with double overhand knot; only one sheet shown but average sail has about six sheets for mast and for boom; 18, main sheet fastened to boom by clove hitch, runs to sailor seated aft in canoe; 19, two ends of bucket mast (sail 8) pass in and are fastened around cross beam (1).

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An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This sprit is termed *toko*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*wahaowaga no te toko*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*kalawa*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unshipping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*kalali* or *yolo*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*wae*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*mata*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau wae*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*hoo tangi te wae*), used to attract fish to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

[226
536]

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*tua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ala tua*) is reserved today for short spurts and for making the paddle resound, the front (*alaala* or *vakwala*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toka*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko hug the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

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The bailer (*tata*, fig. 26,*g*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

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The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater canoe shown in figure 25.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

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for judging this amount, but said that they judged by the eye. Kennedy discovered from a study of canoes of Vaitupu that the "limiting amount by which the forward end of the float is set to starboard is about one hand's breadth from a line through the after end of the float parallel with the hull" (19, p. 94); this amount agrees closely with the Pukapukan average for this starboard set, though there seems to be little correlation between the size of the canoe and the amount of starboard set considered necessary. The required balance weight of the float seems to be obtained almost entirely by lengthening the float, for the width and depth of the float do not vary greatly save for the larger canoes. The length of the float in relation to the overall length of the canoe indicates that the Pukapukan builders unconsciously judged the float length by some such rule as Kennedy (19, p. 79) gives for Vaitupu where the outrigger is given a length such that the forward end will be laterally opposite the feet of the bow paddler and the after end opposite the feet of the rearmost paddler. Again, Pukapukan builders could give no rule for judging the proper length of the outrigger float save an eye judgment.

Table 3. Canoe Measurements

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Type	1 Overall Length	2 Beam (Gunwales)	3 Beam (Hull)	4 Depth (Center Canoe)	5 Length, Forward Canoe Boom	6 Forward Canoe Boom, Hull to Outrigger	7 Rear Canoe Boom, Hull to Outrigger	8 Length, Longitudinal Spar	9 Length, Outrigger Float	10 Width, Depth, Outrigger Section	11 Length, Bitter Piece (Tip to Gunwale Joint)	12 Length, Bow Piece (Tip to Gunwale Joint)
Single dugout (large)	16'	14"	14"	16"	7' 5"	6' 3"	6' 7"	9' 10"	12'	5½"×4½"	—	—
Tuai tolutol two-man canoe	10' 6"	10"	8"	17"	5' 5"	4' 7"	4' 9"	6' 4"	7' 8"	5"×3"	—	—
Tuai tolubun two-man canoe	19'	11"	9"	16"	6' 6"	5' 7"	5' 10"	9'	13' 5"	6"×4"	4' 3"	3' 9"
Yelu tolu 3-seater	16' 6"	11"	7"	15½"	5' 6"	4' 10"	5'	9' 6"	12'	5"×3½"	3' 6"	3' 7"
Yelu wu 4-seater	21' 11"	14"	11"	18"	6' 6"	4' 8"	5' 1"	10' 4"	16' 4"	5½"×4"	3' 11"	3' 4"
Yelu ono 6-seater	25' 6"	15"	11"	20"	8' 1"	5' 10"	5' 10"	18'	22' 6"	7"×8"	5' 2"	6' 7"
Yelu iva 9-seater	31'	22"	14"	27"	8' 8"	7' 8"	8' 2"	27' 6"	32' 8"	7"×7"	—	—

FISHING EQUIPMENT

227 Besides fishnets (p. 208) and hooks (p. 191), fishing equipment includes lines, fishing rods, composite fishing apparatus, clubs, fish spears, and hook containers.

FISHLINES

226 Lines of *uao* fiber are used on composite pearl-shell fishhooks where quality rather than length of line is important. Three-ply braided sennit

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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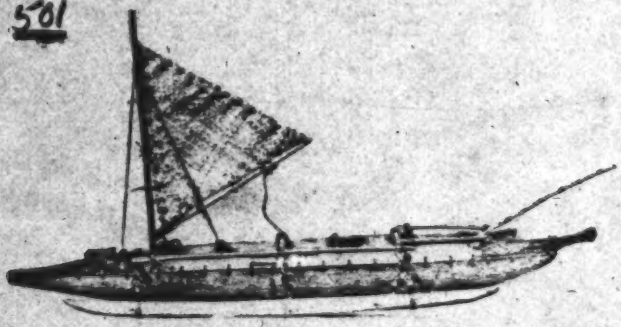
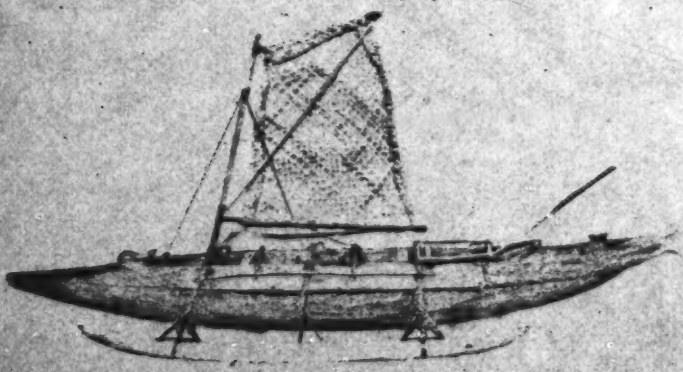


A



B

CANOES. *A*, THROUGH-AND-THROUGH LASHED CANOE, WITH TRIANGULAR SAIL OF PANDANUS MATTING; ROD IN STERN SHOWS POSITION OF BONITO ROD WHEN THE CANOE IS TROLLING. *B*, CANOE WITH INSIDE FLANGE LASHINGS AND GAFF SAIL. BOTH CANOES ARE MODELS, AND PROPORTIONS OF BOW AND STERN COVERS TO REST OF HULL ARE ONLY APPROXIMATELY CORRECT; OTHERWISE CANOES EXACTLY MADE.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
501, 322, 284

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of canoes, their construction and lashings, see pp. 34-42.]

through holes in the projecting edge of the underbody. The end booms are attached to the float by four stick connectives and a sennit brace, as described for the fishing canoe. The middle booms have two connectives, which are undercrossed. The after connective, like the after pair in the four stick connectives, runs obliquely to the boom. A diagonal strut runs from each boom to the forward connective. The outrigger is braced by six struts lashed across the gunwales—one between each pair of booms and two between the forward pair—and by connecting strings. Between the last pair of booms there are three stringers which make a platform for paddles or fishing gear.

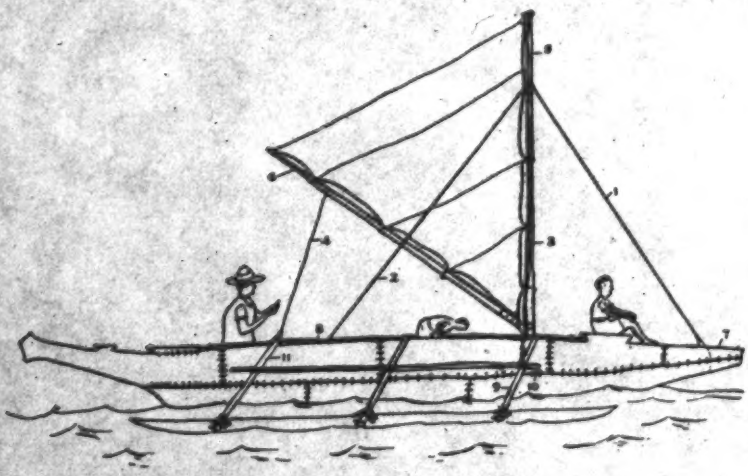


FIGURE 11.—Sketch of sailing canoe with rigging: 1, fore stay running from bow of canoe to mast; 2, back stay running from mast to washstrake; 3, starboard shroud from mast to bow outrigger boom and stringer; 4, sheet running from yard to stern outrigger boom; 5, mast set through hole in bow seat or lashed to bow outrigger boom, and set on floor of hull; 6, yard; 7, bow of canoe; 8, washstrake; 9, bow outrigger boom; 10, stringer; 11, stern outrigger boom. Drawn by a native.

The stern has no cross lifting bar, and the lifting pieces are lashed directly to the stern boom. The wave guard of the stern cover is made of separate pieces lashed to the cover (fig. 10, *b*).

The stern seat is between the fishpole rest and after boom and has the notch and loop for supporting the pole butt. Short planks or seats with holes for the two masts are lashed to the strakes behind the bow and fourth booms. The masts of this large canoe are stepped in cup-shaped blocks cut out on the floor of the underbody.

539 Wutia te kai kia malie!	Delicious is the food gathered for me!
Malamalama te tawa ki Ngake,	Daylight breaks in the eastern sky,
Malama e e.	It is light.

A tila of the expedition to Motu Ko (1)

E vananganangа te pule,	The guard of the islet gives the announcement, (2)
Te koyo o Te Alo-lauina	Husking sticks are placed on the canoe named Te Alo-lauina
Ka yolo te vaka e, ka yolo	The canoe will speed along, speed along.
Te toki o te toli kauwi	Ready is the adz for cutting pandanus keys,
E payi wano ki te ayanga,	Our canoe is a vessel going along the outer reef.
Tuta, wano ki te Nukuloa	Stopping, then going on to Motu Ko.
Viovio ko te iki tawia, iki na,	We erect the anchor sticks, (3) anchor the canoe,
Na lele loa ki loto, yoka i te niu mata.	Rush into the islet, husk ripe drinking nuts.
Wakanau ake au: malie te kikokiko,	I sing praise: sweet is the coconut's flesh,
Tama o te ulu wutu.	Child from the grove of wutu trees.
Onoono atu au ki te pakayau ngongo,	I watch the wings of the noddy tern
Ko tipitipi ki lalo i te koanga wua,	Dipping low over her nest of eggs,
Lele au i te ata, tango i te mulimuli ngungu.	I run under its shadow, grasp its grunting tail.

1. This short chant records an expedition made by Ngake villagers to their reserve islet Motu Ko to gather food and catch birds.

2. The food reserve is controlled by the village acting through a guard composed of village members. When a village council decides to take food from its reserve, it is the duty of the guard to announce this fact and arrange the particulars of the expedition. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole]. p.38, category 116--analyst].

[501] 3. To anchor a canoe in shallow lagoon water a long stick is thrust into the sandy bottom behind the outrigger boom in such a way as to keep the canoe from drifting.

226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*yaeke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*kapenga*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*halowa*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk inward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yali kapenga*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tete tiavitini*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (*27*, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malolo* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A small cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net. To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of sennit. The surface of the net is baited with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*uolowelo*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malolo* net is increased as it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

226 4. The scoop net (*tae malolo*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*tiowa ongo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fisherman in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*uwa vaka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yaka ono*) the crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the captain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae mauli*); the *uwiawili* ("mate"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae mauli* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ola no te tae ewi*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae ewi*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o lawia* or *te tete yao*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ola no te ula* or *te tutawi*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*uwiawili*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae uwa* or *tae ulu*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*lolo te vaka*) as it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 227 A float (*makai*) used for catching flying fish from a stationary canoe was described by informants:

The float consists of a section of *makaseva* wood about 9 inches long and 3 inches in cross section. To each end of the float is fastened a line ranging in length from 18 inches to 6 feet. The two lines on the same float are of unequal lengths to avoid tangling when fish are hooked. Each line has a *yeki* hook which is baited with *unga* crab, *kaloma*, or flying-fish meat. Several floats (*makai*) are allowed to float unattached around the canoe. When a float begins to bob, the fisherman paddles to it, disengages his fish and resets the float. Chum of *unga* crab meat is used to attract the fish to the float. The only fish caught by this method are members of the flying-fish family: *yipa*, *malolo*, *malolo puna ahua*, and *maloloyua* (large-bellied balloon *malolo* fish which is not eaten and only caught incidentally).

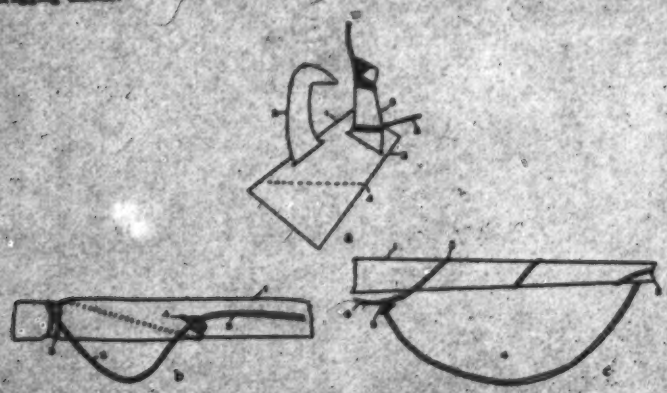
STILL-CANOE FISHING

226 Still-canoe fishing with a vertically descending line and dead bait is termed *taualo*; similar fishing with live bait is called *lulu*. When the *taualo* system is used with a *yeki* hook for small fish, the method is called *yekiyeki*. In both types of fishing not more than 50 fathoms of line are paid out and the canoe is anchored inside or outside the lagoon.

[502] Outside the reef the canoe is wedged onto the reef. The anchor line (*kauatau*) is buoyed up from reef to canoe with dry coconut husks. A quarter husk is split longitudinally for about 6 inches and the line wedged into this split. The natural spring of the husk serves to keep the line fast. About 12 husk buoys (*pulu longolongoi*) are used for each 100 yards of anchor line. Several canoes fishing together are lined up in single file. The first canoe is wedged to the reef, and each of the other canoes is attached by about 10 yards of anchor line to the one in front. Canoes are wedged to the reef only in an offshore wind. Canoes anchored inside the lagoon are usually wedged with two anchors (any large stone serves as anchor), one at the bow, the other at the stern. In both *taualo* and *lulu* fishing the canoe is faced to windward, and the line is dropped in the lee of the canoe. Both types of fishing depend for success on an ability to see the fish biting the hook. To make the leeward surface of the water calm and devoid of surface rippling, the fisherman chews coconut flesh, which he spits on the sea. The oil in the flesh spreads over the water and effectively calms it. Today a waterglass is often used instead of chewed flesh. Some fishermen prefer to fish the smaller lagoon fish when the sky is overcast and likely to rain, using composite shell hooks. Where *Tridacna* is used as chum, the backs of the opened shell are rubbed together, making a grating noise (*kukukulu*) to attract fish; the two half-shells with meat attached are thrown into the water near the canoe. Fish caught by the *taualo* method are:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

221 A man catches his *kaiona* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two
[264] or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola kaunia*)
501 which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against
the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous
283 activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish
802 from the hook. When the canoe is lodged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze
blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the
necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe
would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the
canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms, providing
support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without
dragging anchor.



227 FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird snaring. *a*, fishhook with bait attached:
284 any dead fish bait (*mamu mate*) is attached to old-style hook by removing head from
223 bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that
fish remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side,
back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted
line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5)
of hook, near shank bend, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half
hitches. *b*, bird noose (*pola mamu*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter;
noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch
end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied
in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at
proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*kaupola*) (C8152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood
about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ⅙ inch in diameter at distal
end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted sennit, wound
around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight
(5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

226 *Tuku mamu* fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead
bait differs in two respects from both *kaiu* and *tauala* fishing: *tuku mamu*
fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 285 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*tukapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 554 461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wakamaliengo*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *unoa vaka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uuua*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tataui*. They are

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *hawya*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*koukou ki mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309)
782 and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest
562 commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they
778 appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend
793 the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*kongo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned bell up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 about the hull joins is seldom dry, and after about 10 years the wood be-
322 comes so rotten that the flanges break apart. The only remedy is to take the canoe apart, adz off the rotten sections of wood, and rejoin the canoe as a *vaka tui tuta*. The sennit lashing of the *vaka tui tuta* lasts about seven
[283] years before it rots. It is easily replaced if care has been taken of the canoe and the wood round the joins has not become rotten through unsuspected water seepage.

501 The customary Pukapukan canoe for deep-sea fishing or voyaging was the single outrigger canoe. At various times, however, the double canoe
[226] (*vaka*) was made and used, particularly for regular fishing trips to Tima Reef. A time is remembered when three double canoes were in commission
177 on the atoll. Tradition seems to indicate that the art of making double canoes was introduced by returning Pukapukan navigators. The chief Wue (who lived about 14 generations ago) is reputed by some to have been the first man to build a double canoe in Pukapuka; he modeled it after one he had seen in his travels abroad. Lack of sufficiently large timber is given as the reason why few double canoes were built. No informant had seen a Pukapukan double canoe. The following brief description is based on traditional information only:

The larger of the two canoes was to leward and carried the two masts. The smaller canoe acted as an outrigger and was to windward. Cross booms (*kaukau*) joining the two canoes were probably legs of pandanus, three booms being necessary to provide a stable support. Both canoes were completely decked with logs of *puapua* wood, save for holes or hatchways that served as bailing cockpits and gave entrance to stores and fishing gear loaded inside the hull of the windward canoe. Diagonal cross braces from the stern and bow of each canoe to the fore and aft cross booms were termed *tokai*. A platform (*papanga tauloa*) laid across the booms was occupied by the crew and passengers who also used the leeward canoe for shelter. On one part of the platform was placed a small house which functioned as a god house (*uale atua*). No details are preserved of lashings or sizes of these double canoes. But it is likely that the reason the single outrigger was the preferred canoe is that it could be made more seaworthy because the outrigger could be more strongly lashed to the hull than
502 as the big and unwieldy double canoe. The double canoe was steered by two or three steering paddles, one man steering from one canoe and the second man from the platform between the canoes. Should a sudden turn be desired, the two steersmen were reinforced by a third who assisted from the stern of the second canoe.

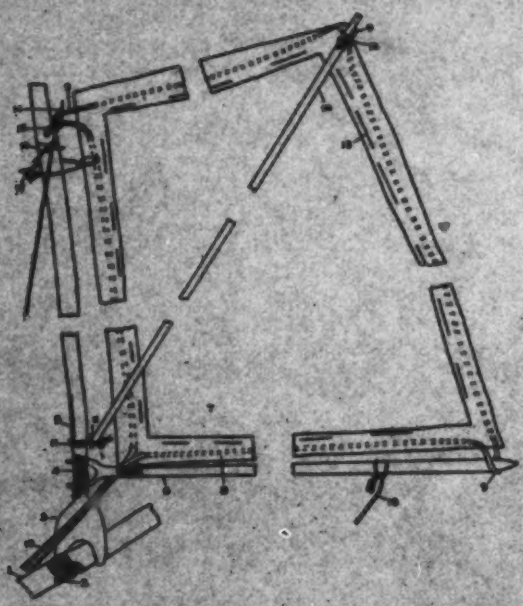
To change the direction of any canoe is *uuli* or *uuuuli*. The change of direction is to starboard (*hi katea*) or to port (*hi ama*). The bowman calls out the direction of change thus: *La ama!* or *La katea!* When the required direction is defined, he calls out: *Tousi ai!* (Hold it now!)

501 Variations on the fundamental construction pattern of the Pukapukan
322 canoe are few:

In one single-piece dugout canoe, rather large for its type, greater stability was given to the two outrigger cross booms by projecting the ends of these booms about 18 inches beyond the starboard side of the hull and lashing to these ends a longitudinal

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 In a heavy wind, the mast of a triangular sail is kept vertical. To catch the greatest amount of moderate or light wind, it is heeled over to an angle of about 30 degrees with the vertical. The boom runs from the mast at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the sail functions then with its base upward and the apex down. This is the usual way of mounting the triangular sail.



501 322 284 FIGURE 32.—Mast and gaff sail (*la liaki o Te Puke*): 1, cross boom to outrigger, on which crotch (*vae mangu*) (3) of mast (5) rests; 2, lashing on crossbar to prevent mast from slipping; 4, lashing binding crotch to mast spar (5); 6, boom with crotch resting against mast; 7, gaff sail; 8, becket sennit basted into overlap of sail; 9, beckets which pass over end of supporting spars and keep sail taut; 10, sprit or gaff which extends outer peak of sail, resting at lower end in snotter (11) of sennit made by taking clove hitch around mast and tying free ends of sennit in overhand knot; at upper end of sprit, becket prevented from sliding down spar by lashing turns (12) taken around end of sprit; 13, heavy lines indicate sewing of overlap to hold becket sennit; 14, natural branch cleft (*vae mangu*), over which becket loops when sail is hauled up by means of guy (15) fastened to becket by clove hitch; 16, stays run to booms to support mast (see fig. 31, *c*); 17, sheet fastened to becket sennit with overhand knot and looped around mast with double overhand knot; only one sheet shown, but average sail has about six sheets for mast and for boom; 18, main sheet, fastened to boom by clove hitch, runs to sailor seated aft in canoe; 19, two ends of becket sennit (*mali la*) pass to, and are fastened around, cross boom (1).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This sprit is termed
502 *toke*. At the lower end it rests in a snotter (*uahomanga no te toke*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the sprit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*halowa*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *takapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unshipping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*halali* or *yolo*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*uwe*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*uuta*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*laulau uwe*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*heo tangi te uwe*), used to attract fish
[226 to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and
536] whenever it is necessary to imitate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the back (*tua*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ale tua*) is reserved today for short sports and for making the paddle rotated, the front (*alaala* or *valevale*) of the paddle being now customarily directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toka*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Motu Ko beg the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

501 The bailer (*tata*, fig. 26,*g*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with
415 carving. In use, the bailer is not filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe,
171 but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and shot out with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

Measurements

501 The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in
322 Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-seater canoe shown in figure 23.

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering qualities of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 6 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

921 Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kiole, Nostrils-of-the-rat (visible binary, 4 ε Lyrae and 5 Lyrae). Some confusion over identification of the name. Likely that almost any visible binary may be correctly called by this name, in same way that Jupiter and Sirius may both be correctly called Tapao.

Te Tolunga-Maui, Three-Maui-Brothers (ζ, ε, and δ Orionis). Veti alone included Orion's sword as well as his belt in this constellation. Used as star course from Pukapuka to Olosenga and return.

Te Wao-a-Maui, Fishline-of-Maui (θ, η, ζ, ε, and δ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis). Most informants agreed on including these stars as the main ones in the Fishline, in reality a group of stars strung out north along the Milky Way from Scorpio. An unimportant constellation, figuring neither as star-course guide nor as fishing sign.

Taki-piki-tolu (group of stars in Piscis Australis). Veti and Pau maintain this identification, and refer Tolu alone to α, β, and γ Aquilae. Possibly this distinction is old.

Mataliki (Pleiades). Morning rising marks change of wind to southeast, heralds flying fish, reef fish, and bigger deep-sea fish (then full of roe) seasons. Hence the saying, "Tena te kau ika o Mataliki ka yau" (Here are all the fish of Mataliki coming). Formerly morning rising introduced the six-moon period of pleasuring. Mataliki directly overhead in the sky is a sign of turtles coming to lay eggs on the outer beaches.

Te Kau-o-Maui, Fishhook-of-Maui (cluster of 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitude stars in Sagittarius). Often confused with the tail of Scorpio, though it lies southeast from the southernmost stars in the tail.

Lua-tama-lelei, Two-beautiful-children or Lua-pulotu-koki, Two-beauties-close-together (λ and υ Scorpionis). Their modern name, Pipili-ma, is said to be Tahitian.

Taumakomako (γ, α, and σ Scorpionis). Some informants do not recognize this constellation. Identification is doubtful, as it includes Antares, definitely named Melemele.

Te Ala-kaveinga-o-te-ika, Star-sign-of-fish (Ursa Major). Descriptive name only because this constellation is known by all as sign for reef fish. Pau's identification given above.

Te Mumu-o-agana. Group of small stars known to some, could not be identified.

STAR COURSES

502 [487] The value of Pukapukan star courses from the viewpoint of modern navigation has been worked out by Robert Dean Frisbie, whose notes follow. The accuracy of the star courses to the west and from Samoa to Pukapuka is noteworthy. Informants knew of no star courses which would help a navigator sailing eastward from Pukapuka, an indication perhaps of the predominating contact of Pukapuka with western islands.

The course from Pukapuka to Niue was equal to the bearing of α and β Centauri (Na Mata-o-te-tokalua) when low in the sky to west of south. Informants emphasized that the stars must be low in the sky; evidently the old navigators were aware of the Centauri's rapid change of bearing when at a higher altitude (no such emphasis was laid on the Antares, or the ε Orionis, star course). Informants were not aware of the stars being in their lower transit when observed low in the sky; but a navigator sailing as far south as Niue, lat. 19° 10′ S., would undoubtedly observe this.

The true course from Pukapuka to Niue, calculated by Mercator sailing, is 204° 48′. The course that would be steered by a canoe headed toward α Centauri, at 5° altitude, would be equal to that star's bearing, which is, in the latitude of Pukapuka, 209° 10′. This is computed by the formula: $1/2\ Z = \sqrt{\cos. s, \cos.(s-p), \sec. L, \sec. h}$. (In this $s = 1/2\ h+L+p$; Z is bearing; L, latitude; h, altitude; p, polar distances.)

502 The course arrived at by the above altitude azimuth calculation is 4° 22′ to westward of the true course, and, if only one bearing was taken at the beginning of the course, it would take a canoe to a point approximately 30 miles to the westward of the south point on Niue. At this distance a native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction. He would, however, arrive at a point somewhat closer to the land, for as the canoe sailed south, α Centauri's bearing when low in the sky would shift to the south, due to the star's being in its lower transit. Thus the navigator, by degrees imperceptible to himself, would shift his course more and more to the south, as follows:

At Pukapuka the true course would be roughly 205° while the bearing of α Centauri is 209°.

After sailing 200 miles the true course would be 203.5° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 208.5°.

After sailing another 200 miles the true course would be 197° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 207.5°.

Another 100 miles and the true course would be 178° while by steering by α Centauri the navigator would be making a course 207°.

Finally, after following the last course for 65 miles, the navigator would fetch up at a point 31 miles to the west of Niue.

Steering by a course equal to α Centauri's bearing when lower in the sky would bring the navigator closer to Niue; while if the bearing of α Centauri was taken when it was high in the sky there would be little appreciable difference until the star was above 15°, when it would go into its upper transit. This rule, however, would not hold true when the canoe had made considerable southing, but the variation in the course made good would be slight.

[487] If, as some of the Pukapukans claim, Nassau was used by the old navigators as a point of departure, then a canoe headed for Niue would fetch up within 12 miles of the land. It is perhaps within reason that a navigator would stop at an uninhabited island, such as Nassau, where an abundance of food could be gathered for the voyage.

An interesting detail in relation to the α Centauri course lies in the fact that during July, August, and September, when the star sets during the early part of the night and thus is in a position to be used as a bearing, the normal winds in this part of the Pacific are favorable for the voyage to Niue, blowing steadily from the east to northeast.

Informants state that the old navigators steered a course to Upolu which was equal to the bearing of Antares (Melemele) when low in the sky to westward. As it is improbable that this star would be visible, over a period of nights, when below 15° altitude, that altitude has been used in calculating the true course that such a bearing would give. The results follow:

True course to Apia by Traverse Tables	243°
Course by Antares at 15° altitude	245°
Course by Antares (at setting. Amp. tab.)	243°

Antares is last seen to westward during the latter part of October, and thus it is in the western sky during the trade-wind months when the weather is favorable for the above voyage. Also, being a conspicuous red star, in a line with and between γ and σ Scorpionis, it is easy to pick out on a cloudy night.

Informants gave Orion's Belt (Te Tolunga-Maui) as the star course for the voyage from Pukapuka to Olosenga. Taking it at 15° altitude, the course equal to its bearing is 271.5°. As the true course is 264.5°, the star course is in error 7°, and this error would fetch the canoe to a point 31.5 miles to the north of Olosenga. Due to many kinds of sea birds nesting on Olosenga and flying far to sea to feed, the native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction well beyond a 31.5 mile radius. Also, it is probable that, after the first few voyages, navigators learned to sail a little to the left of Orion's Belt. Orion sets to westward during the early part of the trade-wind season, when the weather is favorable for the voyage. If, as one suggests,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within
487 sight of Olosenga.

In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system.
[171 It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting dif-
193] ferent classes of objects. The list of numerals is:
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1.	Tayi	20.	Lau lua
2.	Lua	30.	Lau tolu
3.	Tolu	100.	Lau
4.	Wa	101.	Lau ma tayi
5.	Lima	111.	Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6.	One	200.	Lau lau
7.	Witu	300.	Tolunga lau
8.	Valu	400.	Wanga lau
9.	Iva	1000.	Mano
10.	Katoa or laungaulu	2000.	Lua mano
11.	Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?).	Tini
12.	Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?).	Ngaulu tini

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 amount of talo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli nganta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Nassau, Te Palo sewed his sail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Taua was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's armpit with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

173 [502] 484 As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*uakamana*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The canoes were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puoyo*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her stoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tama e, ka ni o mo mea la langa ake te issu o to taua kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trials of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

Summary

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Rarotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

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The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from northeast by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
787 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is
522 suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau hi mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 782 562 778 793 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lapu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*lango*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *koakau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tauia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Maniuili and Maniepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Maniepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach. 504 514 364

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree. 000

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 550 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ⅗ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
367 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
109 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

961 The landing passage (*ara*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east
164 as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church
423 and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
931 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
621 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1938-9)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wokatane* and *wokawawine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorised. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a portion of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vovengo* (slightly larger corms), *vaiwi* *waiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 571 431 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later 431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give [574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 195 The word *tamapoko* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tamapoko* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

House Platform

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Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the back beach of Uta conforms in all particulars to the *uokayamoo* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgepoles, which stand on the inner side of the end tieberam. This house combines features from the *uokayamoo* type and the *uale etua* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pole* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *uokayamoo* type are provided with roof extensions (*tauauta*) to cover ovens or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *uokayamoo* house, used as a shop house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *uokayamoo* type used as storage houses (*uale tabutabu*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *uale tabutabu* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale tabutabu*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *tabutabu* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tieberam and occupying the whole area marked out by the tieberam. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of thieves. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

321 The shell is cut along the section lines with the turtle-shell cutting implement (*taku*) or with a similarly shaped implement made from *pungo* coral (*taku pungo*). The edge of the blade is rubbed back and forward along the division line judged with the eye. A scratch is soon made on the nacreous surface of the shell. By further rubbing along this scratched line and by the addition at frequent intervals of water and sand, if the cutting implement is turtle bone, a narrow groove is formed which is finally deepened until the shell is cut through. A cut section of shell is shaped by rubbing and grinding with coral stone and water. Later the shape of a hook is filed out by the use of the shark skin rasp (*hesone*).

To smooth the outer convex surface of pearl shell, the shell is rubbed on a large piece of *pungo* coral placed on the ground in front of the worker. Water is used copiously on the rubbing surface. At intervals the shell is dipped into a bowl of clear water or the surface of the shell is rubbed with the fibrous end of a ripe pandanus key to test the sheen and the stage of polishing reached. When the worker is satisfied that he has procured the desired color, he gives the surface of the shell a final polish by rubbing it vigorously with a dry pandanus leaf.

Lashing or suspension holes are made in shell pieces by the use of the pump drill.

Informants could suggest no ceremonial used in the manufacture of pearl-shell ornaments or composite hooks.

321 The shark-skin rasp is prepared as follows:

412 The skin of a freshly killed fish is submerged in fresh water for about eight days. The skin is pegged out in the sun with wooden pegs until thoroughly dry. It is cut
281 into pieces of suitable length and attached to a forked branch. A piece of skin then is flat longitudinally and transversely is attached to a branch to make the *hesone ole* used for smoothing and polishing fishhook shanks. For the *hesone wungo* which is used to cut out the curves of composite hook points and the bend of a single-piece hook, a piece of shark skin is scraped on the fleshy surface to remove the stiff membranes. This allows the skin to curl transversely and produces a file, round in cross section (fig. 23*b*).

Shark skin is used for all purposes where a coarse abrasive is needed. The tail of the black ray (*uni hoew*), also used as a file in the manufacture of pearl shell, is preferred by some because it lasts longer than shark skin.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

501 Two types of canoe are used in Pukapuka today. One, the simple, one-
322 piece, dugout canoe, is used for fishing inside or outside the reef. The
271 other, a plank canoe with washstrakes and bow and stern covers, is used for fishing and for making expeditions to the islets of Ko and Kotawa. Canoe making is a craft still very much alive in Pukapuka and most households possess two or more canoes, one a dugout, the others larger plank canoes.

The single-piece dugout (*poti pukuma*) does not seem to be an old-style
171 canoe. The only name for it is *poti*, a word probably derived from the
501 English word boat; if this derivation is correct, it is evidence in support of informants' contention that the canoe style is new. Informants suggested
322 that formerly there were not sufficient big trees on the atoll to enable craftsmen to make single-piece canoes. The *poti* in use today is a simple hull balanced by outrigger and two cross booms.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapuka

512 It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic
221 routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her talo beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch talo for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding
[285] day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

476 The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house building, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some
226 form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determin-
285 ing factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

575 302 [512] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*las ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*vulusulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*vulusulu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*vulusulu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tametame*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
526 eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
512 children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

536 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
527 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vuka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kui*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*ta te siu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatau nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka uhi!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kui*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua moana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *uni Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvuna*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewelse (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 [164] The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 192 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
224 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo matuga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 Model house combining features from both the *uale wukayamoe* and the *uale atua* 335 types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautole*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *sin momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoka*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoka*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal 335 rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely, are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by three circumferential turns (*yinus ouhapeka*). The first and second ridgepoles and 284 again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinus ouhamoe*; fig.10,*b*).

341 The variations in this model *uale atua* type house bring it close in type to the 335 *wukayamoe* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People 573 sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapulu*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
377 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukou*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakou*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *mahoneau* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uenu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*)
358 become vicious:

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412 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*velevele*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*velevele tuanin*, C1193) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*wakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*mulimuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*velevele wale*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

in scraping shell (*vulayi*, *Nerita polita*) a little to left of apical whorl; four lashing turns of fine three-ply sennit braid (3) pass from handle through shell (2) where commencement end is buried, lashing continues with 16 transverse turns around distal end of handle (4); finishing of lashing buried beneath last turns; at proximal end a thin cord (7) of twisted *uso* fiber is attached so that the scraper may be hung up; two notches (5, 6) cut in handle; the two plies of *uso* cord lapped about notch (5) and fastened with figure-of-eight turns of fine, two-ply twisted sennit which pass around handle and between two notches; free end of sennit seized (8) around *uso* cord and finishing end buried. *b*, cocoanut stand grater (*tusi*) (C8106): clam-shell grater (1) mounted on wooden stand (2) cut from solid block of *uvitau* wood; horizontal base 1 foot 10½ inches long, 4½ inches wide at proximal end, and 2 inches thick; two triangular notches cut into proximal end said to be old form of ornament; oblique arm (3) 7 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick; angle (4) at which arm leaves horizontal base obtuse, under side (5) shaped and rounded off slightly; distal end of oblique arm (6) slotted for depth of 2 inches and concave so that convex outer surface of shell grater fits securely against arm; a piece of cork (7) fitted against inner concave surface of shell grater; lashing of three-ply braided sennit (8) applied over cork and around arm; lashing consists of 24 turns with buried commencement, and under normal conditions finishing end would also be buried, but in this grater free end is not cut off flush with transverse turns but is knotted and left free (9) so that grater may be hung up by free end. *c*, back rest (*teke*) cut from solid block of *uahanau* wood (C8161): 1, four-sided stand 8¾ inches high at back and 5¾ inches high at front, sides about 2½ inches wide; 2, main backrest, surface of which has slight transverse and longitudinal concavity, 2 feet 3½ inches long, 9½ inches wide, and ¾ inch thick at edges; continued by horizontal extension rest (3) 4 inches long, ¾ inch thick at sides; 4, end resting on ground has bevel 1½ inches wide; 5, under surfaces of horizontal extension (3) shaped obliquely, coming together in short mesial longitudinal ridge 1¾ inches high. *d*, wooden headrest (*slunga lakau*) (C8184); roughly cut from single block of *puapua* wood: 1, pillow section 1 foot 7 inches long, 5 inches wide, and 2¾ inches thick; 2, four legs, each 2½ inches high, 3¼ inches wide, and 2 inches thick; 3, slight flare at base of right front leg due to unskilled workmanship and not to design.

Furnishings of Pukapukan houses today include little that is modern. Occasionally one sees a European chair. Most houses have wooden chests or suitcases in which clothes are kept. European mosquito nets are in common use, and several houses proudly display antique sewing machines. Beyond these few articles and bundles of mats, the house interiors are generally quite bare.

FOOD UTENSILS

To harvest and husk coconuts, the climbing bandage (p. 146), husking stick, and carrying pole are used. The husking stick (*koyo*, C8049) of *ngangie* wood is driven into the ground for two thirds of its length. Informants were sure that the short stick was the only type used formerly, the worker kneeling or squatting on the ground to husk. Today, a much longer stick is generally used, the husker standing and bending over the stick. The carrying pole (*amo*) is a convenient length of coconut leaf midrib on which a nick is made at each end. Pairs of nuts are slung over the pole, the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

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Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 26, pp. 190-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

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A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tuluma* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tuluma* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *pa tuluma*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *muli tuluma*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tuluma* receptacle. Larger *tuluma* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit malos. The *pa tuluma* (C8120) is made of *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9¼ inches long, 7½ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9½ inches long, 6¼ inches deep and 1⅞ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to compress the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*yuiu*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

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Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt C8072 (*pale mamaua*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8½ to 10½ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are thus attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

Belt C8073 (*pale tata*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 8 to 13½ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *lauuala pakapaka* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

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Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*ulunga laukauu*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

285 513 either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau uati*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau hauu*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow C182 has a four-cornered cover 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of *lito* material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The oblong cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow C183 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 2½ inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *lauuala pukapuka* and *lito*. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

285 291 177 Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Panama type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting stroke or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against sun and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

MATS AND SHEETS

285 [171] The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut roof sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 169, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

BASKETS

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *ala*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 107, fig. 25) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the dextral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two midrib strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127,132, figs. 14,17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

578 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

172 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies
685 fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
625 from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

571 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the masticated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

359 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and expression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

7: Beaglehole--6 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

192 826 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 833 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:

839 sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 513 IV. Types of sleep:

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

192	very deep sleep	moe nanau
513	to doze	moe wakatalianga
	to sleep standing	moe tu
	restless sleep	moe tuitui
	to sleep with head on knee	moe tulivae
	to walk in sleep	moe yaele
	to sleep on side with legs outstretched	moe yayae
	to sleep with arms against the sides (like a corpse)	moe yayako
	to sleep badly because of physical pain	moe yoya
	to sleep with eyes open	moe yiyila
	the sleep of a pregnant woman after unsatisfying intercourse with her husband which may cause a miscarriage	moe yuayua
	to become possessed by a ghost during sleep	moe uluia
	to pretend to be asleep	moe wayiyila
	to move arms during sleep	moe wawa
	to sleep with one leg wound round another person	moe wakawiwi
	to be too excited to sleep	moe wawangu
	to sleep with legs spread apart	moe wewela
	to turn from side to side in sleep	moe witi
	fitful spasmodic sleep	moe wowowowo
	to turn over on side during sleep	moe wuli kaokao
	to sleep lying on the stomach	moe wuli pulou
	to sleep lying on the back	moe wuli vakevake
	to groan or talk in sleep	moe wunga

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

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515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
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The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yoka ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, kua mate, kua elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakaenilli ai tapa i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakauiu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

575 302 [572] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*valule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*uulauulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvalu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tauetaue*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

514 sea water. To defecate is *uukapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wongi: dry reef.
Koa manava te tai } : the sea swells.
Koa pupu te tai }
Koa pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Koa oko te tai ki ngauta: the tide ripples on the beach.
Koa wowoma te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Koa tu te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Koa payeke te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Koa yeke ki te ala: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Koa vekuduula te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Koa wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo la mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te ziu o te ata matua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata moon: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata kesa: gray dawn.
Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te kakaonga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te witinga o te tupua } sun is termed tupua, the risen sun la.)
Pula te la: the sun rises higher.
Koa tutu ami te la: the sun stands above.
Koa tutonu ami te la: the sun is overhead.
Koa tutonu malodo: the sun is directly overhead.
Koa angalao te la: the sun starts moving down.
Koa tatawa te la: the sun is to the side.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach. 504 514 364

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree. 000

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 522 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband
as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults
and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

519 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

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483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
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:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

221 [312] and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 375 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

134 241 137 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel, and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Ketawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Pukapuka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

137 624

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 262 5. The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *kinaki* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu kalokalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamoiomoio* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *kinaki* of *likoliko* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *kinaki* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu wakalilki*; to grate coarsely, *vulu wakapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tauanga*) and wrung (*kahu*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pami*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Valikonga: yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *aoua*, or *moile* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Yinu tutu: yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Yinu takataka tutu*: the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*ulo*) on the *payga takatala* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

145 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

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Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walk- [164] ing habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, 192 prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Puka-
526 pukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing, when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
226 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

581 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo waingo* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*uiuiuiku*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
864 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are notoriously given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
128 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
361 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this
103 islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ara*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
164 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
731 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
621 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

352 and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across
373 the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*iuluma*, p. 134) for
415 valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukanu*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual
177 headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed
554 tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

352 Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former
516 times. Made of *uakanava* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uenu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*)
356 become vicious:

285 These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end
412 of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*valovelo*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*valovelo tuanlu*, CB195) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*uakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*uaiinuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*valovelo uulo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *upangir* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of *sennit*, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

354 Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few
372 dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common,

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
317 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
694 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
203 men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaaga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakatongatonga mai koloa,* e to tuna' koloa ki te vanaaga a te yato ko avatu ki a koloa ia. I a koloa, ave tuku koloa i a koloa tuna ko vakatokatoka ana i te tuna. Ka puku tuna i loto, e vayi loa, ngakapakapa. No i ai na manai ia te vanaaga ke longo koloa talinga. Wakamanako koloa vakatokoki. Ko te vanaaga ia na manai ai ki a koloa. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the candies surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotoma* fern to use as fertilizer for
village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 * Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *ikoua*, *ioua*. The latter is used in all public proclamations.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerve-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle
836 of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet
564 wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a
717 symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on
552 lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats
114 was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support
778 from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states
324 was used by the bird man Watu-manava-ssi, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of
133 coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have
177 been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 33) have now
339 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate
417 set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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853 end of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other
846 than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *fala* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama ywatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama no mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*voyanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans.
517 No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be
845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the pa-

895 turient woman because she would not help by confessing her sins, the final arrival of the baby finding all present quite unprepared:

The patient was a young unmarried Ngale woman, in severe labor. She was a primipara (new to childbirth). Sitting outside the house at about 7 o'clock in the evening on some low, flat blocks of wood which were covered by a bundle of copra sacks, she was bracing herself by pushing down with stiff arms on coconut husks covered by mats piled on either side. She was assisted by five other women, her mother, her older sister, and three relatives. Other people came and went. The sister sat in front supporting the patient's feet under her legs, which gripped the patient's knees and held them tight. The other women held her limbs, her knees or legs, wherever there was room. From time to time the patient's father and classificatory brother came and supported her back, pushing down on her head, shoulders and back. When the labor pains came on, everyone present called out loudly: "Kolomo, kolomo le ongo, kolomo le to!" (Bear down, bear down till it aches, bear down till it falls!) Everyone who could reach a hand to the woman gripped her limbs or body and pushed her legs downward and inward to her body, taking care to keep her legs well apart. Some pushed vigorously on her head and shoulders. At times there were at least ten persons all pushing parts of her body and calling to her to push the child out. She was accused of being afraid to press down and was continually scolded for not telling her attendants when the pains came on. The crowd not only remonstrated with her but also with each other, demonstrating in turn how the pushing should best be done and what type of groaning and grunting best helped the act of bearing down. Men made witticisms at every opportunity. Children became sleepy and drifted off to their homes. Gradually the crowd dispersed.

In the intervals between pains, one of the men or her sister sat behind the patient to hold her shoulders and support her back. For the rest of the time her back was unsupported, for she had been made to sit just far enough away from the framework of the house to be unable to lean against the house walls. She occasionally rose and walked to the beach, supported by her sister; her mother usually remained behind, giving them some by an opportunity to shout to her for not helping. Standing up brought on wild labor pains. The patient's hands and arms became very tired from leaning on them so long, but no change of position was suggested. She would squat low on her legs however or sit on her sister's knees for a change. Mosquitoes began to worry her until one of the attendants thought to fan her. At about 5 a.m. she went off to sleep.

In the morning an old woman of Loto who was reputed to possess special abilities for speeding up delayed deliveries arrived and everyone became noticeably more cheerful. She made up some special remedy for the patient, who refused to drink the rather muddy looking liquid. Later she yielded to pressure and swallowed several gulps. Then she was moved to a shady place on the beach under some coconut trees. The medicine woman placed her hands on the patient's abdomen and shook it up and down; she also exerted pressure with her finger tips on the abdomen in several places. Each time the patient pressed down she had vomiting fits, so she refused to bear down as much as the attending group thought necessary.

[517] There was a constant coming and going of people at this time. There had been a death in Yona early in the morning and the group was constantly changing as women went off to attend the death ceremonies, or returned from them bringing all the news. Children played round the group on the beach. When they became noisy, they were ordered away to play elsewhere or told to go to Yona to see the death.

Noon came with no sign of the baby. The women decided that the patient should squeeze her shoe as the only remaining method of speeding up delivery, but she would say nothing. Soon it started to rain and the patient was removed to the veranda of the house. She drank coconut liquid and ate rice. About 4 p.m., after repeated urgings to comfort, the girl broke down, burst into tears, and in a low voice murmured, by rule, called freely. One woman said she confessed to having sinned against her mother, but

[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is
554 honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize
521 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion
152 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel-
885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues
517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be
831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolism of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

Introduction

121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 152 311 123 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 185 421 361 625 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralised in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangoo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 221 245 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
835 (*tale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*uia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamour existence is described as *sa uiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakauwawine* (be like a woman):

[521 / 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
764 to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
609 people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
626 interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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521 609 626 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

152 578 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manavu poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 576 867 626 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matomua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewulu-wulu tutuna*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauya*.

152 261 626 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata hakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yas;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanou;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai you;* one who steals food is *toyewyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *haikai maile*.

732 158 826 626 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 857 156 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye wilisili* (one who does not select people).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

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181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be
831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolism of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

597 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
839 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
844 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or imitations is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

864 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
157 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-outrigger canoe goes past. When asked who
857 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Ohani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Ohani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Ohani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to
864 cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humoured toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)/1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mota*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wahalane* and *mahuauwina*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotihotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

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833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
522 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this
831 witticism.

Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
787 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme
522 realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
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517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development
831 in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.

522 There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (pa) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (toa) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 522 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over,
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totolon are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

522 Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua l latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Koboti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

264 when the first leaves are just opening.

264 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
516 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

774 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
248 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yalanga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tuhau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi hewihewi*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was taps to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
578 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old man and was fined by this body 30 tala paddlings (*mauru*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also taps formerly to let the rod dip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to dip was reported by his crew to the old man and by them fined 1,000 tala paddlings. The dipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old man, the god Mahititulangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day.
202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tuhola*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle; but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *tuhemangala*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*bumata*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Tetaiea and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one
764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la hupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa ua*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *ooto* cord (*matai ooto*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakatawa hi ia la hupenga	Clothed in the *la hupenga*
Tupotupo a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yaagia ana wakawawaga	certainly,
	Bandied in fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la hupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la hupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and were pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la hupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yau*) worn by women. The art of making the *yau* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique
824 described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*vivo*), the windmill (*potoka lounin*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wakatangitongi*),
171 and the leaflet spinner (*wakaki matangi* or *wuti iele lounin*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig.49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu lounin*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the mesial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *mahanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by cover-
177 ing a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui agaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes.
521 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-
527 making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

Wooden stilts (*lolo*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by chil-
177 dren.

The toy bow (*uma*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs
524 is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pri*) seeds from the *matau* tree.

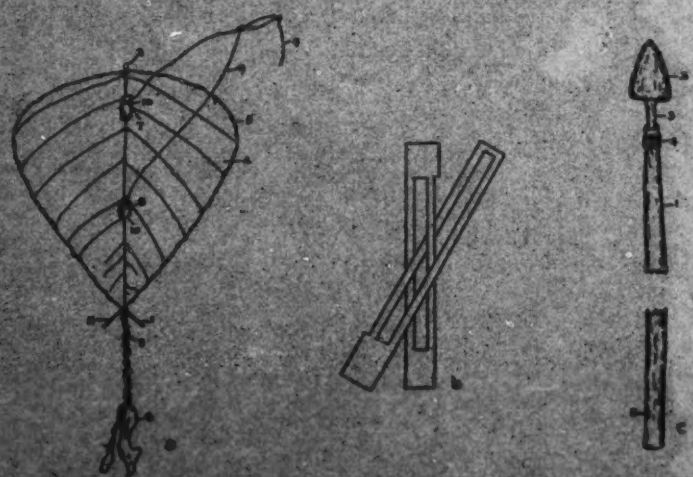
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

524/177 Swings (*takelake*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangle* wood by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wue on his return to Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngayu* branch. The seed of the *tasyinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupu* bird, a piston of *puapua* wood, and *tasyinu* seed or *ipiipi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*papa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524/284 FIGURE 49—Toys and composite tools. a, kite (*helile*) of *puapua* leaf (Cloys): accessories leaden midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*helaiu*); edges of large *puapua* leaf (4) bent over this frame and fastened to it by continuous thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf and around frame midrib; outer midrib (3) extends below apex of kite and to this a tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by transverse twine of fiber; at two points

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) Pukapukans

524/284 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal mesial line and a trailer cord (9) is knotted to midrib over small wads of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8058) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tiowpa a Moni*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*velo*) of *ngayu* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutoa*) of *ngangie* wood 1½ inches long, ¾ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1½ inches long, ¼ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *uao* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutoa* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*yiku*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutoa* head 4½ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *uao* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig. 49, *a*). The tail (*kove*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo ipu*: a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kaleuleua*.

The only tops in use are teetotum tops (*potekateka*). These are *taupulepule* shells (*Conus ebraeus?*) which are spun (*tahavilivili*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *nukinuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potekateka wasu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *punga* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¼ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *wakapotekateka* or *wakatateka*.

Discs for the game of *tupe* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8194), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3⅜ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tiko*) is made of *ngayu* wood:

526/322 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and heated over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*putiko*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tiko*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

The composite dart (*velo*, C8100) is made of *ngayu* wood with a head (*ulu toa*) of *ngangie* wood (fig. 49, *c*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotos and Te Yos, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder
526 of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected
in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the
572 beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the
evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
536 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly
they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning
527 rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*tuka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*teke*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to te uiu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatou nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka uiu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuya" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai otou nanna (old nanna, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern nanna, playing the god Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*tuvana*) are drawn about 30 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lowake (the old nanna, a god), or of Levi (the modern nanna). He stands in one circle, all the

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526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valovalo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tohajoa* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach.
535 Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves
them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this
177 imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm
859 of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The indi-
533 vidualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*anu*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

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Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	[repeat]
	9
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	Like *pulaka* cooking, like *pulaka* cooking
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	[repeat]
	10
E Luea to tinu e angi nei	Oh Luea, your wind blows here
E Luea to tinu e angi nei	[repeat]
Ka pa ana to vaka ki Kalaumea	Your canoe will be carried to Kalaumea
E, ka pa ana to vaka ki Mata Kalokalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tau la koe ki tawa ma te *lulu* ma te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their talo
Ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea, ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea.	You will reach Kalaumea, you will reach Kalaumea.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

857 524 177

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Paloni (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kibi uuli tau. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

524 *Kinikini* is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kinikini*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wahatongi ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

526 Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *uto pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *uto tuilimi*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *lokitoki* in which the player hops on one foot.

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526 *Utu pepe wenua.* A line (*wenua*) two fathoms long is marked off on the ground by scraping with the foot. Two teams (*vaka*, canoes) are chosen. In turn each player of one team makes the *utu pepe* movements up and down the *wenua* line, while the count is kept of the total number of times the team moves up and down the line. The players of the other team follow. The team that scores the greatest number of complete jumps wins the contest. In *utu pepe wakaag*, two players, one from each team, jump together at the same time, without moving on any course. One team wins a point (*kai*) when the player from the other team drops out. The team that first wins 10 jumps (*ulu laungaula*), wins (*ia te ulu*) the match.

In *utuutu* and *utu taviliöli*, a *wenua* line may or may not be used.

Tehitehi hopping. A rectangular area (*wenua*) about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide is lined off on an open space. The participants, singly or in groups, hop up and down this line, scoring one point for each arrival at either end of the boundary. The player with the most points wins the contest. Because this is an endurance test, the skillful hopper makes each pace as long as he can and thus economizes on wind.

524 *Tiitili koua* (juggling with very young immature coconuts). Played by children and adults. In competitive juggling, the players chant and juggle in rhythm; those who are able to continue to the end of the chant win the contest. A number of chants especially composed for this amusement were collected (1). The usual number of *koua* used in juggling is three; some experts are able to juggle four at a time.

Shell Tossing

Tiki pulepule (tossing *pulepule* shells, the Polynesian counterpart of jackstones). Played by adults and children of both sexes. From two to twenty persons may play at one time. A large number of seashells of the type known as *pulepule* (*Cypraea*) are gathered and placed in the center of the group of players who take up their positions in a circle seated on *tohapau* mats. Each player has a throwing stone (*tiki wutu*) which he holds in his right hand. The object of the game is to toss up the stone, pick up the shells from the ground in a given fashion, and catch the stone as it comes down. Twenty-nine figures may be played in one game, starting with the simple tossing up of the stone and removing of one shell from the heap. The beginner, who is chosen in no special way, but who simply is the first to call out, "I am first (*Ko oku te pule tayi*) is known as the "*pule tayi*". He continues to play until he misses—until the stone has fallen (*na te*) without his having caught it, until he fails to pick up the required number of shells, or until he has removed all the shells, which is one win (*ulu tayi*) for him. Should he miss, the play goes to the next person on his left, and so on in a counter-clockwise direction round the circle of players, continuing the one figure until all the shells have been removed. As each player picks up shells during his play, he places these under his bent knee, to be counted when the figure is over. Each player in turn counts (*kaui*) his shells one by one, counting without any special numerical prefix (*katoa* being 10, *lau lua*, 20, and so forth). At the end of the play the number of figures won by the individual players, which are called *ulu tayi*, *ulu lua*, and so forth, are compared and the one who has won the most individual plays wins (*ia te ulu*). To tie either in a single figure or for the whole game is *uwoto*. The loser is *uwoea* (defeated). As each figure is finished, the next is begun by the person to the left of the starter of the preceding figure, regardless of where the last play ended. Thus, each player from the start is called by the name of the figure which he will begin. The figures are played in the following order:

1. *Pule tayi*: throw up the stone, remove one shell from the heap, and catch the stone as it drops.

2. *Pule lua*: remove two shells at a time with each toss of the stone. It is considered a miss to pick up more or less than the required number. An odd shell at the end is counted by the player who finishes the figure.

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3. *Pule tolu:* remove three shells with each toss of the stone.

4. *Pule wa:* remove four shells with each toss of the stone.

5. *Iko* (bend): the player whose turn it is to start the figure has merely to bend his elbow to score a win. There is no trick in this; it is merely the advantage of being the fifth starter.

6. *Lukuluku* (scoop): throw up the stone, scoop up as many of the shells in the pile as possible with two hands, and catch the stone on top of the shells in the two hands. The player then pairs all the shells he has picked up to see if there is an odd shell (*kai*) over. If such is the case, he may continue to play the figure, but if not, he is said to *lite* and must return the shells to the pile; the turn passes to the next player, who tries his luck. If he succeeds, the odd shell is returned to the remaining pile of shells to be picked up in the next scoop. To be unable to throw out the odd shell (*maka te kai*) constitutes the "*lite*".

7. *Pule ka:* throw up the stone and pick up with one hand only, as many shells as possible, catching the stone on the top of the shells as it falls.

8. *Pule ikoiko* (bend): as in 7, pick up as many shells as possible with one hand, catch the stone on them, and quickly flex the wrist inward to the body as the stone is caught.

9. *Pule pu* (hole): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible with a side sweep of the hand from right to left, and catch the stone on the radial side of the lightly clenched fist in the hollow formed by the flexed index finger.

10. *Pule tutu* (erect): toss the stone in the air, hit the pile of shells twice with the palm of the hand, pick up as many shells as possible and catch the stone with the same hand.

11. *Pule moe* (lying): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, catch the falling stone in the hollow between the outstretched thumb and index finger.

12. *Pule tu te limo* (hand erect): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone in the hollow between the vertically outstretched thumb and index finger.

13. *Pule patu te limo* (strike the hand): repeat 12, and snap down the index finger on the stone as it is caught.

14. *Pule wokayayake:* throw up the stone, pick up the shells, rotate the forearm and hand in a counter-clockwise direction so that the elbow points upwards and away from the body, catching the stone on the ulnar surface of the clenched fist, in the hollow made by the flexed little finger.

15. *Pule kakalo ki te langi* (look at the sky): gaze upward and without looking at stone or shells toss up stone, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

16. *Pule kakalo ki te tangata* (look at the people): staring at the people around and without looking at shells or stone, toss up the stone, remove shells, and catch falling stone.

17. *Pule tulo* (shove): throw up the stone, push away the pile of shells, then pick up as many of them as possible, catching the falling stone.

18. *Pule wahamayangi* (quietly): separate the individual shells in the pile from each other, spacing them at about a half inch apart. Then one at a time, with the toss of the stone, remove each shell without touching any other shell with the hand and without allowing the stone to hit against the shell in the hand as it is caught.

19. *Pule tangi i te tua o te puletule* (sound the back of the shell): toss up the stone, remove a shell from the pile, and catch the falling stone against the shell, so that the two surfaces make a clinking noise.

20. *Pule hali i langa* (wait above): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the stone while it is still high in the air, not lower than the top of the head.

21. *Pule hali i lalo* (wait below): throw up the stone, pick up shells, and catch the stone with the hand resting on the ground.

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22. *Pule toko ki lungo* (raise up): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone with an upward swooping movement of the hand.

23. *Pule yuna:* throw up the stone in such a way that it will fall near the front of the body, remove as many shells as possible, and catch the stone at the height where the *yuna* (neck ornament) hangs on the chest.

24. *Pule luku ki te vaka* (scoop to the canoe): throw up the stone, toss a handful of shells into the lap and catch the stone.

25. *Pule lakei* (decorate): place the shells in a line along the outside of one leg and thigh at intervals of one inch, and remove these one by one with a toss of the stone, in such a way as not to disturb the remainder.

26. *Pule lupe:* toss the stone high in the air, slap thighs with both hands, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

27. *Pule yi patuki* (fish *patuki*): throw up the stone, move one shell at a time toward the body with a flick of the flexed index finger and catch the stone.

28. *Pule kekemo* (eyes closed): throw up the stone, close eyes tightly, pick up shells and catch the falling stone without opening the eyes.

29. *Pule uuyilayilo* (sleepy eyes): throw up the stone, and with eyes more than half-closed pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

Disc Throwing

526

Wakapotsheteko (disc throwing for distance). The disc (*potsko*) is a stone of *pungo* coral. To throw the disc is *wakatateko*. The course is the village street. The teams are made up of ten men each, one team from each village. Three men throw each round. The stone is held with the thumb and index finger and thrown for distance with an underhand motion. The team with the greatest number of longest throws at the end of ten rounds wins the contest.

Disc Pitching

Tupe (disc pitching). The game is played with cocoanut-shell discs, of varying weights and sizes, cut from the bottom of the dried, hard *pakeli* nut shell. The discs are polished smooth and the edges made even and regular. Two sets of discs are not distinguished by different colorings, the discs are not ornamented, nor is there any special container for them. The surface on which the discs are thrown is a new, smooth, ordinary pandanus mat, 6 to 8 feet long and of any width. The players sit at the head of the mat. The opposite end of the mat is raised 4 or 5 inches by the insertion under its edge of a cocoanut leaf midrib, which is called for this purpose *kauyalo*. A third person called the *kauyalo* sits at the raised end of the mat to keep the prop in position, to judge and recover the thrown discs. The object of the game is to place the discs as near the edge of the mat as possible, even tilting them over the raised surface, so that they are closer to the edge than the discs of the opponent.

The game is played by two players at a time. Any even number of discs up to 20 is equally divided between them. Though the first pitcher is at a disadvantage, he is not chosen in any special way. One player simply says to the other, "Tupe", and the other throws. He tosses his disc up to the edge of the mat with a well-aimed side twist of the wrist which spins the disc and helps to check the danger of its rolling off the edge of the mat. If the first player's placement is a good one and lies just at the edge of the mat, but not tilting over, the second player attempts with his first pitch to hit (*tongi* or *tita*) it off from the inner side so that his own disc will remain on the mat while the other is knocked off. If the first disc of the first player is badly thrown and constitutes no danger to the second player, the second player throws without attempting to upset its position but to place his own shot in a good position on or near the edge of the mat. Then the first player, in his second pitch, will attempt to knock off the opponent's good shot, replacing it with his own disc. As soon as he betters his own preceding throw, which has itself been bettered by the opponent, the disc of his preceding throw is

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526 removed (*to*). Should he have two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*kai*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *tito lua*; to knock off three is *tito tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *kauyalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ia te ulu*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *iki*; two, *iki lua*; three, *iki tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *kauyalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tama ia! E kole, te tupe i te tautawa na!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skillful player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours on end by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the cool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

524 There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *tolotolounga* and *poi* nor do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

526 [177] Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*uringanga hake niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope; the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the hole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

Introduction

121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

●524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.

●524 171 The comparative material is much too unequal for final results to be adduced and must inevitably remain so until an exhaustive number of figures is collected from each island group in Occeania. Certain tentative conclusions however may be mentioned. Taking Polynesia proper and dividing it into four sub-areas (north, Hawaii; south, New Zealand; central and east, Aitutaki, Australs, Marquesas, Society, and Tuamotus; and west, Tokelau, Tonga, Samoa, Uvea, and also Fiji), the percentage of correspondence between Pukapukan figures and the total number of available figures for each area mentioned is shown in the following:

	Figures reported	Pukapuka	Percentage
West	54	17	31
South	36	7	20
Central-East	218	31	14
North	115	4	3

From this it is evident that prevailing correspondences between Pukapuka and the rest of Polynesia rather heavily favor the West. The percentage of 31 for the West may be compared with a total correspondence of 37 percent for Polynesia, excluding the West. If western and southern affiliations with Pukapuka are grouped, the percentage correspondence is 51 against a correspondence of 17 percent with North, Central, and East.

Of the 8 Pukapukan figures which correspond with figures from Fiji, 6 are widely distributed throughout the rest of Polynesia. Only 2 are reported for Pukapuka and Fiji alone. Of the 9 Pukapukan figures also found in the Tuamotus, 7 are found elsewhere in Polynesia, leaving but 2 which are reported for the Tuamotus and Pukapuka alone. Only 1 of the 7 Pukapukan figures found also in New Zealand is not reported elsewhere. This analysis indicates that unique Pukapukan figures occur equally in part of the West, part of the East, and to a degree, in the South.

The Pukapukan series of 6 figures which are grouped under the type figure, Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua, is strikingly absent in figures reported elsewhere. The Marquesan figure, Te-nohona-o-te-kua (Handy, 9, p. 32), shows vague resemblances to one of the series (Lua-tangata). The Maori figure, Kopu 2 (Andersen, 1, p. 65) bears some resemblance again to another of this series, Te-imu-o-Tima, but the Maori and Pukapukan figures are by no means identical.

4: Bengiamin-3 E-5 (1934-1935) Pukapukans

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

Pukapuka	Tuamotus	Austral	Fiji	New Zealand
1. Tava	Kokihokiko (3 Diamonds)	Hauri (Rurutu)	Suviauto Kapa	Parori Over and over
2. Na wiwi (Lau kapa series)	Mangaongao	Kaupaka iatai (Kapa) Rurutu Tubuai Tup. R im.	Imbi	Takapau
3. Tikonikoni	Moko (Moth. 2)	Ga ure (Kapa)	Tambua*	Mauli*
4. Wala yila wus		Malariki (Kapa)	Lalakai	Ikiki
5. Kumala		Ga hamia (Kapa) Mato (Rim.) Amao iloa (Rurutu)	Velovalo	
6. Te koloma yangiyongi	Ki faru	(ia-ia) (Kapa)		Toemi
7. Wala ola		Tusra (Kapa)	Matuki lalai	
8. Te tai kiki		(Kapa) (Rurutu) (Rim., Tub.)		
9. Te itu wala kula	Kahengahenga* Na fare turu	Te Aro Matui (Rurutu) (Rim.) (Tup.)		
10. Te kivi a ia kakai	Puhanga toto			
11. Te itu wuwuli kitunga	Te vaka Tiranga			Te waka a Tama Rererori
12. La palapala				
13. Kupenga			Kupenga* Lawa	
14. Palakiola itu (a) Kittiti polo* (b) Tana kula	(a) Komo rikiriki (b) Na taringa inoho			
15. Te matangi pualoka (Moth. 1)	Te voki o Hiro*			
16. Te lusu o Te Lasiala				Kuara
17. Te pa o Matamaraka			Rara ni Kuki	
Kaua slip trick				
Authority	Emory (7)	Stokes (13)	Marsden (16)	Anderson (1)

DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

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Society	Marquesas	Hawaii	Tonga	Uvea
Iole	Tohizu		Matamata kupenga Moenga	Mata kupenga Iliki
Firi ren aanai	Kou hape		Lou kape*	
Mo'e		Moo-iki R (Moth. 1)	Pilitaleiku*	
	Tapa'au tua fitu*			
Apoo uai ahana Apoo tio		Wa'a		
	Popo Hkaua	Ohola amo (Moth. 3)		
Rorotu	Tuhii kea*			
				Tai loloto
Te tuma o te papa* Te fere no Oro*				
		Four Eyes A (Moth. 2)		
Fifi ren apo				Mata kupenga laiahi
		R loli o		
Handy (1)	Handy (1)	Dickey (4)	Hornell (16)	Burrows (1)

Ai Tonglohola-3b E-5 (1934-1935) Pukapukans

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DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

New Caledonia Loyalty Island	D'Entrecasteaux	Samoa	Aitutaki	Caroline Is.
Nameless X	Giwaja			
		Pili+ - me'ime'i	Moko	
The sugar cane				Tun-men: Betel leaf
	Fo'eo			
Sardines				
		Louiau		
Compton (10)	Jeanneau (11)	Beck (15)	Beck (14)	Compton (9)

DISTRIBUTION OF PUKAPUKAN STRING FIGURES

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Gilbert	New Hebrides	Tokelau	Nauru	
Tapu		Tafa		
	Kilikia leaves			
				Flying fishes
Shewell (10)	Dickey (4)	Shewell (4)	Hambruch (2)	

524 171 A very individual Hawaiian ending for some figures which is made by navahoing the thumbs, inserting the indices into the thumb triangles, and turning the fingers away under the figure and up which Dickey (6, p. 9) found elsewhere only in one figure reported from Africa, Ireland, and for one Osage Indian is employed in the Pukapukan figures, Te-kivi-a-te-kakai and Te-kivi-a-Yilewu in a manner which corresponds exactly to the Hawiian method. Emory (7) reports Te-kivi-a-te-kakai for the Tuamotus. The same ending is used in a related manner for the Pukapukan liu wuwuli figures.

Grouping of figures

Twenty-eight of the Pukapukan figures may be grouped into 9 series, each employing a characteristic opening or closing which is unique to the series. These groups are:

1. Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua
   Te-imu-o-Tima
   Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau
   Te-ikapaetai
   Te-langi-loa
   Te-papanga-o-te-waulna
2. Taku-laukape
   Na-wiwi
   Te-Va-o-Mannyiki-ma-Lakawanga
   Te-pitopito-i-Kolo
   Te-kapu-ta-ika
   Kau-a-pulaka
3. Te-ponaunau
   Te-katatuna
   Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka
4. Te-matangi-tavili
   Te-matangi-yauleka
   Te-matangi-tavili
5. Wala-ola
   Wala-yila-wua
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
   Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
7. Paiokiole
   Tikonikoni
8. Te-tau-lunga
   Te-tau-lalo
9. Te-kivi-a-te-kakai
   Te-kivi-a-Yilewu

The remainder of the figures do not fall into any groups.

Most of the Pukapukan figures open in the usual Polynesian manner, position 1, opening A. Besides this orthodox opening, II other openings are used in 13 figures. The figures that have unorthodox openings are:

1. Te-tavatav-o-te-wui-kiole
2. Te-Pu-o-Loto
3. Te-matangi-tavili
   Te-matangi-yauleka
4. Te-matangi-taulele
   Te-tai-kiki
5. Te-itu-wala-kula
6. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
7. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga
8. Te-kolemu-yengiyengi
9. Te-wua-ya-valu
10. Kupenga
11. Te-kau-a-pulaka

Terminology

524 In these descriptions I follow the terminology suggested by Rivers and Haddon (12), using it however in a somewhat abbreviated form in order to obtain compact presentation. The description should be readily understandable by the expert. In these descriptions the phrase, "proximally (or distally) draw back" a given string, is a shortened form of the more usual but cumbersome statement, "fingers pass proximally (or distally) into the (named) loop and carry back the given string on their backs." Proximally (or distally) in the following descriptions means therefore to enter the named loop from the proximal (or distal) side and proceed as further directed. The direction, "drop thumbs," or etc., means obviously to drop the loops from the thumbs or other named fingers by withdrawing the fingers from the loops. The direction "slip the index finger loops over the wrist" is to push other fingers into the index loops and stretch it so that it slips back, or to pick the index loop up with the opposite hand and drop it over the wrist. Preference decides which alternate the individual operator adopts. Again navahoing is done by the mouth, lips or teeth, by the fingers of the opposite hand, or by the fingers of the same hand, depending on the skill of the operator. Unless otherwise stated, it is to be understood that a figure is stretched after each movement. In opening some of the figures a secondary, unnamed figure results. This secondary figure is termed the lui of the main figure. Unless other wise specified, all the figures open easily without tangling by being laid on a flat surface and picked up in the middle point of the radial and ulnar strings of the figure.

Native Terminology

A string figure is termed waiwai; to make a figure is wai. To describe movements the fingers are distinguished as follows: thumb, matua; index, middle and ring fingers, all called loa; little finger, lewu. Any confusion which results from not distinguishing index, middle and ring fingers is resolved by personal correction of the pupil by the expert. The word tui means proximally to pick up palmar strings with the indices, that is, to proceed from position 1 to opening A. Tui also means proximally to draw back a string; thus, Tui i-a loa ki-a lewu, means: with the index finger proximally draw back the little finger radial string. Nape is distally to carry back a string. Ui is proximally to remove a loop

 from one finger and is distinguished from ui yala which is distally to remove a loop from a finger. Tatao is to place fingers (usually the ring and middle) on a string and hold it. Lalao is to pass proximal and ulnar to a string, which is then carried back from the ulnar side. Kati is to navaho, usually done by the Pukapukan with the mouth. Takavili is to rotate: takavili ki lalo, rotate in an ulnar direction; takavili ki lunga rotate in a radial direction. Maka is to drop fingers or finger: maka i-a lewu, drop little fingers.

Pukapukan Figures

Te-imu-o-Wale-Puapua (the-oven-of-Wale-Puapua)

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars,
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs; distal to index strings, proximally draw back middle finger radials.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop middle fingers.
8. Repeat 3.
9. Repeat 4, dropping little fingers.
10. Repeat 5, dropping middle fingers.
11. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
12. Thumbs proximally into index finger loops.
13. Navaho double proximal thumb radials.
14. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
15. Indices, from ulnar distal side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 1.) For the lui (figure 2) drop indices.

Te-imu-o-Tiroa (The-oven-of-Tima).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs pass proximally through index loops and, proximal to middle finger strings, draw back little finger radials.

5. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally in middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally into middle finger loops.
10. Drop middle and little fingers.
11. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
12. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
13. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
14. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
15. Indices from ulnar side draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 3.)

For the lui (figure 4) of this figure, a larger oven, drop index fingers.

Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau (Two-men-standing-on-reef).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs pass distally though index loops and, proximal to middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally into middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials, dropping little fingers.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally remove middle finger loops.
10. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
11. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
12. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
13. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
14. Indices from ulnar side draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 5.)

For the lui (figure 6) in which the two men are seen with their fishing rods and baskets, drop indices.

524 Te-ikapaetai (Turtle)

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb placed distally on index radial; rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
8. Thumbs, proximal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back middle finger distal radials.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop middle finger distal loops.
12. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
13. Repeat 8.
14. Repeat 9.
15. Drop middle finger distal loops.
16. Drop little fingers.
17. Indices distally remove middle finger loops.
18. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
19. Thumbs proximally into index finger loops.
20. Navaho double proximal thumb radials.
21. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
22. Indices, distally from ulnar side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs (Figure 7)

For the lui of this figure, drop indices.

Te-papanga-o-te-waulua (The-platform-of-the-double-canoe.)

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb placed distally on index radial; rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.

●524 8. Thumbs, distal to intermediate proximal strings, proximal to distal middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into middle finger distal loops.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop middle finger distal loops.
12. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
13. Repeat 8.
14. Repeat 9, dropping middle finger distal loops and little fingers.
15. Middle fingers, from radial side of thumbs distally remove thumb proximal loops.
16. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger distal loops.
17. Repeat 15.
18. Repeat 16.
19. One at a time, rotate thumbs radially.
20. Indices distally remove middle finger loops.
21. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
22. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
23. Navaho thumb proximal double radials.
24. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
25. Indices, from ulnar distal side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs. (Figure 8) Drop indices and stretch for the lui.

Te-langi-loa (The-tall-sky).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximal to middle finger strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Thumbs proximally into middle finger loops.
6. Navaho thumbs; drop middle fingers.
7. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally remove thumb loops.
8. Thumbs, passing distally through index loop, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger loops.
10. Drop little fingers.

● 524 11. Middle fingers, from radial side of thumbs, distally remove thumb proximal loops.
12. Thumbs proximally remove middle finger loops.
13. Repeat 11.
14. Repeat 12.
15. Rotate thumbs in radial direction.
16. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, placed distally on thumb ulnars.
17. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
18. Navaho thumb double proximal radials.
19. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
20. Indices, from ulnar side, draw back middle and ring finger radials, dropping thumbs, (Figure 9).

For the lui (figure 10) of this figure, drop index loops and stretch.

Taku-laukape (My-turtle-fat).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, pick up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials and, from the ulnar side, index proximal ulnars.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
8. Navaho thumbs.
9. Drop distal index loops.
10. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
11. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
12. Thumbs, distal to proximal index loops, proximally draw back distal index radials.
13. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, proximally draw back index radials.
14. Navaho thumbs.
15. Drop little fingers, turning palms out. (Figure 11).

Na-wiwi (The-crossings).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.

4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
10. Repeat 5.
11. Thumbs, distal to proximal index loops, proximally draw back distal index radials.
12. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, draw back index radials.
13. Navaho thumbs.
14. Drop little fingers, turning palms out. (Figure 12).

Te-va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga (The-space-between-Manihiki-and-Rakahanga).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Left index finger, distal to all strings, picks up left little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Right index finger proximally draws back left index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers and stretch figure until the middle loops of the figure separate. (Figure 13).

Te-pitopito-i-Kolo [The-navel-in-Kolo (?)]

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.

●524 3. Right index finger, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index finger loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs, distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers. (Figure 14).

Te-kapu-ta-ika (Meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Right index, distal to all strings, picks up little finger ulnar from ulnar side and continues rotation back to position.
4. Left index finger proximally draws back right index distal palmar string.
5. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
6. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
7. Navaho thumbs.
8. Drop distal index loops.
9. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
10. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index radials.
11. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
12. Navaho thumbs.
13. Drop little fingers (Figure 15).

Kau-a-pulaka (Pulaka-stalks).

1. Opening A with a doubled string.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Separate double index loops into proximal and distal loops.

●524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524 539 [533] 6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau,
Te potia ua, te potia ua,
Ua lele, ua lele,
Poloiti polo lau mea mea
Aleuei, aluei, pa na, pa na
E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,
} Meaning obscure

Motu la Manuyiki laua ma Lakawanga. — Severed are they, Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.

●524 5. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
7. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
8. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
9. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
10. Drop little fingers and thumbs. (Figure 19). With mouth pick up double strings which run across figure on side nearest the operator. Holding mouth strings, move hands to and from body to rhythm of the chant:

[539] Te katatuna e te wui wui makupuna e, The mosquito larvae of the many, many grandchildren,
Lua vae kolili o Moealo. The two kolili bird (like) legs of Moealo.

Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (The-hole-of-Mumumaveka).
1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Right index finger and thumb lift off and hold left palmar strings while left wrist loop is slipped over left index; right index and thumb place held strings back over left palm behind thumb and little finger.
6. Repeat 5 on right hand.
7. Indices proximally pick up palmar index strings of opposite hands. (Figure 20).
8. Navaho indices.
9. Indices distally into and through hectagon formed by distal strings in center of figure down into and through central diamond formed by proximal strings of figure; stretch while allowing index loops to slip down and off the finger tips. (Figure 21).
To open figure, drop indices.

Te-matangi-yauleka (The-gentle-wind). Method 1 a. This is probably the older of two methods of making this figure. It was known only to two old men.
1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right index

radial. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.

3. Left index finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers.
6. Place ring and little fingers on thumb radials, dropping thumbs.
7. Thumbs, distally inserted between double strings separating ring and index fingers, carry back the dorsal of the two strings.
8. Middle fingers, distal to index ulnars, proximally carry back thumb ulnars.
9. With opposite hand lift off thumb radials, carry them below string held by ring and little fingers, and back on to thumb.
10. Drop ring and little fingers. (Figure 22).

Method 1 b.

A slight variation in this method gives a similar figure known by the same name.

1. Position 1 on both hands.
2. Right index finger distally picks up left palmar string from dorsal side.

Continue with movements 2 to 11 above. (Figure 23).

Te-matangi-yauleka (The-gentle-wind). Method 2. The modern method of making a figure slightly different from that made by the older method.

1. Opening A on left hand; position 1 on right hand. Rotate right little finger in ulnar direction and rotate right thumb in ulnar direction.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right little finger radial. Left thumb distally draws back left index ulnar.
3. Right middle finger proximally draws back right thumb ulnar. Left middle finger proximally draws back left index radial.
4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers. (Figure 24).

Te-matangi-tavili (The-whirlwind).

1. Opening A on left hand; position 1 on right hand. Rotate right little finger in ulnar direction.
2. Right thumb proximally draws back right little finger radial. Left thumb distally draws back left index finger ulnar.
3. Right middle finger proximally draws back right thumb ulnar. Left middle finger proximally draws back left index radial.

●524 4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Drop little fingers. (Figure 25.)

Te-matangi-taulele (Shifting-wind). Though this figure does not fit into any series, it is here grouped with the other "wind" figures after which it is always made.

1. Double loop string over thumbs, carry remainder behind little fingers across palms.
2. Indices, distal to little finger ulnar, from ulnar side carries back little finger ulnar and rotates distally in ulnar direction through thumb loop back to position.
3. Drop thumbs.
4. Indices distally into little finger loops, rotate in radial direction back to position.
5. Thumbs proximally draw back radial index strings.
6. Drop little fingers. (Figure 26.)

Wala-ola (Growing-pandanus)

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally into little finger loops. Thumbs rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping little fingers.
3. Middle and ring fingers, proximal to index strings, distally placed on thumb ulnars.
4. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
5. Navaho thumbs.
6. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
7. Indices from distal, ulnar side, pick up thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs. (Figure 27.)
   To open figure, drop indices.

Wala-yila-wua (Meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, proximally into little finger loops. Thumbs rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping little fingers.
3. Middle and ring fingers proximally placed on index radials.
4. Indices distally into thumb loops. Indices rotate in radial direction back to position, dropping middle and ring fingers. (Figure 28.)

Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo (The-inside-turned-down).

1. Position 1.
2. Thumbs proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
3. With mouth pick up left thumb proximal radial and retain.
4. Stretch hands away from mouth, lengthening string held by mouth. Drop mouth string below figure and swing it over figure from ulnar side.

●524 5. With mouth pick up in middle of figure the crossing of thumb ulnars with little finger radials.
6. With hands remove mouth loop and, carrying it in ulnar direction, place it on great toe of right foot. (Figure 29.)
7. Indices pass distal and radial to thumb strings below figure and proximally up into squares formed at juncture of toe strings with little finger ulnars and string ulnar and parallel to them; passing distal to ulnar sides of square, rotate indices in ulnar direction back to position. (Figure 30.)
8. Release toe strings. (Figure 31)
To open, drop indices.

Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga (The-inside-turned-up).
1. Position 1.
2. Little fingers proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
3. With mouth pick up left little finger proximal ulnar string and retain.
4. Stretch hands away from mouth, lengthening string held by mouth. Drop mouth string over figure.
5. With mouth pick up in center of figure the little finger radials and thumb ulnars at the point where they cross. Draw strings taut by stretching hands from mouth.
6. Indices pass ulnar to little finger strings below figure and proximally up into squares formed at juncture of mouth strings with thumb radials and strings running distal and parallel to them; passing distal to radial sides of squares, indices rotate in radial direction back to position.
7. Drop mouth strings. (Figure 32.)
To open, first drop indices, then little fingers.

Paiokiole (Lozenge). A progressive figure.
1. Opening A.
2. Indices distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
4. Indices, passing distal and ulnar to little finger strings rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
6. Indices distally pick up little finger ulnars from ulnar side, carry these distally through thumb loops, and rotate with them in ulnar direction back to position, dropping thumbs.
7. Rotate indices in radial direction.
8. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back little

524 finger radials.

9. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Drop little fingers. The figure is Kiti-kiti-polo-iti. (Figure 33.)
12. Little fingers (as shown in Fig.33) proximally into two diamonds in middle top of figure and pull out lower outer diamond strings.
13. Drop indices.
14. Indices proximally carry back thumb distal ulnars. Figure is Taoa-kula. (the name of a fish). (Figure 34).
15. Thumbs distally into little finger loops, draw back lower outer diamond strings. Drop little fingers. Figure is Langai-tawola (A school of whales). (Figure 35).
16. Middle and ring fingers proximally hold thumb radials, dropping thumbs.
17. Thumbs distally into loops held by middle and ring fingers, carry back lower outer strings of center diamond, dropping middle fingers. This is Paiokiole. (Figure 36).

As he completes each figure in the series, the operator chants its name, attempting to arrive at the next figure when he finishes pronouncing the name of the last.

Tikonikoni (Copulation).

1. Opening A.
2. Indices distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
4. Indices, passing distal and ulnar to little finger strings, rotate in ulnar direction back to position.
5. Thumbs distally remove index loops.
6. Indices distally pick up little finger ulnars from ulnar side, carry these distally through thumb loops, and rotate with them in ulnar direction back to position, dropping thumbs.
7. Indices rotate in ulnar direction.
8. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into index loops.
10. Navaho thumbs. Drop little fingers. (Figure 37).
11. Little fingers proximally into center triangle of the figure (triangle with base at top of figure and apex at bottom) and carry back strings forming sides of the triangle.
12. Drop indices and pull tight with little fingers, making fast the thumb loops. (Figure 38). Insert ring and

524 middle fingers into little finger loops. Drop thumbs and with other fingers slide figure around on hands.

The operator accompanies the making of this figure with a running commentary, telling how a couple go for a stroll to the bush, cut the lover's bed of coconut leaves (represented by figure 37 in movement 10), and proceed (movement 12) to copulate. He invariably ends by holding the figure in his left hand, saying that his couple now hang in the air.

Te-tau-lunga (The-anchor-above).

1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Rotate left little finger in ulnar direction.
3. Right thumb distally draws back right index ulnar. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.
4. Right middle finger proximally draws back from radial side right index radial. Left middle finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
5. Navaho thumbs; drop little fingers. (Figure 39).

Te-tau-lalo (The-anchor-below)

1. Position I on left hand; opening A on right hand.
2. Rotate left thumb in ulnar direction.
3. Right thumb distally draws back right index ulnar. Left thumb proximally draws back left little finger radial.
4. Right middle finger proximally draws back from radial side right index radial. Left middle finger proximally draws back left thumb ulnar.
5. Navaho thumbs; drop little fingers. (Figure 40).

Te-kivi-a-te-kakai [The-kivi(?)-of-the-people].

1. Opeing A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Thumbs, proximal to all strings, draw back little finger ulnars from ulnar side.
4. Drop little fingers.
5. Thumbs distally carry back index ulnars.
6. Little fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
7. Drop thumbs.
8. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
9. Thumbs proximally into index loops at points dorsal to palmar strings.
10. Navaho thumbs.
11. Indices distally into thumb triangles (of which thumb palmar strings constitute the radial sides), and

524 rotate back to position, dropping little fingers. (Figure 41).

Te-kivi a-Yilewu [The-kivi (?)-of-(the man)-Yilewu].

1. Opening A.
2. Pass left index finger loop over right index loop on to the right index finger, placing right index loop on left index finger.
3. Drop thumbs.
4. Thumbs, proximal to all strings, draw back little finger ulnars from ulnar side.
5. Drop little fingers.
6. Thumbs distally carry back index ulnars.
7. Little fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
8. Drop thumbs.
9. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally draw back little finger radials.
10. Thumbs proximally into index loops at points dorsal to palmar strings.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Indices distally into thumb triangles (of which thumb palmar strings are the radial sides), and rotate back to position, dropping little fingers. (Figure 42).

Te-imu-o-Te Lautalo (The-oven-of-Te-Lautalo).

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximally from ulnar side draw back little finger radials and ulnars.
3. Middle fingers, distal to index strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
4. Thumbs proximally on index ulnars.
5. Indices proximally into middle finger loops, carry back middle finger ulnars, which are proximally taken up by thumbs which return to position as the middle fingers and indices are dropped and the figure stretched on thumbs and little fingers. (Figure 43).

Te-tavatava-o-te-wui-kiole [The-tavatava-(trap?)-of-the rats].

1. Position 1 on left hand; opening A on right.
2. Left thumb proximally removes left little finger loop.
3. Left little finger, distal and radial to distal thumb strings, distally removes thumb proximal loop.
4. Repeat 2 and 3.
5. Repeat 2 and 3.

● 524 6. Repeat 2 and 3.
7. Left index finger proximally picks up right index palmar string.
8. Drop right index loop and, gently stretching right hand out, wiggle the rat (dropped loop) (Figure 44)
[539] along towards the left hand to the rhythm of the chant:

Te kiole e, ata ngingi,	O rat, good at crying "Ngingi",
E totolo koe i te taupoto,	You crawl on the roof's ridge,
E leio koe ki te tala lewu,	You jump down to the gable end,
Koa patua koe e te tangata,	You are killed by the people,
Koa tu to paepae watu.	They erect your gravestones.

Te-la-palepale (The-setting-sun)
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Index fingers proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back index proximal ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back index distal ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to index distal radials, proximally draw back index proximal radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 45).

Moamoa (name of a coral organism).
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Indices proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs, proximal to proximal index strings, draw back from ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximal to distal index strings, draw back from ulnar side distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers distal to distal index strings proximally draw back proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Turn palms out. (Figure 46).

Te-wua-ya-valu (The-fleet-of-eight).
1. With right hand, loop string across palm and back of left hand ulnar to thumb, then wind hanging dorsal string 6 times around left hand and fingers, each succeeding loop distal to the former. Place final dorsal string of 6th loop between left ring and little fingers, and hold thus.
2. With right hand, pick up end of hanging dorsal

524 string and make a loop in it by crossing dextral string behind sinistral string. Pass crossing pair of strings, at point where they cross, from ulnar side, under palmar strings of left hand.

3. Little finger and thumb of right hand take up hanging double distal loops. Little finger and thumb of right hand take up two proximal loops of strings slipped under palmar strings.
4. Let palmar strings slip on to the middle of figure as hands are stretched apart. Separate the loops in the middle of the figure to represent canoe sterns. (Figure 47).

Te-tai-kiki (The-tide-going-out).

1. Double loop string over thumbs, remainder over palms behind thumbs.
2. Indices proximally draw back thumb ulnars, dropping thumbs.
3. Thumbs, passing proximal and ulnar to little finger strings, proximally into index loops, rotate in ulnar direction back to position, dropping indices.
4. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
5. Indices proximally draw back thumb ulnars. (Fig. 48). Drop thumbs.

Repeating indefinitely movements 2 to 5, the figure (the tide) becomes smaller (lower) each time (figs. 49 and 50) until only a line is visible in the center.

To show tide flowing in again and to open figure, place figure on flat surface; with left hand pick up loops previously held by right hand and with right hand loops previously held by left hand. Then repeat again movements 2 to 5 until tide is well in and the figure open.

Matua kalou [name of a type of eel (?)]. A progressive figure.

1. Position 1 on right hand. With left hand revolve hanging string twice, making a double cross in center; take up position 1 on left hand; proceed to opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Navaho thumbs. Figure is Matua kalou. (Figure 51.)
4. Drop thumbs.
5. Indices distally in little finger loops, rotate in distal direction back to position. Figure is Ui kauana. (Figure 52.)
6. Thumbs proximally draw back index radials which do not pass to little fingers.
7. Drop little fingers. Figure is Ui lalapa. (Figure 53.)

●524 Te-ko-lemu-yengiyengi (The-yellow-anus).

1. Position 1.
2. Indices proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Thumbs, distal to index radials, proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
4. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 54.)

[539] Work thumbs and fingers in and out to the rhythm of the chant:

Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Titiko i tua, titiko i tai,	Defecates at the back beach, defecates at lagoon beach,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e.	The yellow anus.

Tava (meaning unknown). Played by two people.

First player:

1. Opening A.
2. Drop little fingers.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back from ulnar side proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Stretch right hand forward, bring left hand inward to body, turn both palms up and stretch figure. (Figure 55.)

Second player takes up figure by process called tui (to sew).

8. At end of figure held by first player's right hand, insert little fingers distally into two outer triangles (held by first player's thumb and middle finger).
9. Pass thumbs distally into and through next outer triangles and proximally up out of next outer triangles.
10. Insert little fingers into two outer radial loops held by first player's left thumb and middle finger.

First player removes all his fingers. Figure is Tava. (Figure 56.)

First player proximally inserts thumb and index of each hand into each of two outer loops of figure held by other players's thumb and index of right hand, second player dropping his hold on those two loops while taking hold proximally of each of the other two loops with thumb and index of each hand. (Figure 57.)

Together the players count: tai tava (one tava), lua tava, tolu tava, and on up through 10 tava, both players with indices

524 distally drawing back central "diamond" outer strings, releasing thumbs, and thus reproducing the same figure, Tava, for each count. Then with their hands players raise and lower the figure to the rhythm of the chant:

[539] Pa pa talinga ti lele, (?)
Pa pa talinga ti lele, (?)
Te wale o Matano — The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola — Has twenty thatch sheets
Te wale o Matano — The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola. — Has twenty thatch sheets

The figure is then laid on a flat surface and opened out to give the figure which resulted in movement 7, by picking up distally the distal of the two sets of loops on the dextral side of the figure and carrying these to the left. The next player now repeats movements 8 to 10, the sewing process, and the game is repeated indefinitely.

Taku-pu-lele-lua (My-hole-becomes-two).

1. Opening A.
2. Ring fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
3. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb, distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
5. Left index finger proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Right index finger proximally removes right thumb loop.
7. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
8. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
9. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
10. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
11. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
12. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
13. Ring fingers distally into oblongs formed by ring finger radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
14. Drop little fingers and thumbs. This is the first "hole". (Figure 58.)
15. Drop indices for the second hole. (Figure 59.)

Te-pu-a-loto (a canoe name).

1. Double the string and loop it over thumbs.
2. Indices distally draw back thumb radials.

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3. Right thumb proximally draws back left thumb radial-palmar string.
4. With teeth pick up right thumb double proximal strings from distal side, carry these over right thumb and to center of the figure, retaining hold with teeth.
5. Indices distally into thumb loops, rotate back to position.
6. Middle and ring fingers press down from ulnar side on index finger distal ulnars.
7. Release mouth strings. (Figure 60.)
   Open by releasing thumbs and indices. (Figure 73)

Te-itu-wala-kula (pandanus-fruit-with-ripe-keys).

1. Position 1.
2. Pass right hand dorsally through left hand loop and left hand dorsally through right hand loop.
3. Indices proximally pick up opposite hand palmar strings.
4. Slip index loops over wrists.
5. Indices distally pick up little finger radials and proceed distally into thumb loops, rotating in ulnar direction back to position.
6. Drop thumbs.
7. Thumbs proximally remove index finger loops.
8. With opposite hand, pick up double wrist loops and place them across palms behind thumbs and little fingers.
9. Repeat 5.
10. Drop little fingers.
11. Little fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
12. Indices pass from ulnar-proximal side below string running parallel and ulnar to ulnar thumb string, over the intersecting diagonal string, and under ulnar thumb string.
13. Drop thumbs and without stretching figure pick up proximally the distal index finger radials hanging down toward thumb. (Figure 61.)
    For the lui of this figure, drop little fingers.

Te-tala-o-te-yamāyama [The-story-(?)-of-the seaweed].

1. Opening A.
2. Thumbs, distal to index strings, proximal to little finger strings, pick up from ulnar side, little finger ulnars, returning to position proximal to little finger radials.

●524 3. Right little finger, proximal to right index strings, proximally draws back through its own loop right thumb ulnar.

4. Left little finger, proximal to left index strings, draws back through its own loop, from radial side, left index radial.

5. Navaho thumbs inversely: with mouth, draw back distal thumb radials under proximal thumb radials and drop them over on the ulnar side of the thumbs.

6. Indices distally remove thumb loops.

7. Counting upward on either side of the figure from little finger ulnars (which are counted 1), insert thumbs under second, over third, and under fourth strings in figure, drawing back strings 2 and 4. (Figure 62.)

8. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 63.)
For the lui of this figure, drop distal index loops.

Kumete (Food bowl).

1. Opening A.

2. Indices distally into little finger loops, rotate back to position, dropping little fingers.

3. Middle fingers distally press downward on index ulnars.

4. Drop thumbs carefully so that thumb radials fall to the sides of and below figure, forming two central diamonds in figure.

5. Insert thumbs through lower outer triangles into diamonds, drawing back lower outer diamond strings. (Figure 64.)
To open, drop thumbs.

Kupenga (Fishing net).

1. Position 1 on left hand.

2. Loop other end of string around big and second toes of left foot.

3. With right hand draw back string passing behind toes between the toes and place it on left index finger.

4. Place right index proximally on left index ulnar string passing under left little finger ulnar, carrying back the latter.

5. Rotate this latter string (little finger ulnar) under index ulnar.

6. Place right thumb behind, ulnar to, left index ulnar, drop right index, and carry right thumb distal to left index radial.

7. Repeat operation on index radial and thumb strings, inserting thumb proximally into loop remaining.

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8. With right hand draw back from second toe the ulnar second toe string and loop it over little finger.
9. Repeat movements 4 to 7, as often as desired, each time increasing the net's length. (Figure 65.)

The number of warp strings will depend on the length of the original string.

10. Remove all loops off left thumb and hold. Remove loop off left big toe and slip through thumb loops, catching with each thumb an end of the loop slipped through. Repeat this process with little fingers and 2nd toe loops. Then stretch loops apart, spread net meshes, and display on hands. (Figure 66.)

Yele moa (Tie the chicken). Trick figure.

1. Place string around neck. Hold hanging string in both hands. With right hand loop string once around the neck and draw tight.
2. Place sinistrally hanging string over the palm of the left hand so that the string passes behind thumb and little finger and across palm.
3. Pick up dextrally hanging string with right hand and loop it over left hand, the string passing from the radial side parallel to the first string, behind thumb and little fingers, and across palm.
4. Drop little finger on left hand. With fingers of both hands, pick up loop hanging from thumb and place it over the head.

Pull on the loop hanging low on the chest and the string will disengage itself from the neck. As the demonstrator pulls he says, "Motu te ua" (Severed the neck); watchers also call this out when they see someone doing the trick incorrectly.

Hand slip trick. Nameless.

Hold one end of loop in left hand. Right hand passes from radial side through the loop, rotates with wrist turned down and to the right, behind and around dextrally hanging string, passes radially around sinistral hanging string, and reenters loop from ulnar side. Draw right hand out and the strings fall off.

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Figure 1. Te-Imu-o-Wale-Puapua

4: Beaglehole-31 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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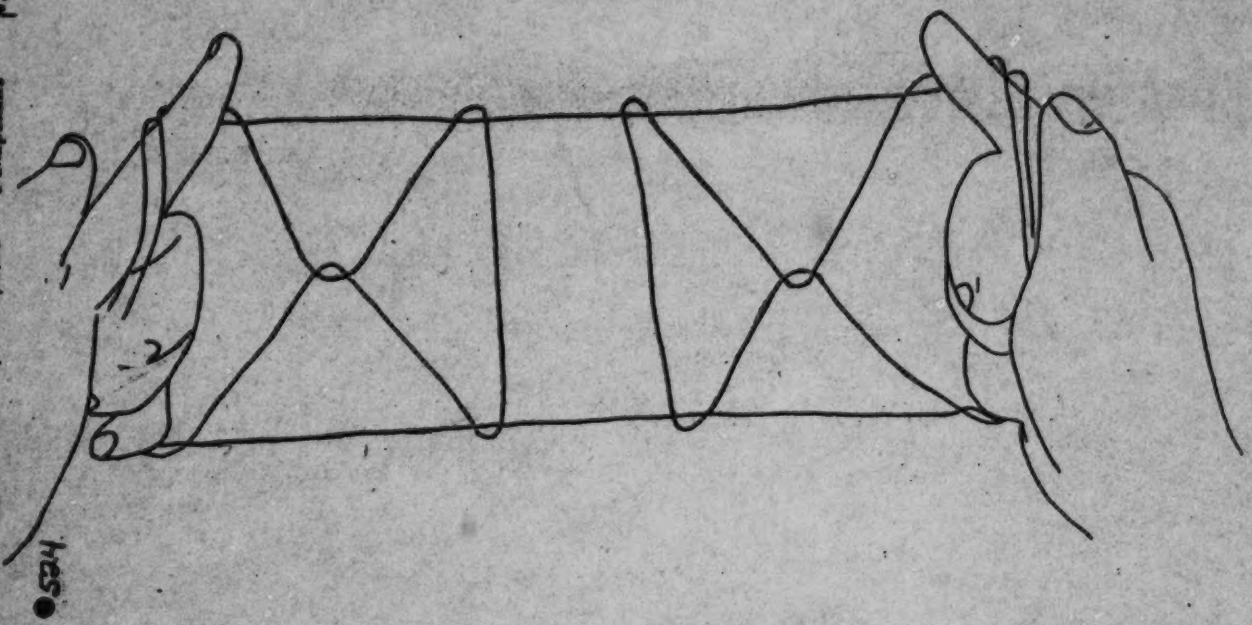
Figure 2. Te-Imu-o-Wale-Puapua (Secondary figure, lui)



4: Beagleholes-E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.32

4: Beaglehole-M E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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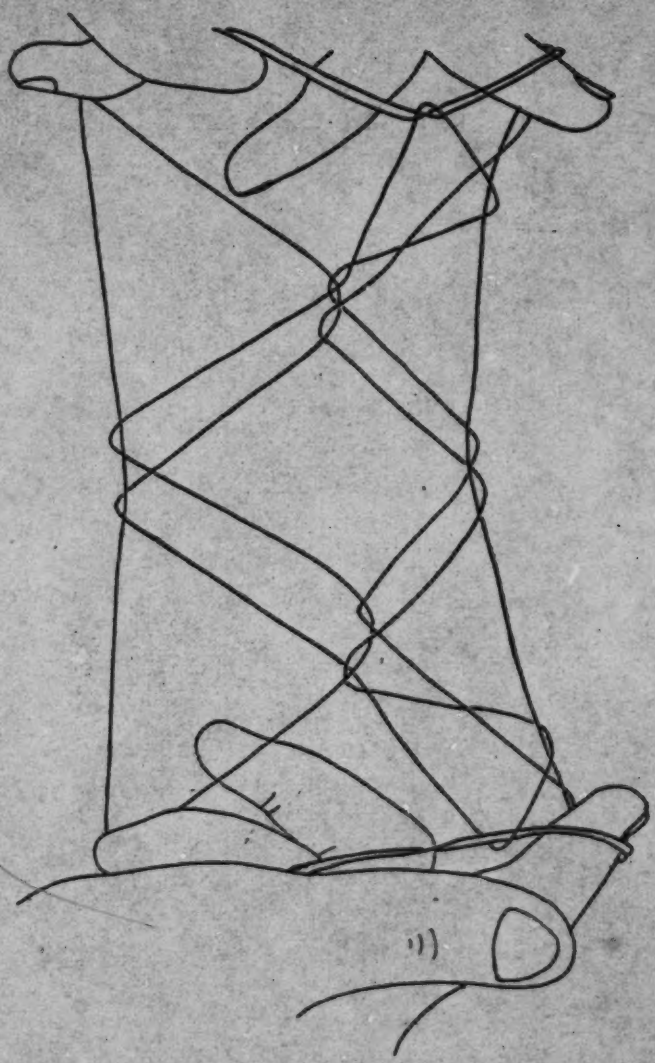
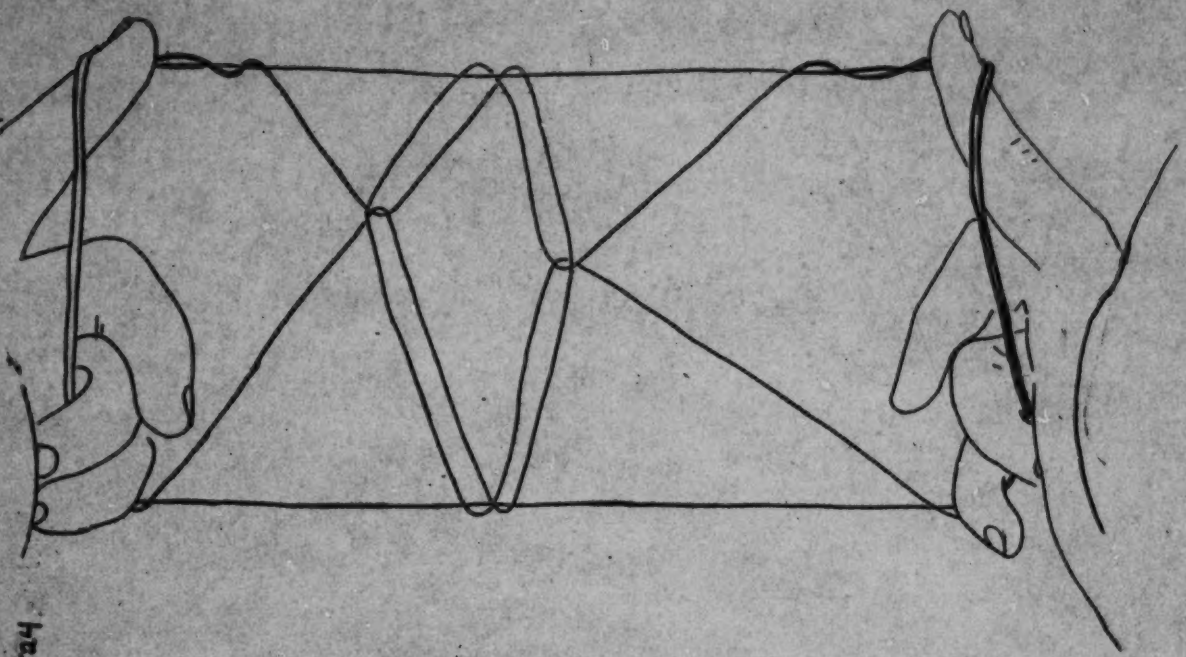


Figure 3. Te-Imu-o-Tima

Figure 4. Te-Imu-o-Tima (Secondary figure, lui)



4: Bazglehole E-3 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.34

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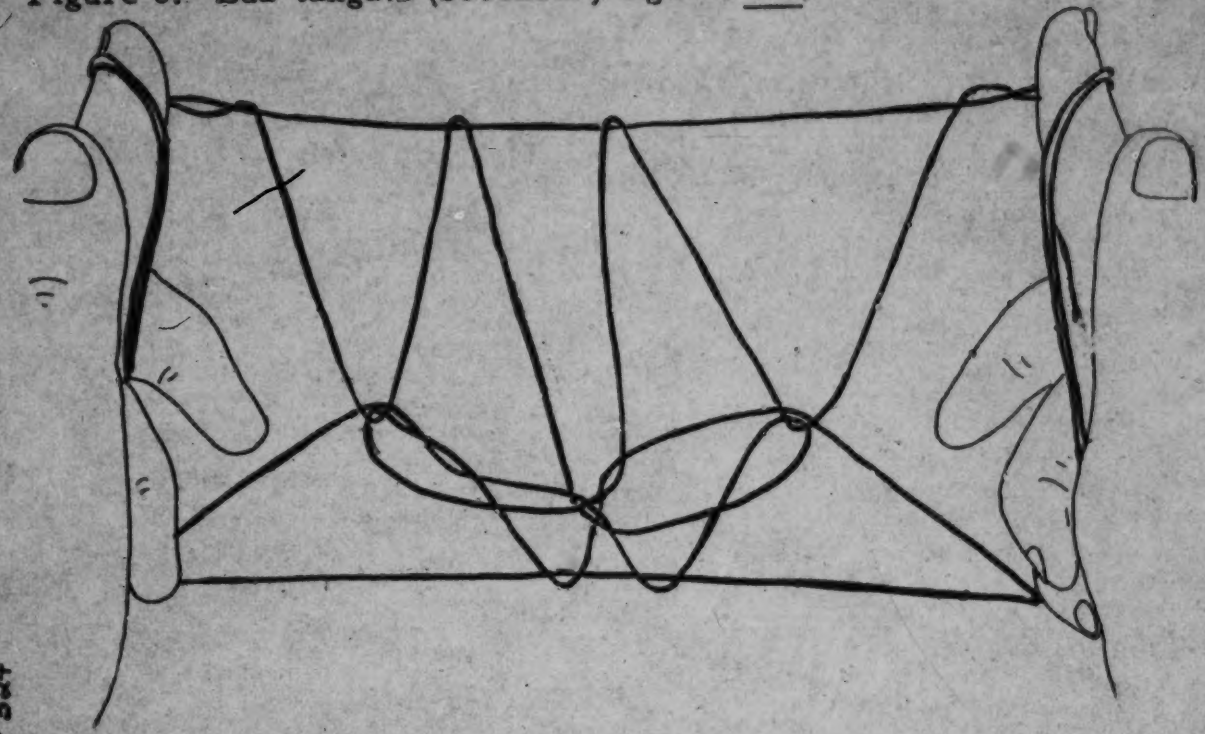
Figure 5. Lua-tangata-wetu-i-te-akau

Figure 6. Lua-tangata (Secondary figure, lui)



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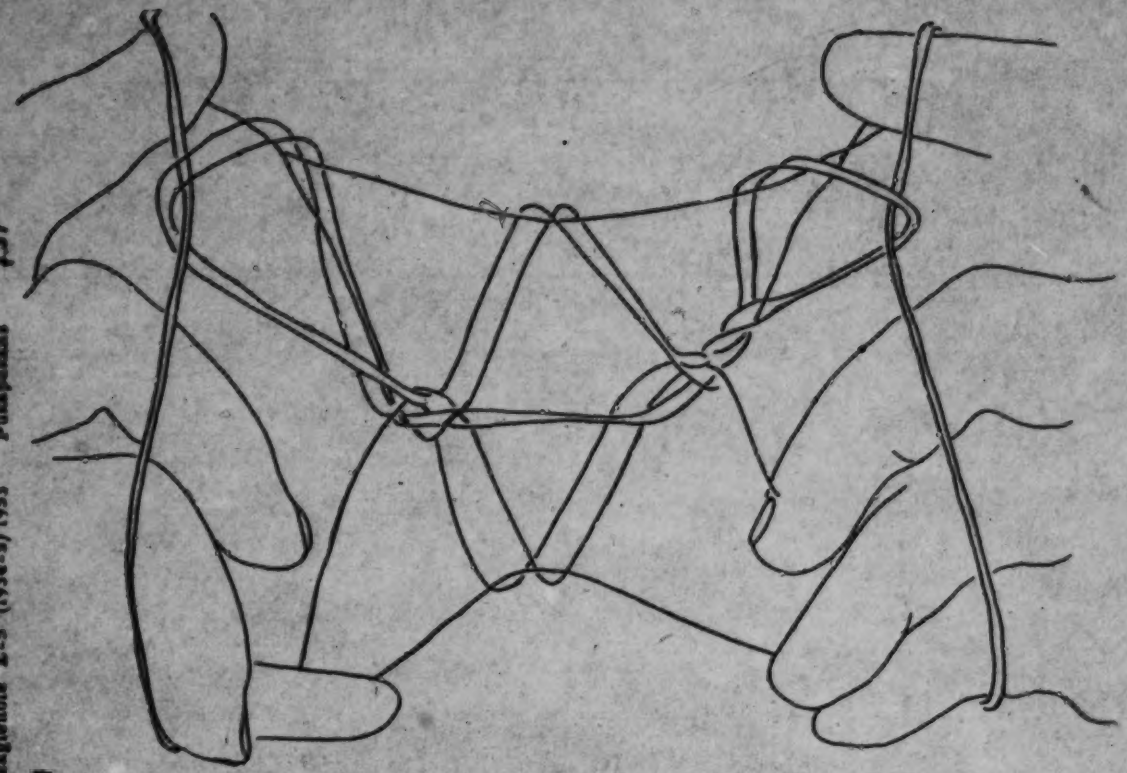

Figure 7. Te-ikapaetai

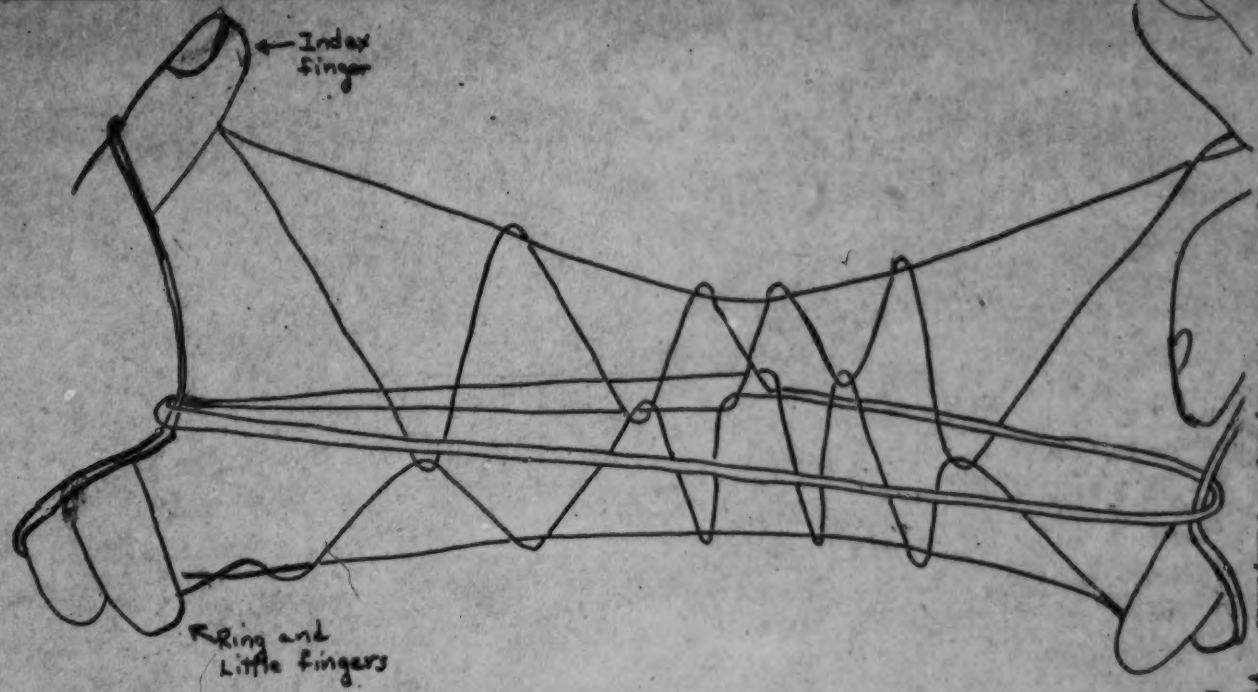

Figure 8. Te-papanga-o-te-waulua

Figure 9. Te-langi-loa

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Figure 10. Te-langi-loa (Secondary figure, lui)

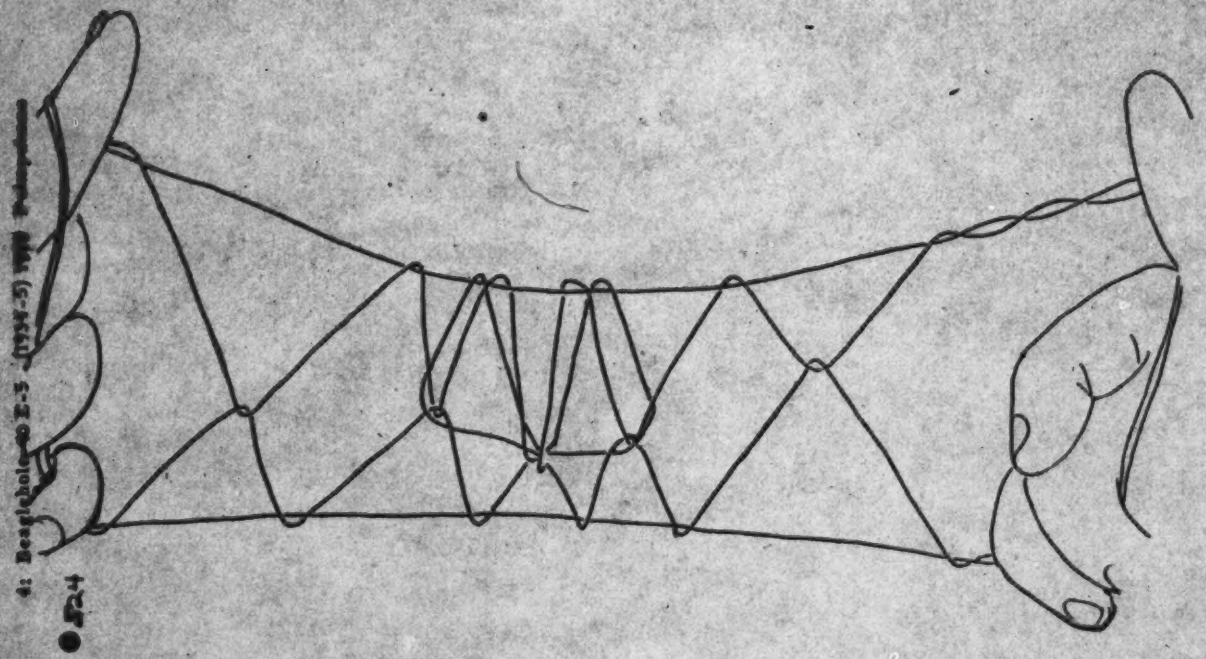

Figure 11. Taku-laukape

Figure 12. Na-wiwi

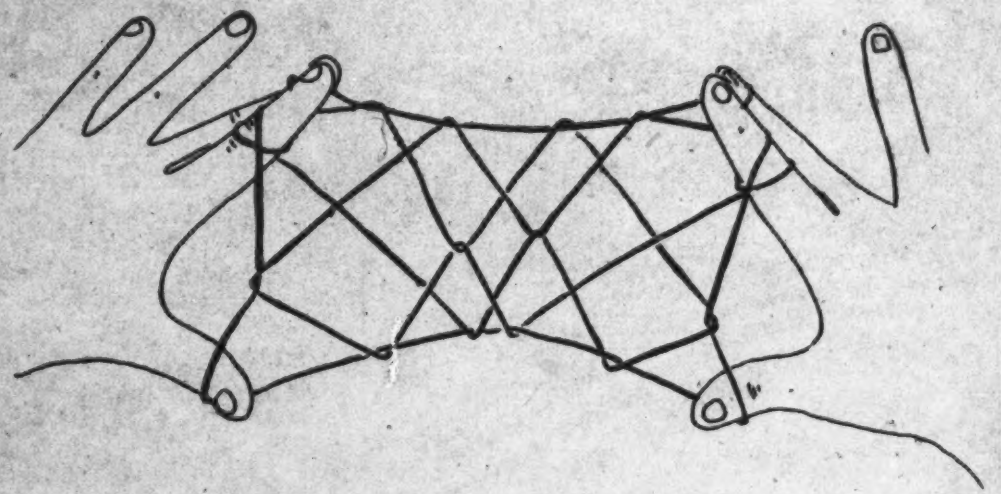

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Figure 13. Te-va-o-Manuyiki-ma-Lakawanga

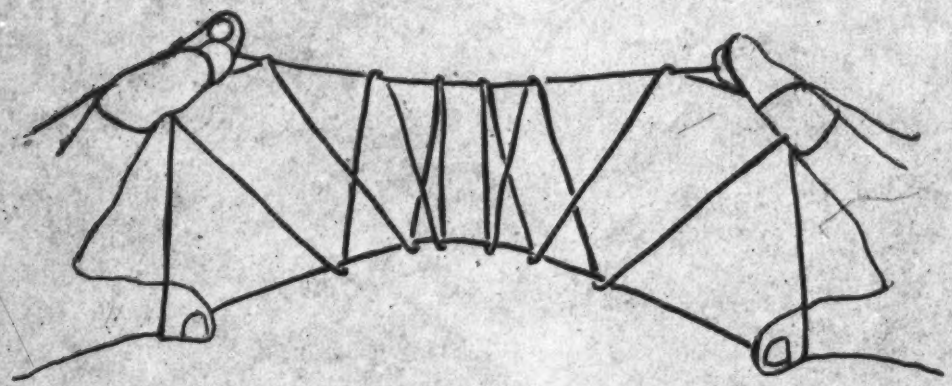

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Figure 14. Te-pitopito-i-Kolo

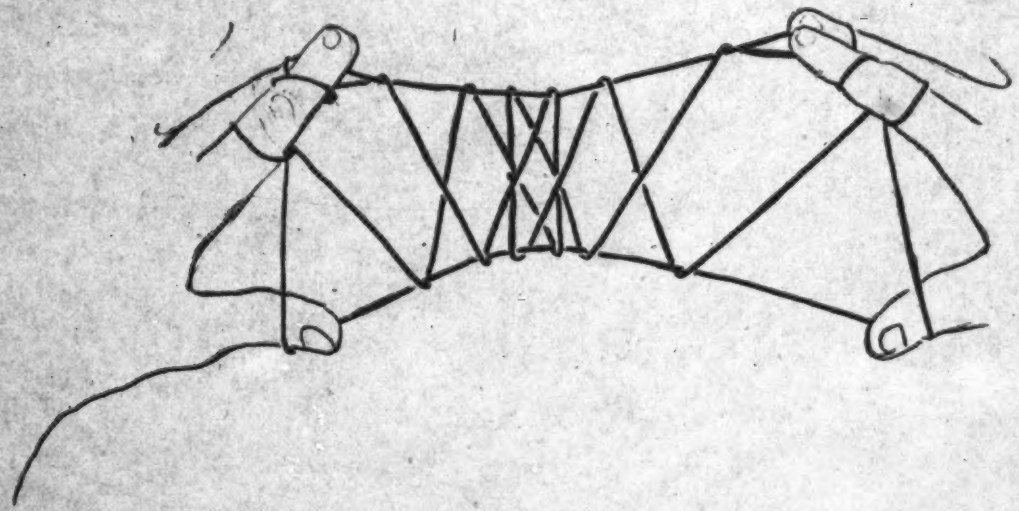

Figure 15. Te-kapu-ta-ika

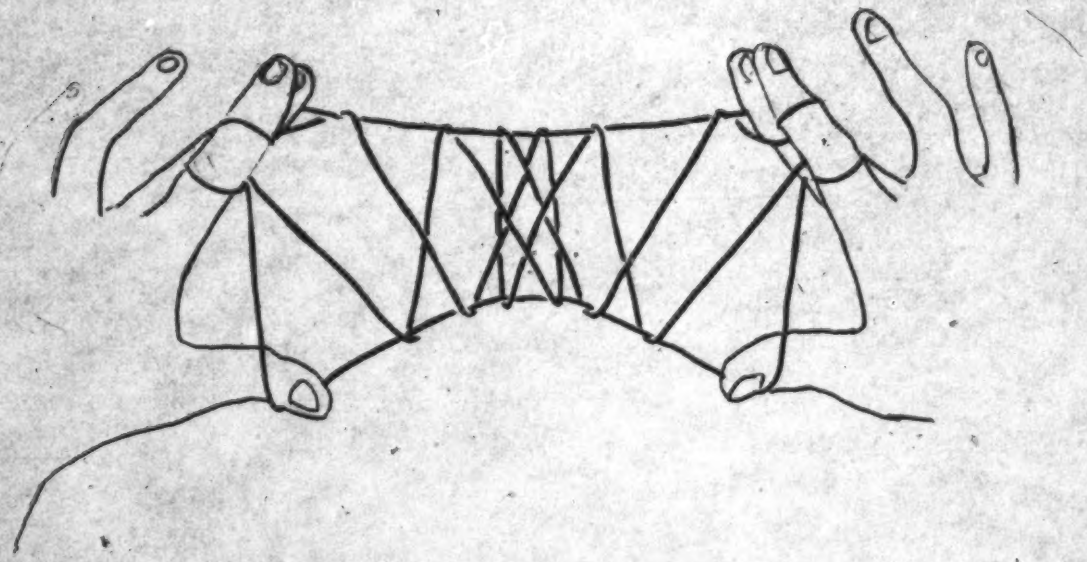

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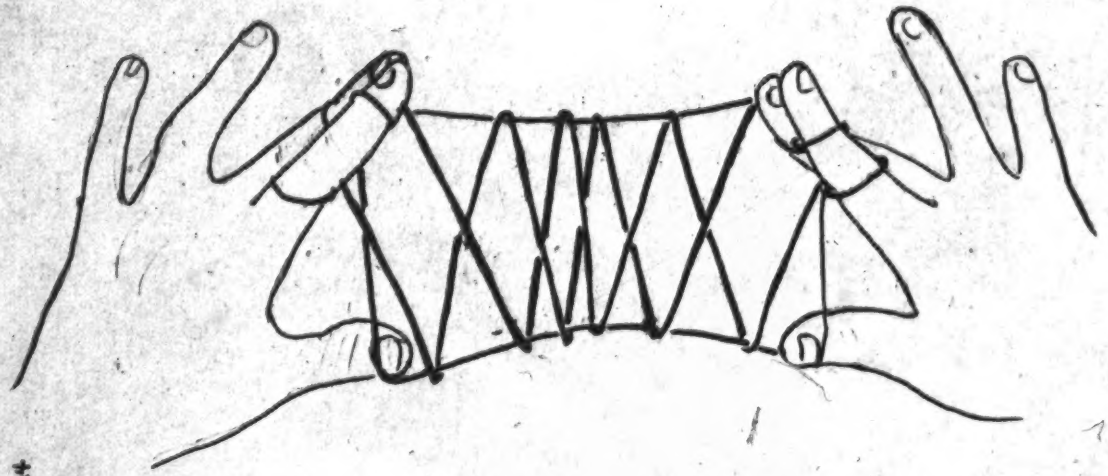
Figure 16. Kau-a-pulaka



4: Beaglehole-46 E-3 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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Figure 17. Te-ponaunau

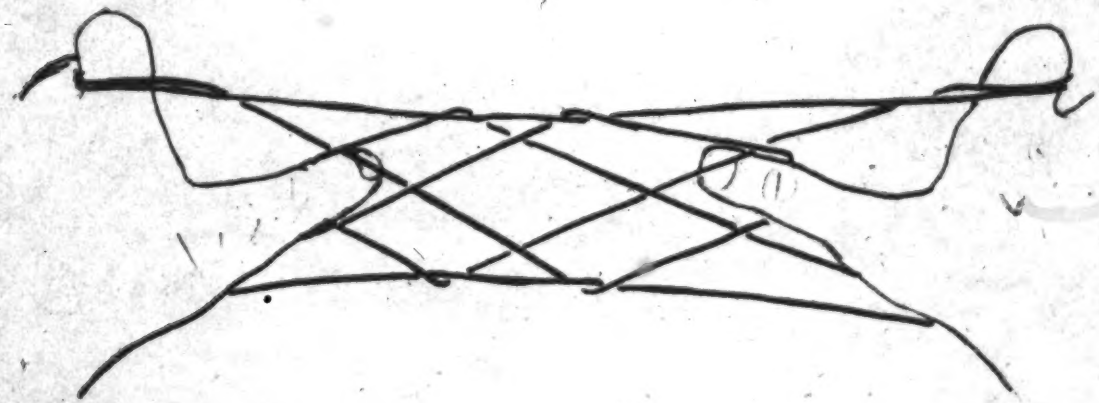

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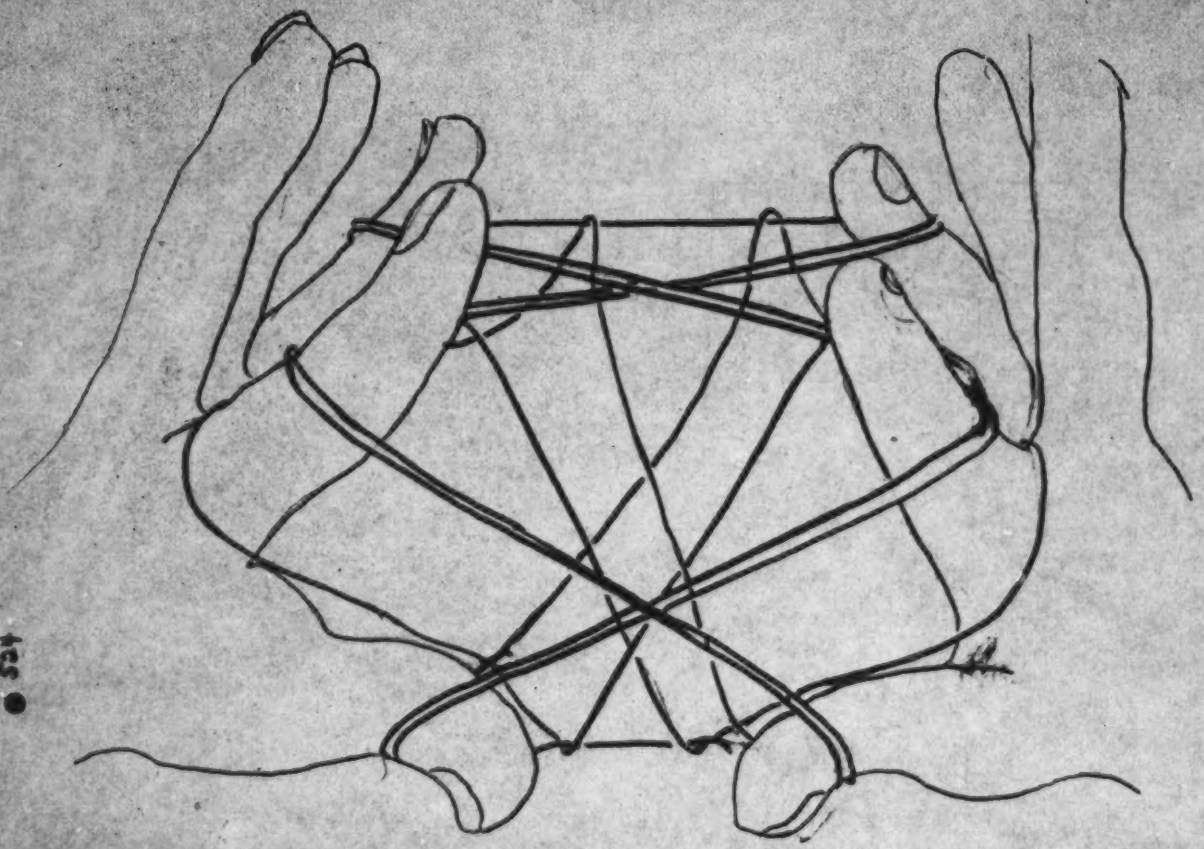
Figure 18. Te-ponaunau (Secondary figure, lui)

Figure 19. Katatuna

Figure 20. Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (Movement 7, a three-dimensional figure)



4: Bengtsholc-Ro E-5 (1994-5)(95) Pukapukas

Figure 21. Te-pu-o-Mumumaveka (Completed figure)

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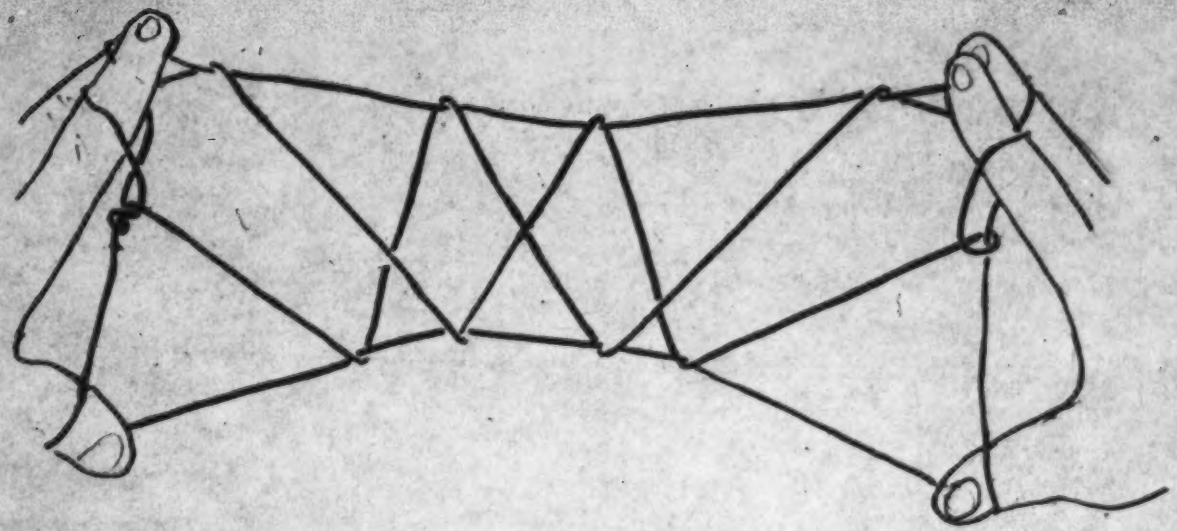
Figure 22. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 1 a)



4: Beaglehole-R. E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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Figure 23. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 1b)

Figure 24. Te-matangi-yauleka (made by method 2)

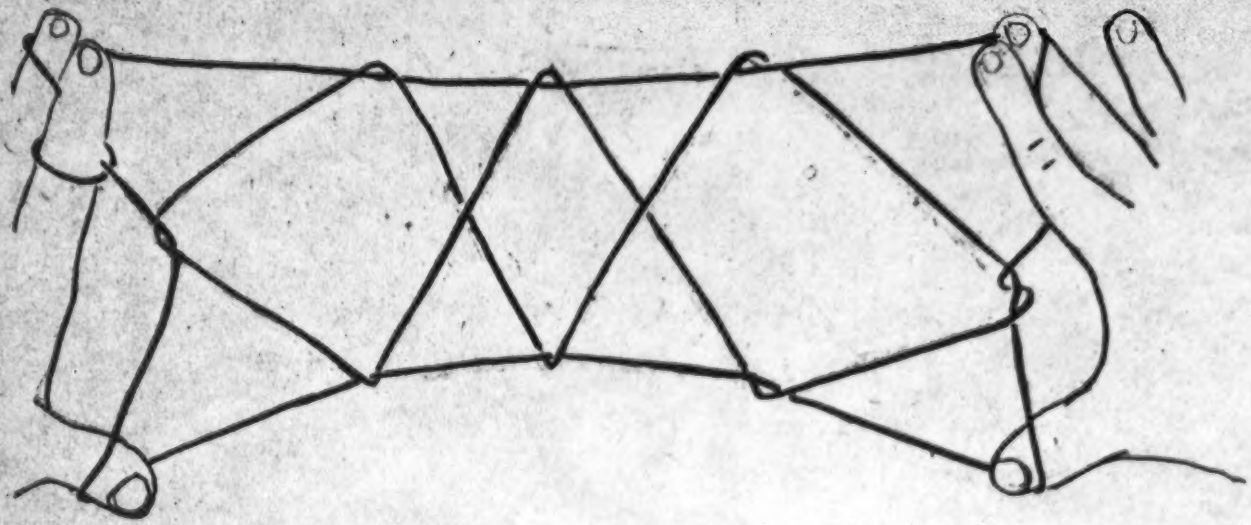

Figure 25. Te-matangi-tavili

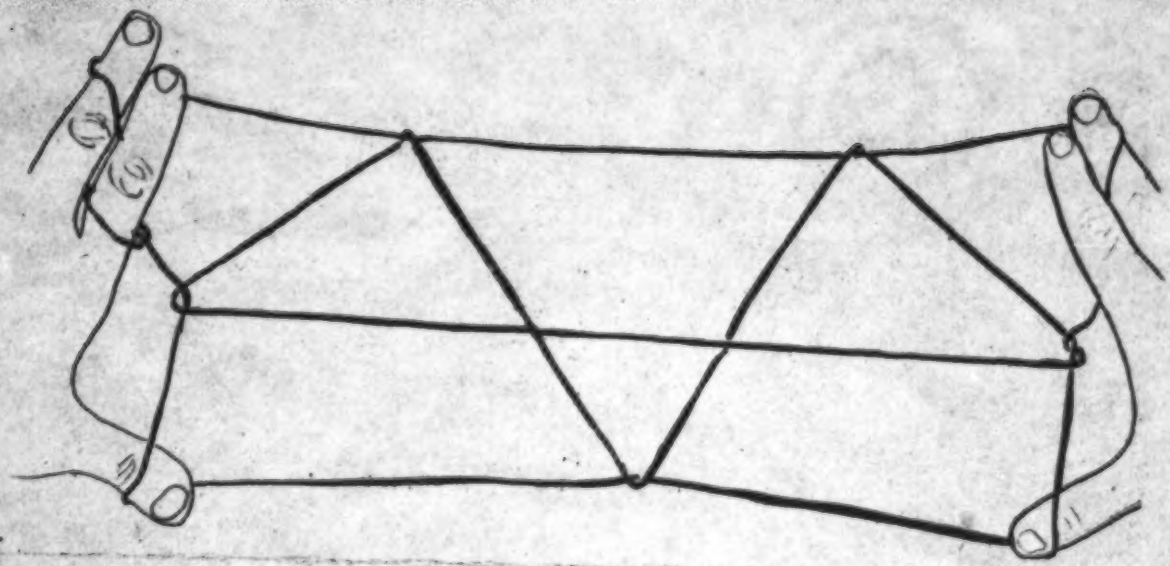

Figure 26. Te-matangi-taulele

4: Beeglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1935 Pukapukans

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Figure 27. Wala-ola

Bishop Museum Bulletin 1953 Pukapukans p. 57
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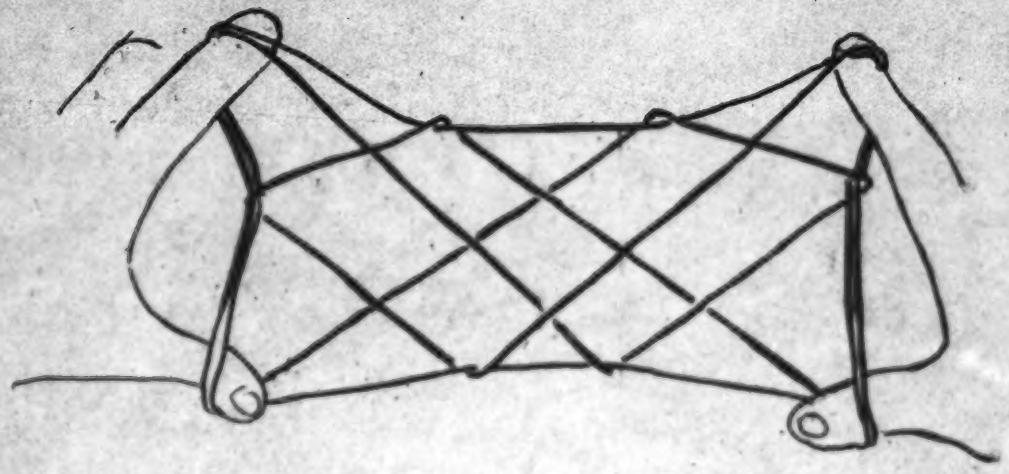


Figure 28. Wala-yila-wua

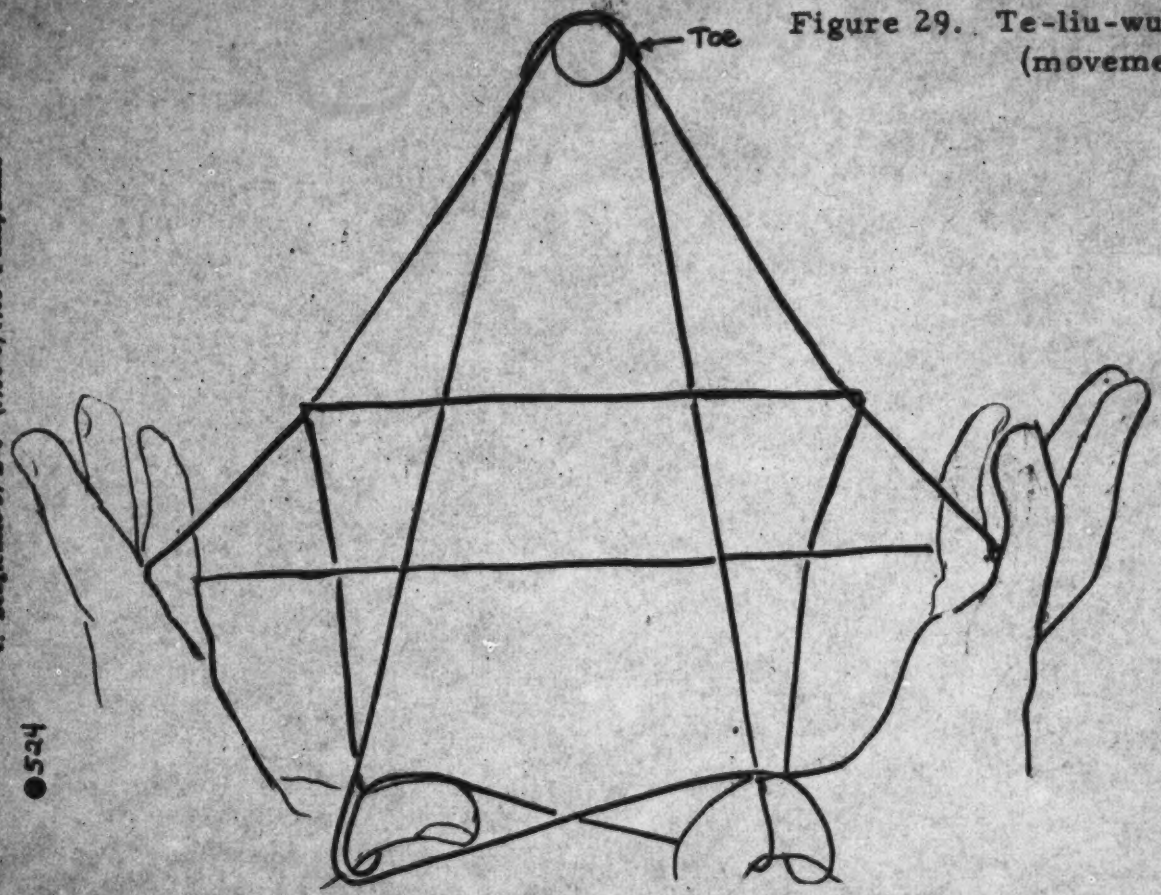
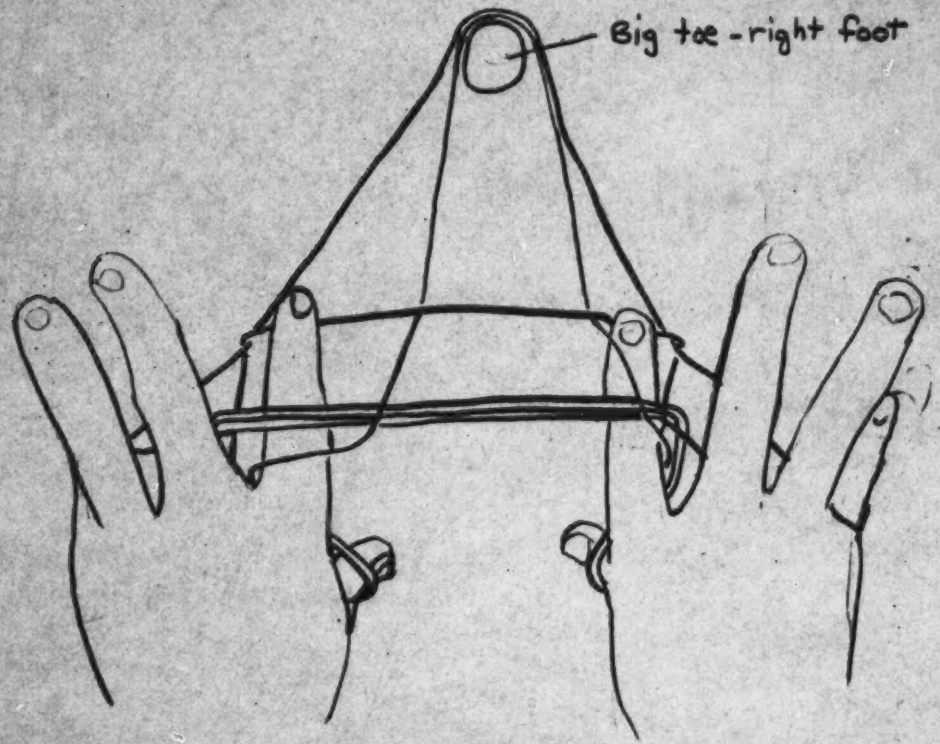


Figure 29. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo
(movement 6)

4: Bangkok-69 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pakapakma

●524

Figure 30. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo (Movement 7, showing the pickup)



4: Beaglehole-OE-3 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Figure 31. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lalo (the completed three-dimensional figure)

E. Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans p.61

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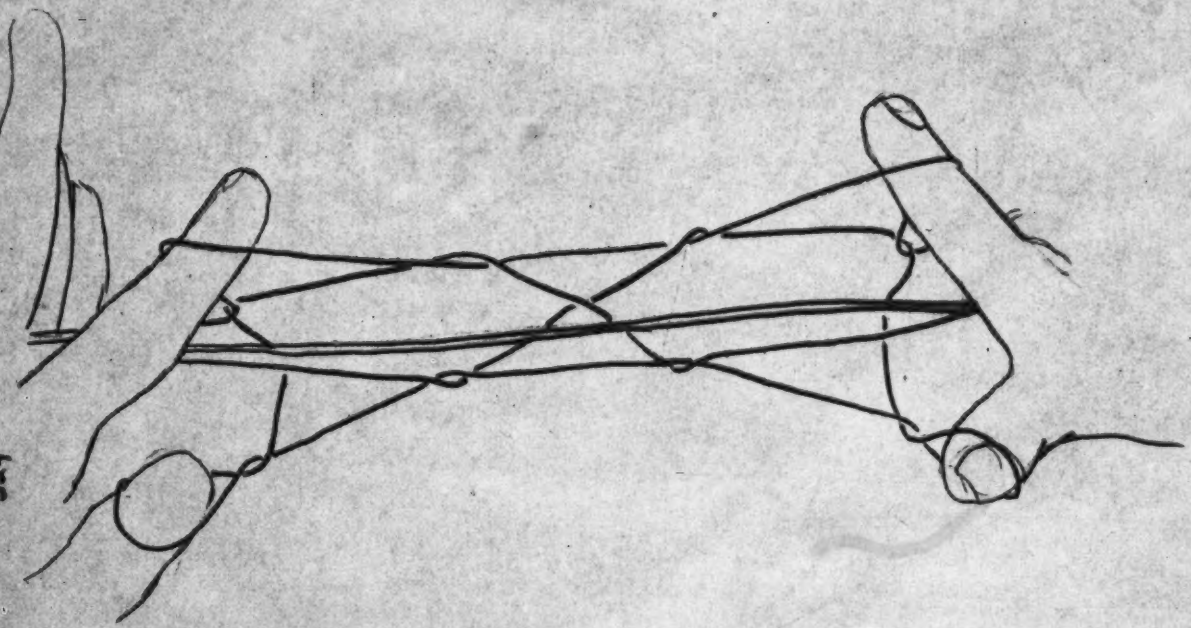
Figure 32. Te-liu-wuwuli-ki-lunga



4: Beaglehole-42 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

SAY

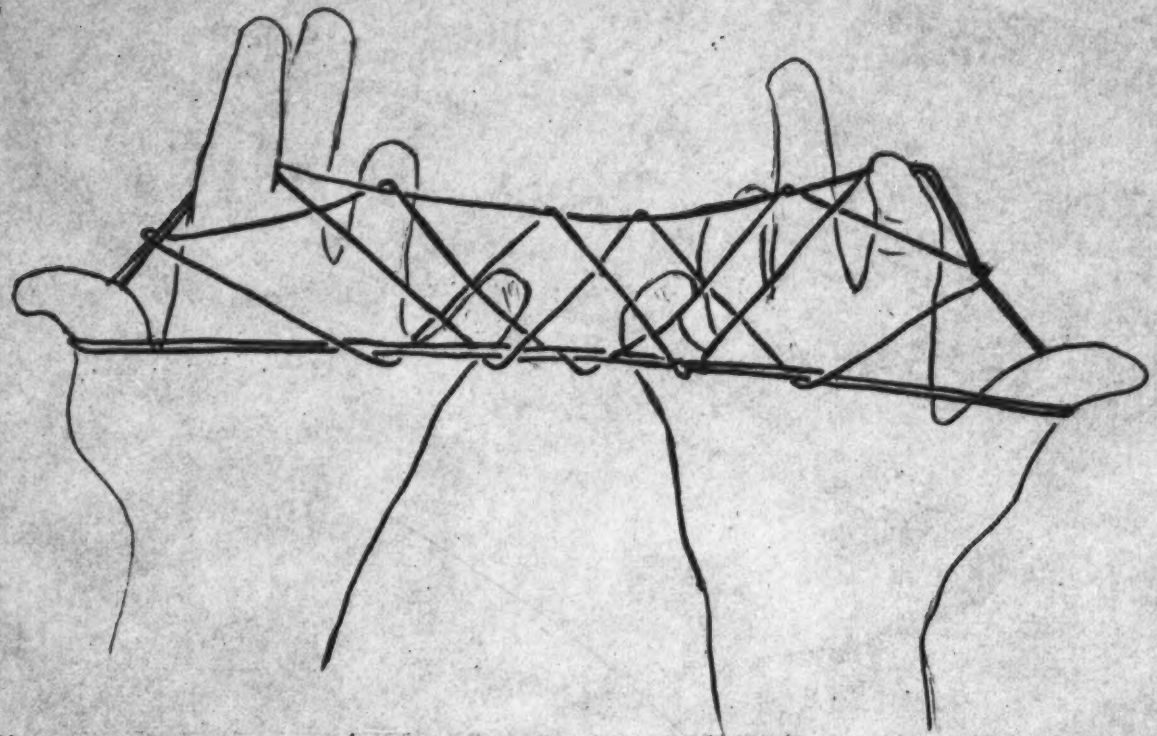


Figure 33. Paiokiole (Movement 11, Kiti-kiti-polo-iti). Figure also shows insertion of little fingers, movement 12.

4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans p.63

Figure 34. Paiokiole (Movement 14, Taoa-kula)

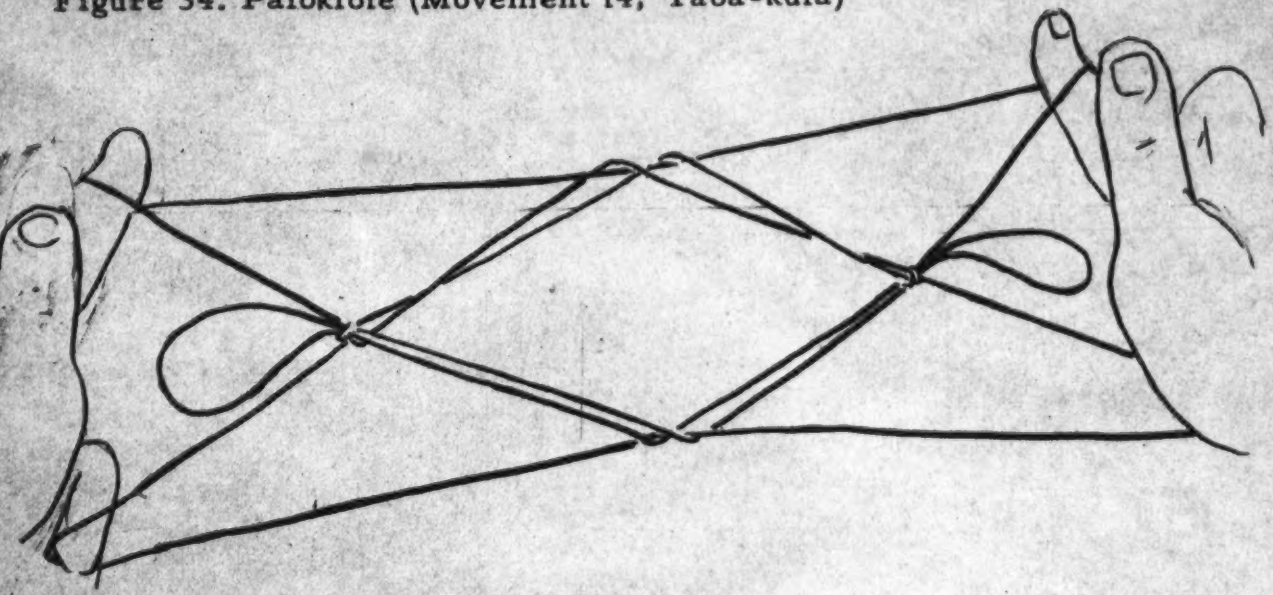
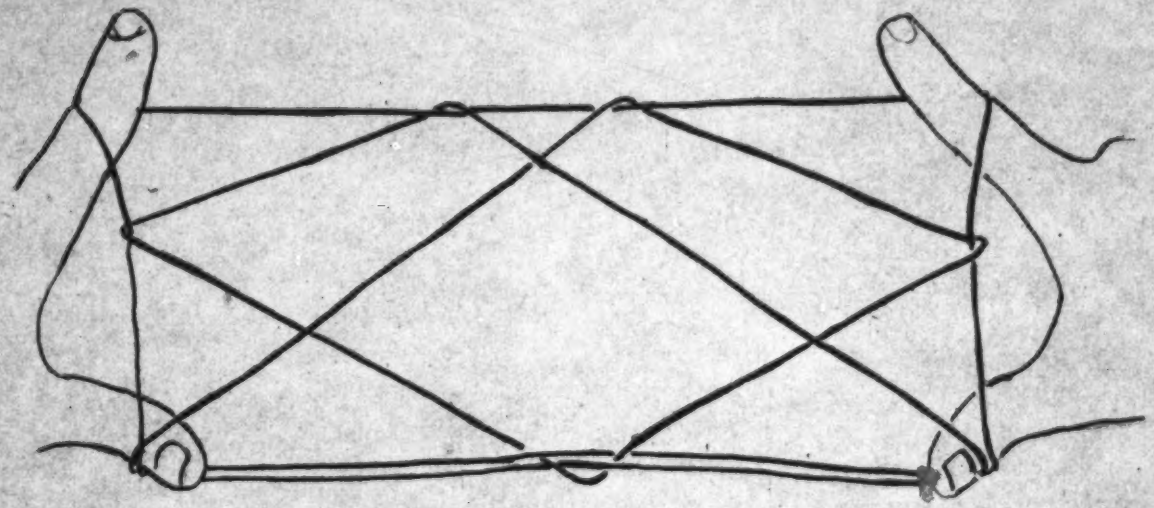


Figure 35. Paiokiole (Movement 15, Langai-tawola)



4: Beaglehole E-S (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.65

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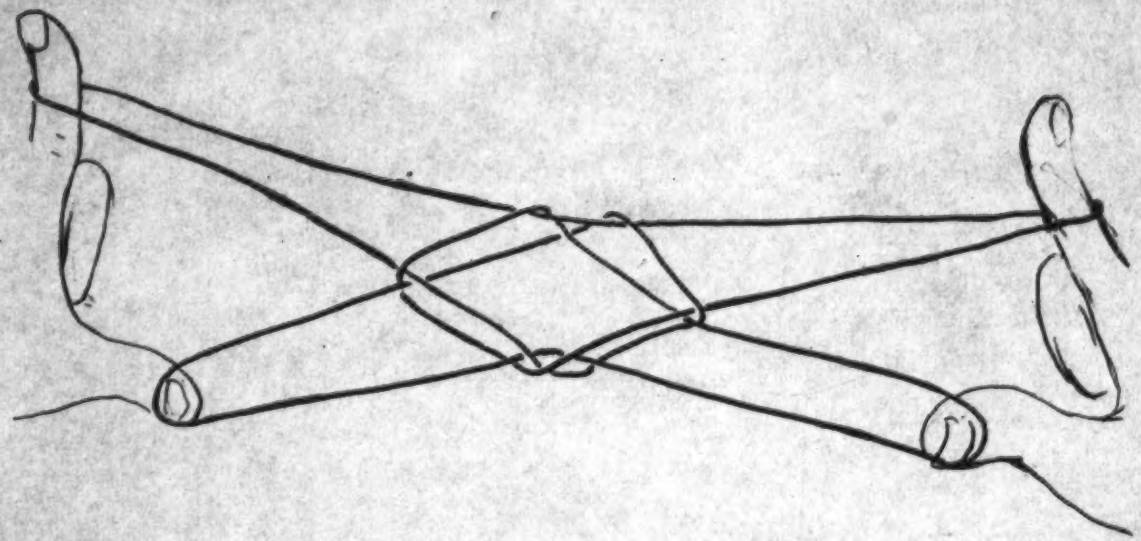
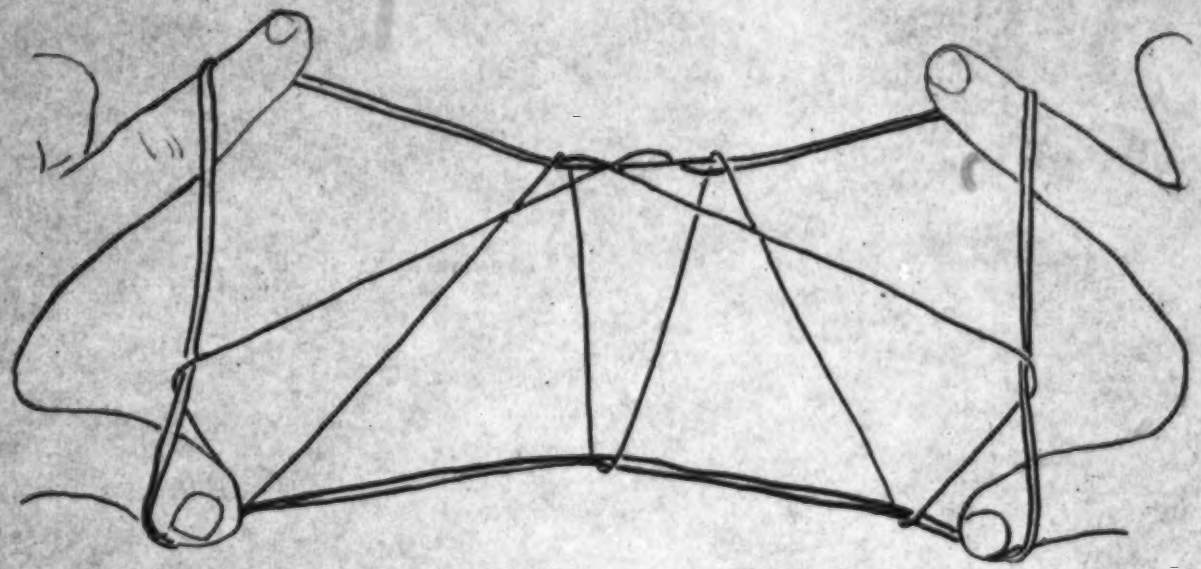
Figure 36. Paickiole (Completed figure)



4: Beagiehole-66 B-S (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

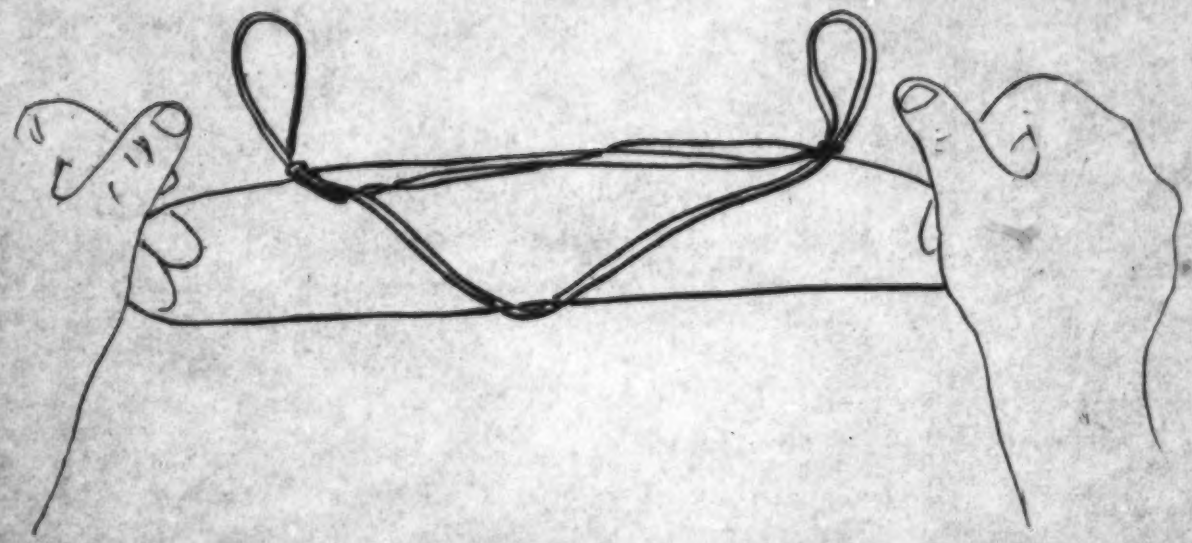
● 524

Figure 37. Tikonikoni (Movement 10)



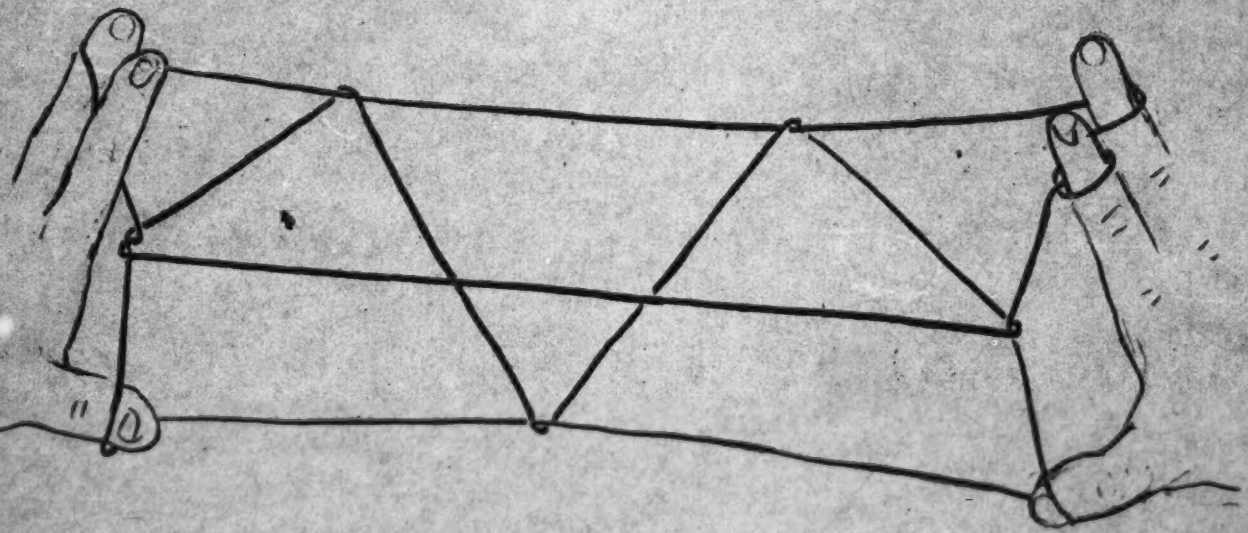
4: Bangiakoio-67 E-5 (1956-5) 1953 Pelagrinos
524

Figure 38. Tikonikoni (Completed figure)



6: Bengiokoin E-5 (1934-5) 1955 Pukapukans p.48

Figure 39. Te-tau-lunga



4: Beschicke-er E-S (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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Figure 40. Te-tau-lalo

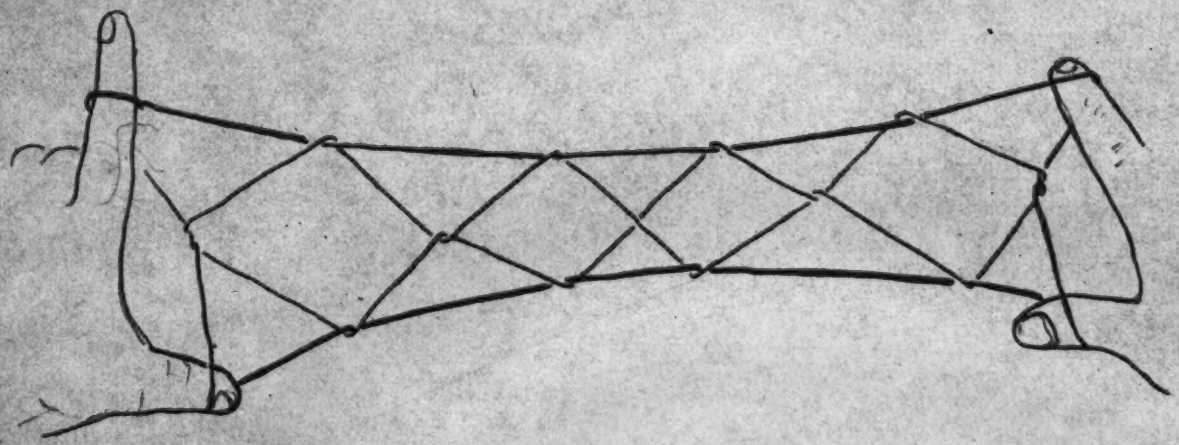
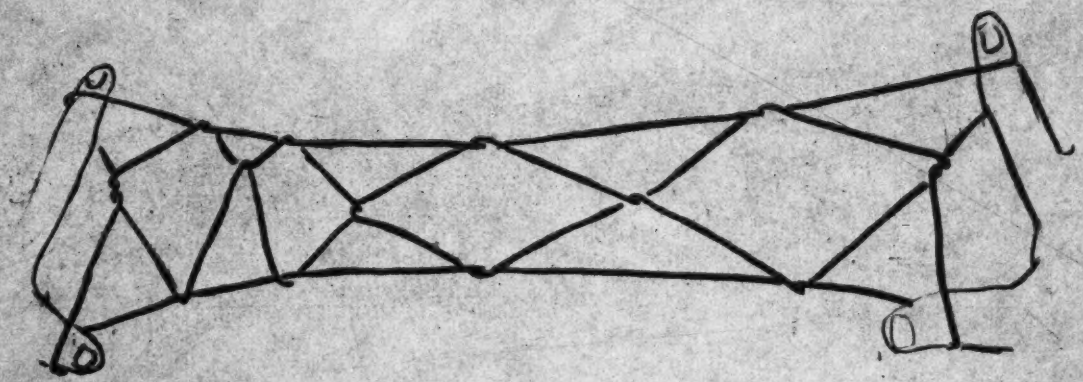


Figure 41. Te-kivi-a-te-kakai

Figure 42. Te-kivi-a-Yilewu



4: Bangiahole-Ni E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Figure 43. Te-imu-o-Te-Lautalo

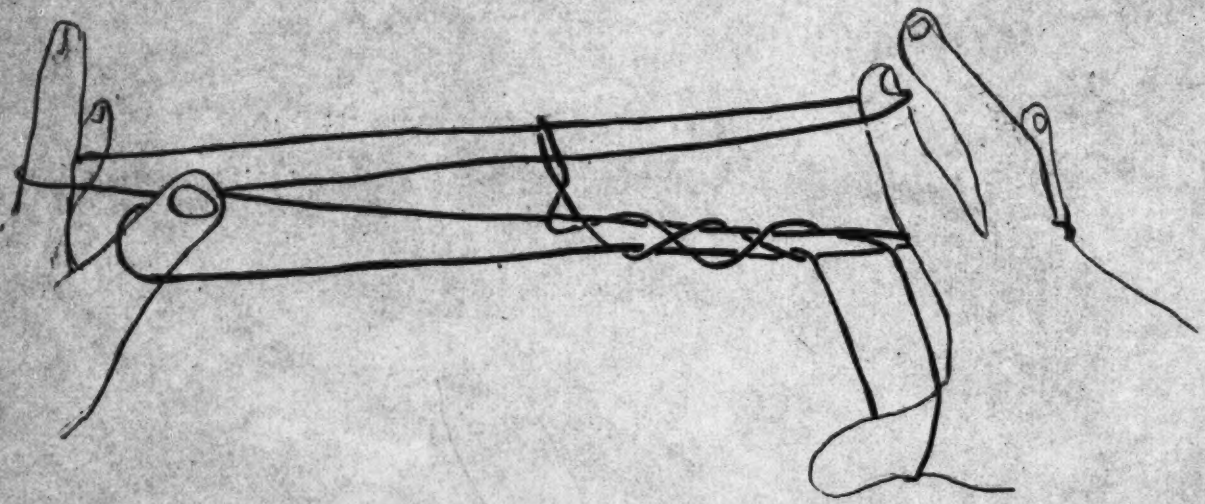
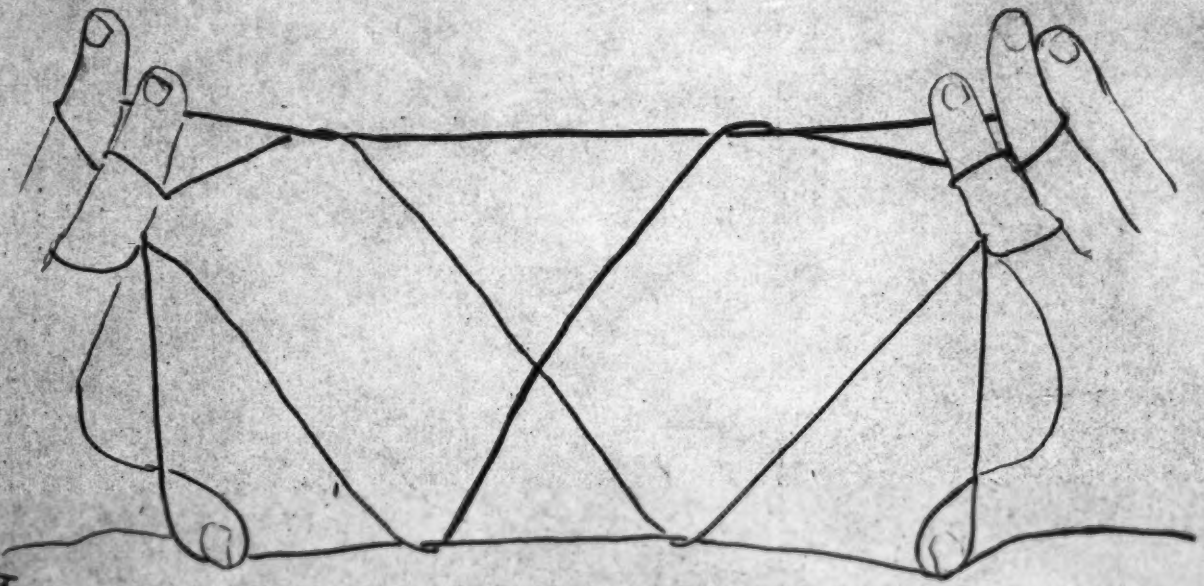


Figure 44. Te-tavatava-o-te-wui-kiole

4: Bangkokolo-M E-3 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Figure 45. Te-la-palepale



4: Bangkok E-5 (1954-5) 1953 Pukapukans p.75

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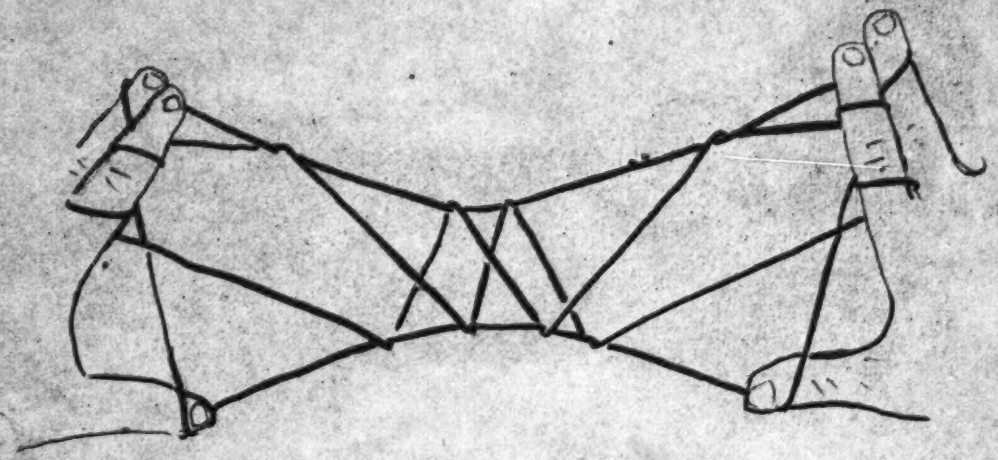

Figure 46. Moamoa

4: Bangiehole-N E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
Gray

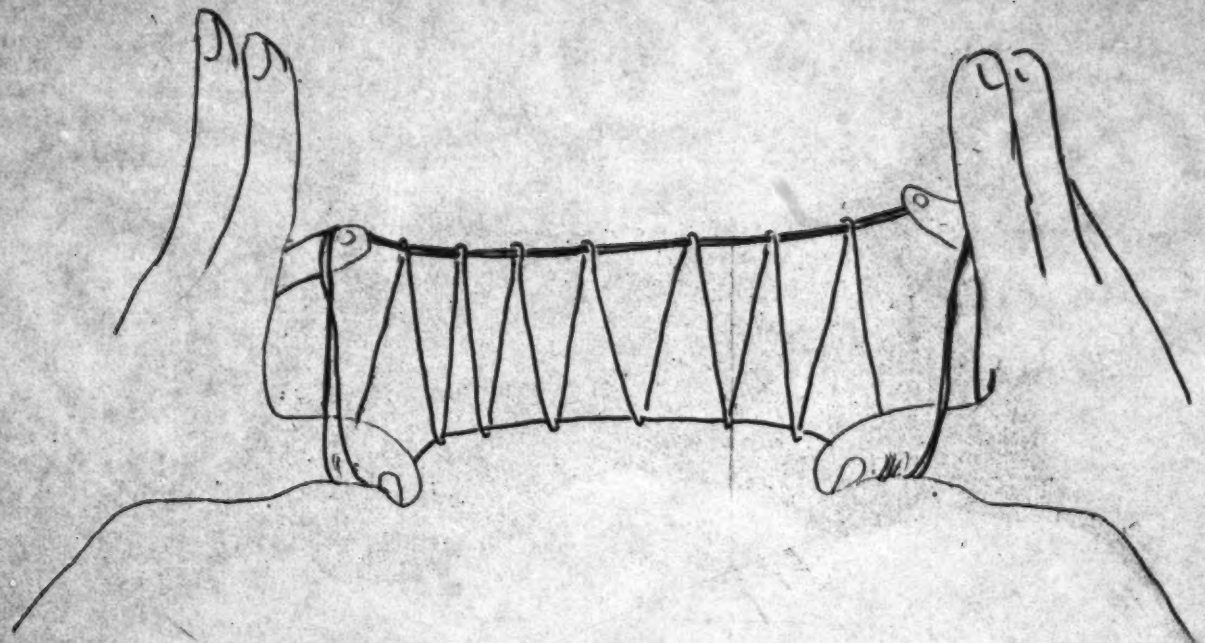

Figure 47. Te-wua-ya-valu

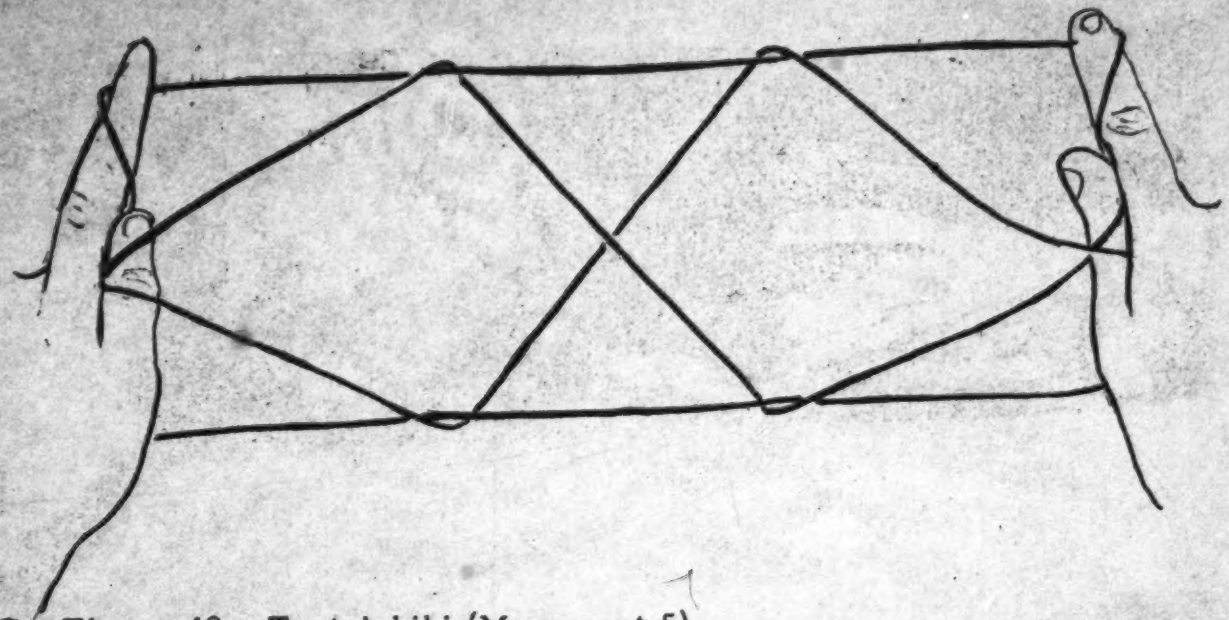

Figure 48. Te-tai-kiki (Movement 5)

4: Beaglehole-M E-S (1934-5) 1951. Pukaputana

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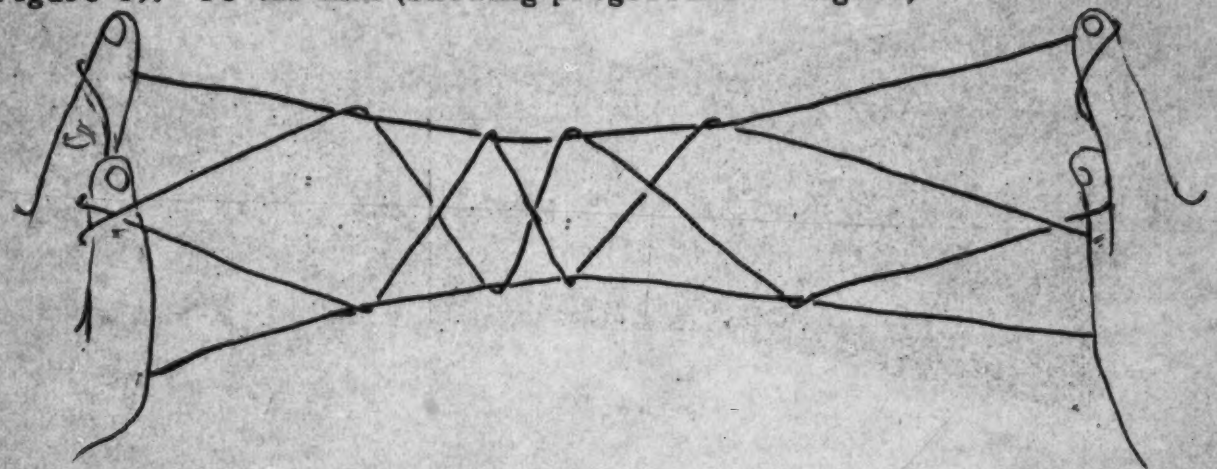
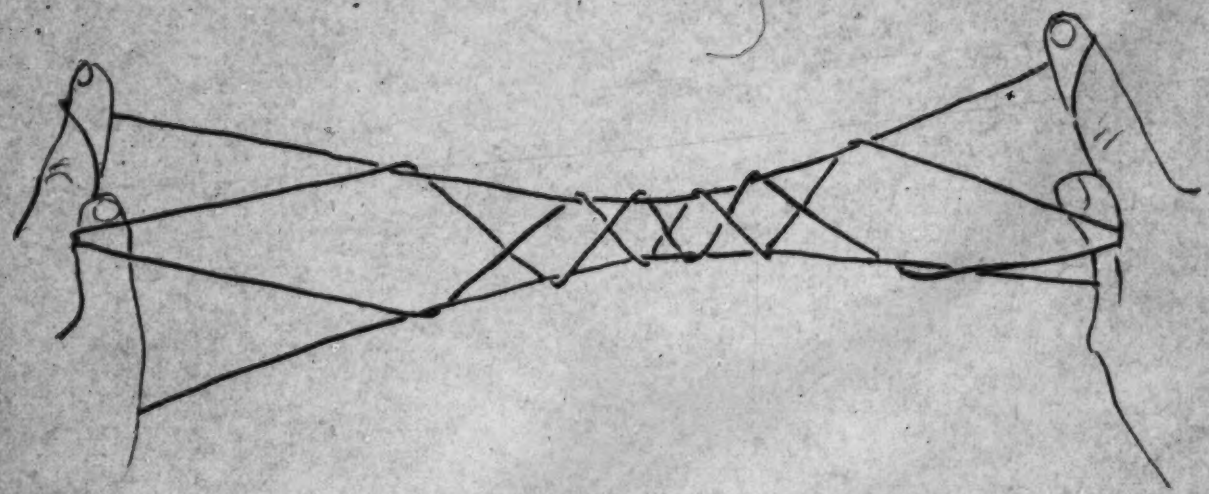
Figure 49. Te-tai-kiki (Showing progression of figure)



4. Bergshole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans pM

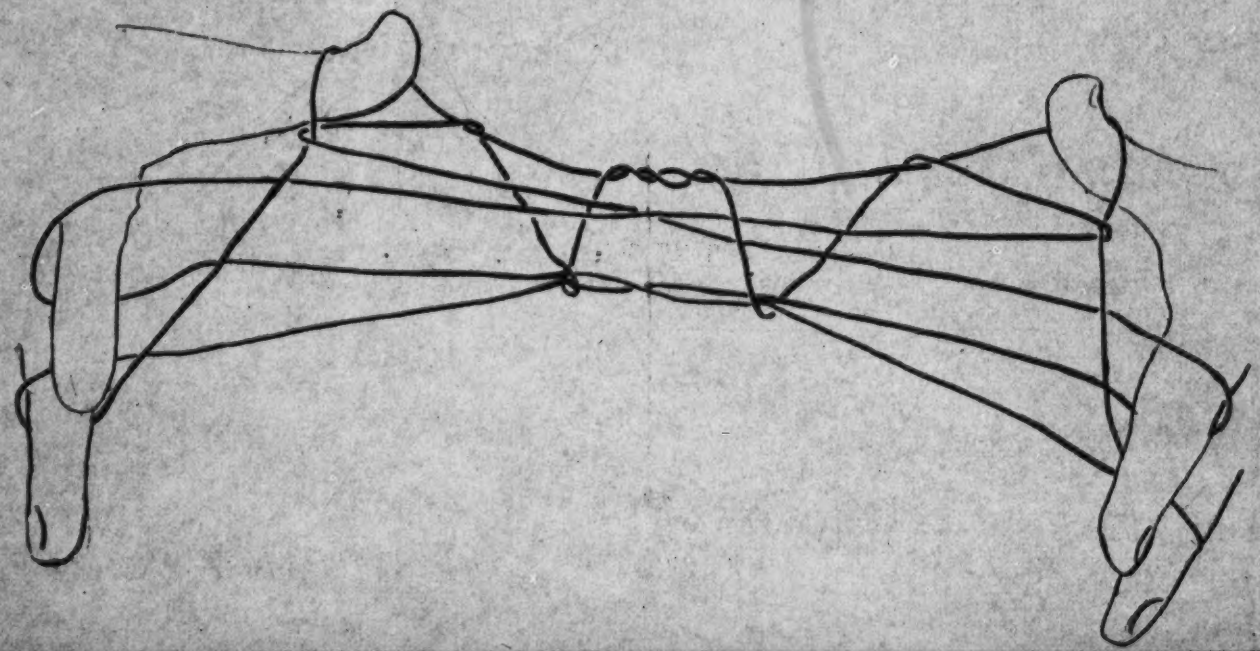
● SN

Figure 50. Te-tai-kiki (Showing the tide going farther out)



4: Bengtsholm-00 E-5 (1954-5) 1955 Pukapukans
0524

Figure 51. Matua kalou (Movement 3)



4: Rarophole E-S (1954-5) 1953 Pakapukana

Figure 52. Matua kalou (Movement 5, ui kauana)

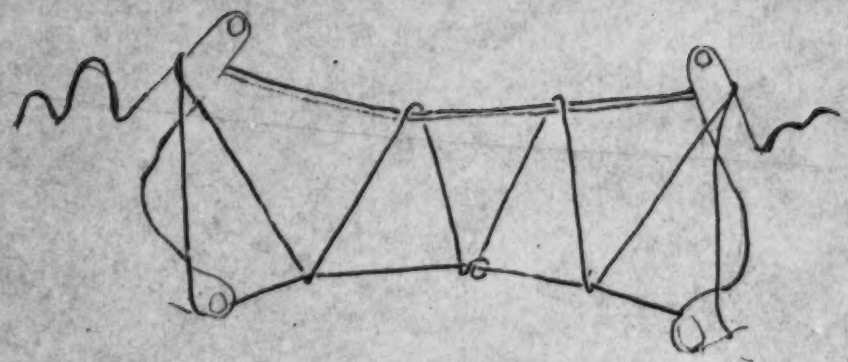
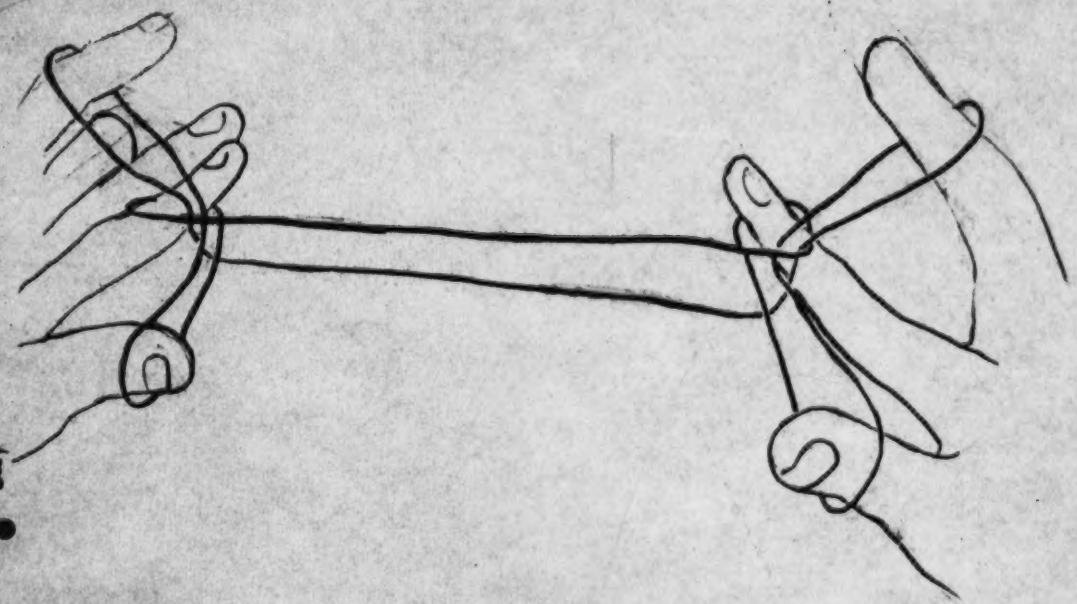


Figure 53. Matua kalou (Movement 7, ui lalapa)

4: Beagleholo E-5 (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans p.83

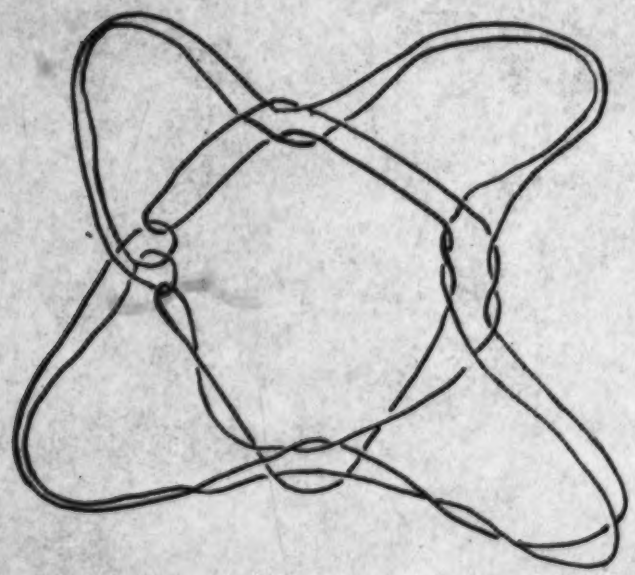
Figure 54. Te-kolemu-yengiyengi



4: Bengtsson-Pf E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapuka

Figure 55. Tava (Movement 7)

Figure 56. Tava (Completed figure worked by two players)



4: Beaglehole-66 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

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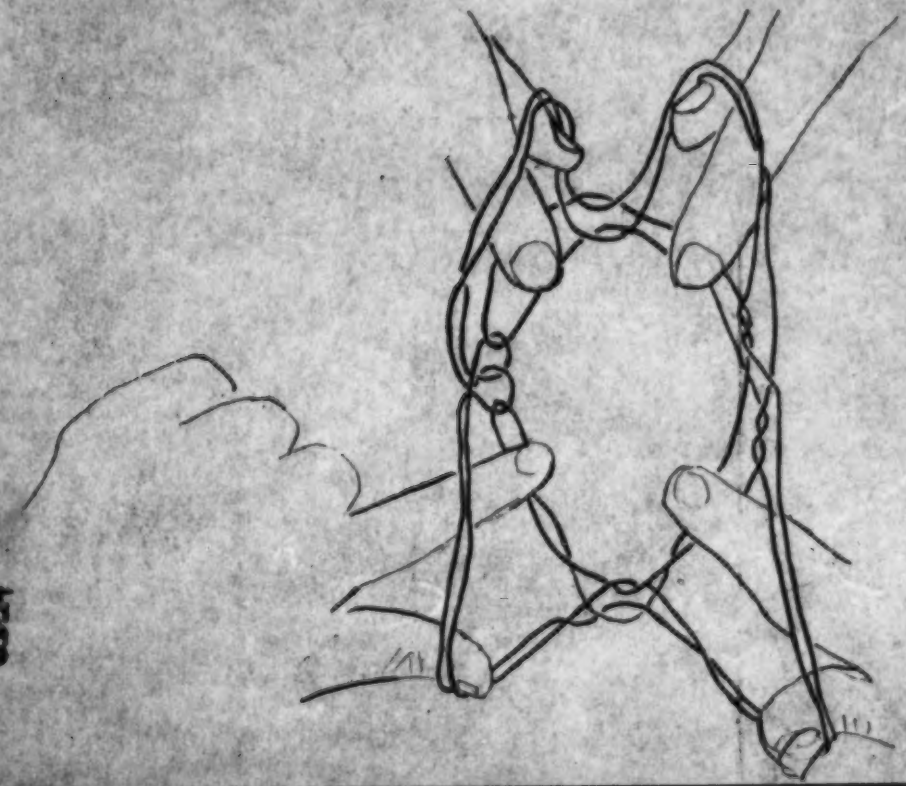
Figure 57. Tava (Showing hands of two players inserted for the "over and over")



4: Bengkulu E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pekapitan p.57
0.524

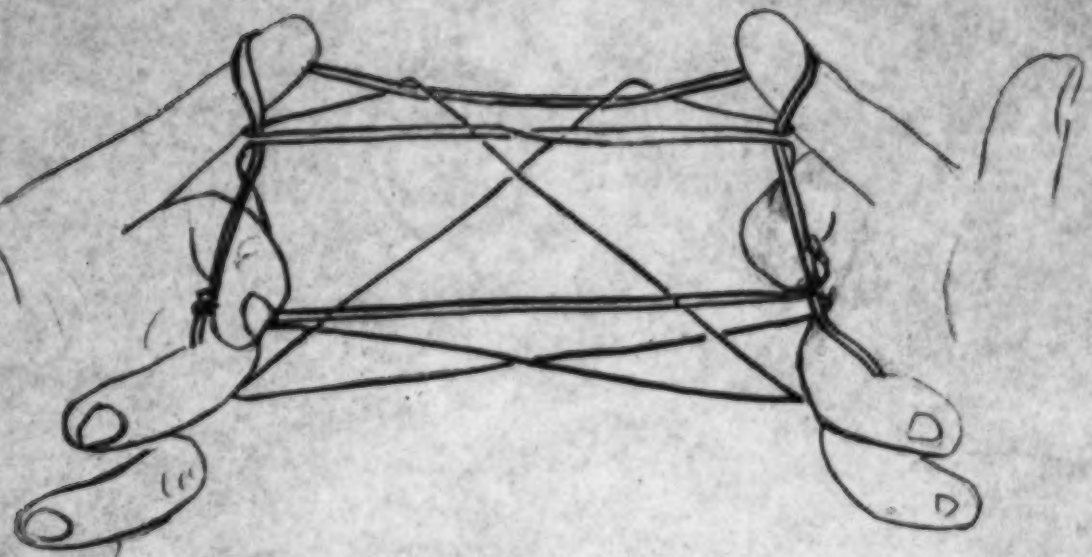
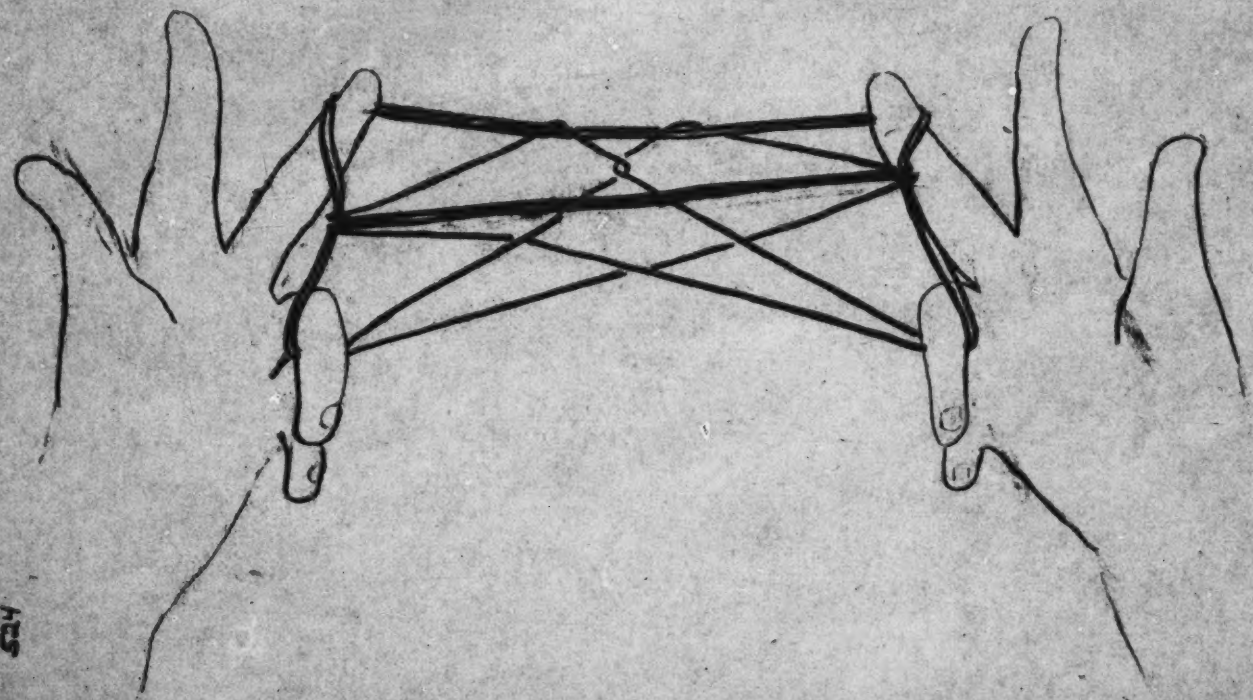


Figure 58. Taku-pu-lele-lua (Movement 14)

4: Bangkokia E-5 (1974-5) 1955 Philippines

Figure 59. Taku-pu-lele-lua (Completed figure)



4: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1959 Pukapukans p.39

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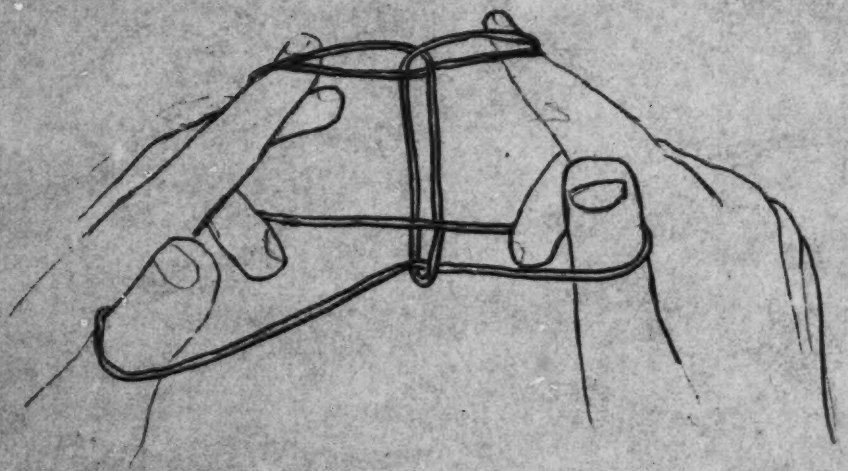
Figure 60. Te-Pu-a-Loto (a three-dimensional figure)



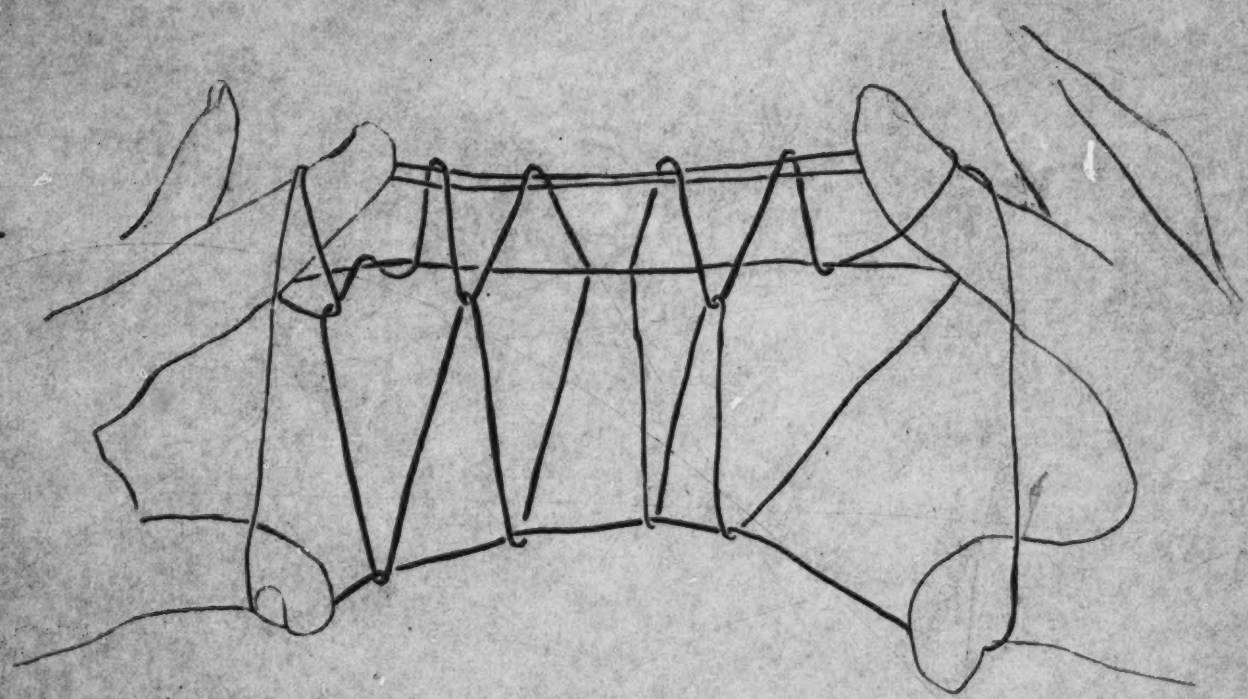
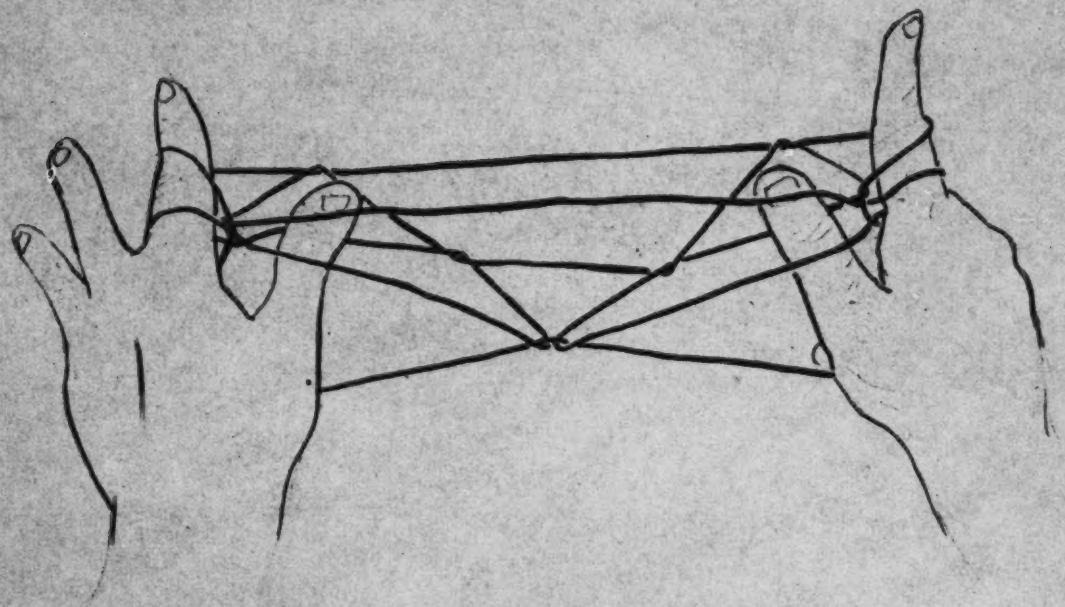


Figure 61. Te-itu-wala-kula (a three-dimensional figure)

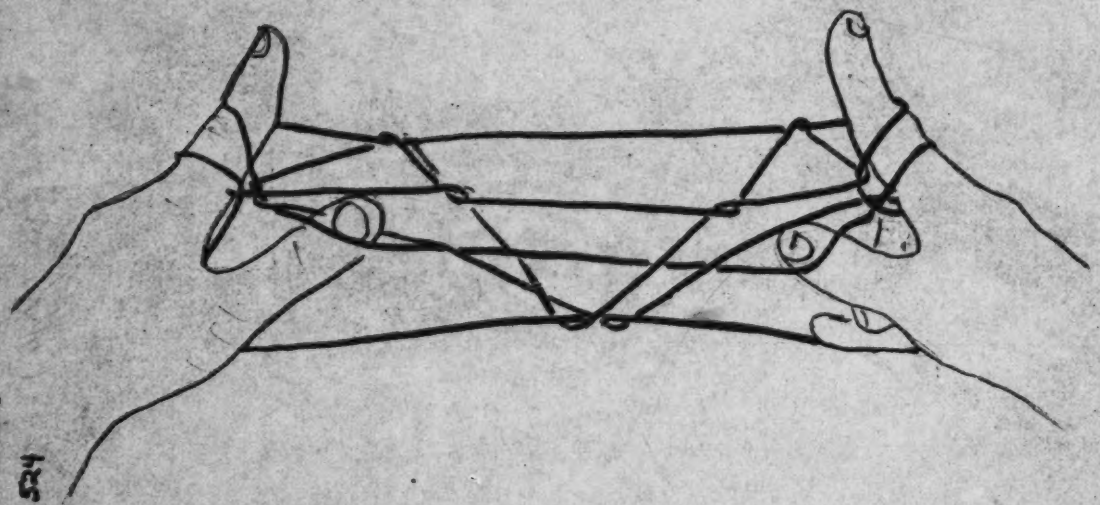
G. Baxgrakoto E-5 (1934-5) 1933 Pokapokana p.38
●524

Figure 62. Te-tala-o-te-yamayama (Movement 7, showing thumb pickup)



4: Bergsholz-94 E-5 (1934-5) 1955 Pelaspiron

Figure 63. Te-tala-o-te-yamayama (the completed three-dimensional figure)



4: Beaglehole-Tj E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans
524

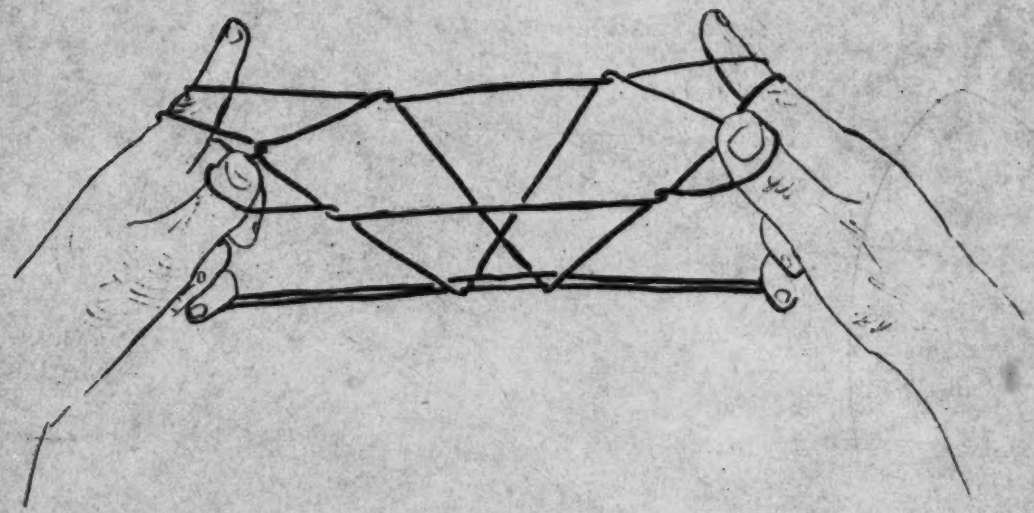


Figure 64. Kumete (a three-dimensional figure)

4: Beagiehole E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans p. 94
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4: Bengtsholder-98 E.S (1934-5) 1953 Rukapukans
● 524

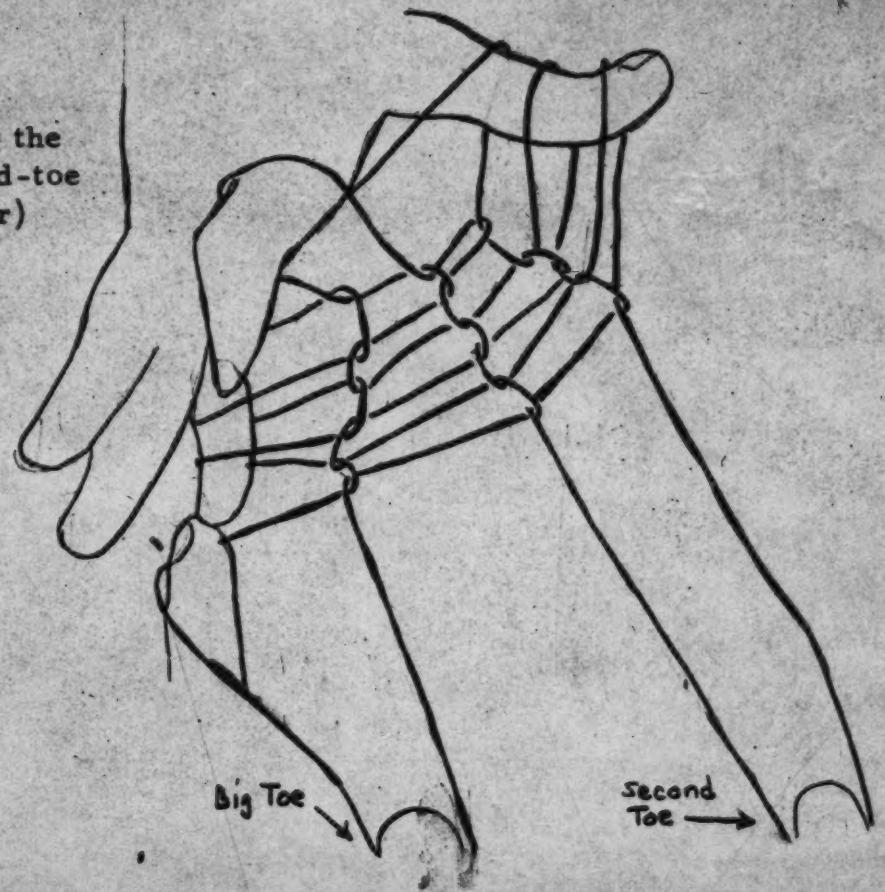


Figure 65. Kupenga (Movement 9, showing the looping of ulnar second-toe string over little finger)

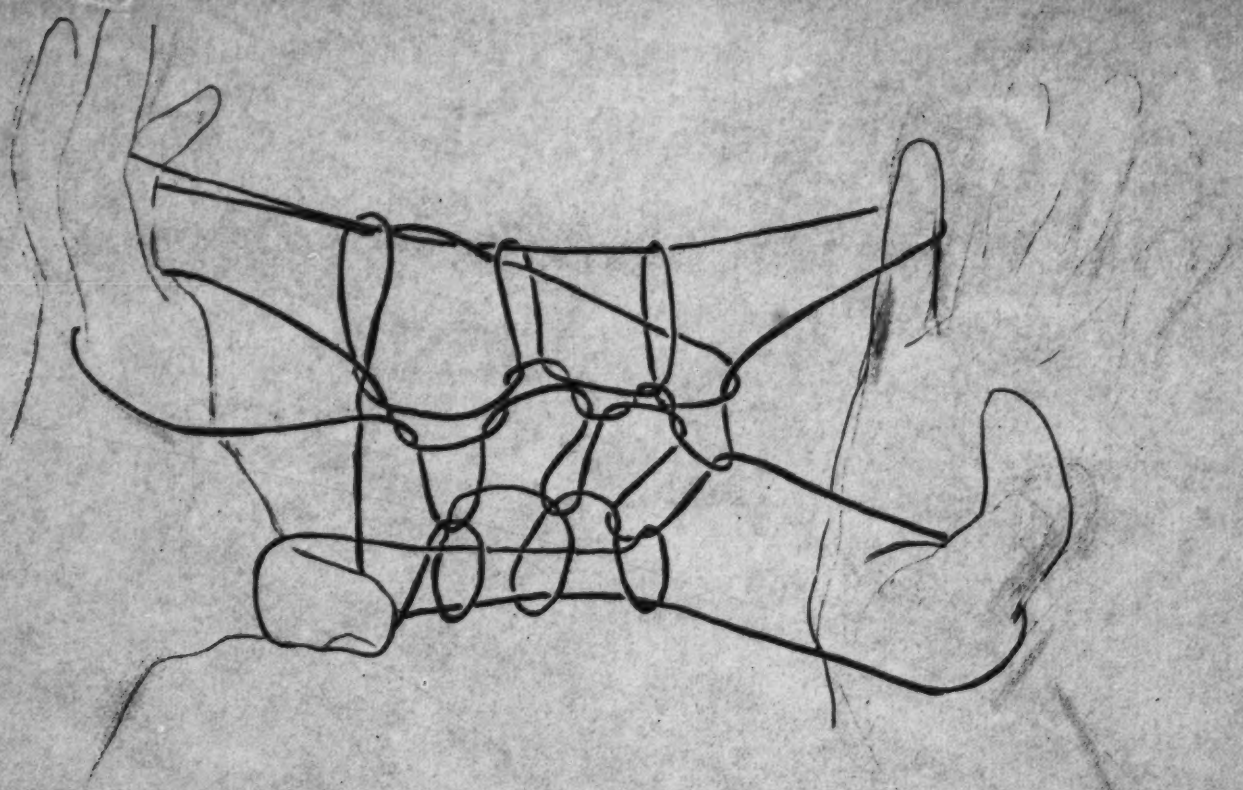


Figure 66. Kupenga (Completed figure)

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--10 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

122 Humor.

Loita, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.
592
159

Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

224 Introduced toys and games.
177

Marbles, poi, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kohati te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te poi ki lunga ho te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble in pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Katali ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku papano ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

[illegible]44 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the tuio before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ.11 Pukapuka CZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tale* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are customarily kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

519 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
527 are in the water a great deal; they play at water-splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*kaea maysi*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[561] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *ale ote pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances where maximum speed is required; *ale tuakoa* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
185 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ave*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*hole*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Nina. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ave* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tauhoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1*b*). ?

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Ifalima or of his successors, Tulisyanga and Alitalupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutuhi*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*hale*) of *mutau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
626 the high chief (*ariki nuku*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

?? ?. [See pos, category III-- analyst]

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[626/776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Taua's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 423 621 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki hilo te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 423 776 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Taua in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 423 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Utu in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko. [578]

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 824 171

Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*viso*), the windmill (*potoho launiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wahatangitangi*), and the leaflet spinner (*wahahi matangi* or *wuti lole launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig. 49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the medial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 171

Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *wahonoto* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by covering a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes. Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

526 527 177 524

Wooden stilts (*lolo*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

The toy bow (*uena*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *matau* tree.

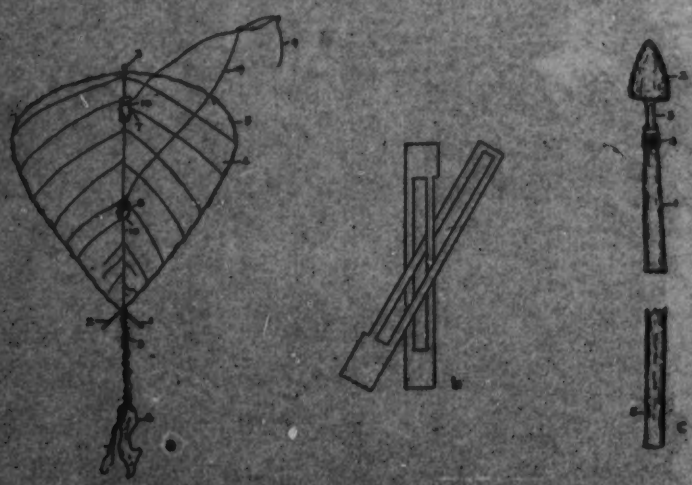
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

524 Swings (*takitakite*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangie* wood
179 by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wue on his return to Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngayu* branch. The seed of the *taeyinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupa* bird, a piston of *puapua* wood, and *taeyinu* seed or *ipiipi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*pupa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524 FIGURE 40.—Toys and composite dart. *a*, kite (*heilo*) of *puapua* leaf (C8099): coconut leaflet midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib
284 (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*halem*); edges of large *puapua* leaf (4) bent over this frame and fastened to it by continuous thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf and around frame midrib; center midrib (3) extends below apex of kite and to this a tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by transverse twine of fiber; at two points

524 284 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal mesial line and a trailer cord (9) is knotted to midrib over small wads of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8056) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tiongo a Mani*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*vulo*) of *ngayu* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutua*) of *ngangie* wood 1½ inches long, ½ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1½ inches long, ¼ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *uao* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutoa* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*yiku*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutoa* head 4¼ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *uao* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig.49.*a*). The tail (*kave*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo ipu*; a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kolomulevu*.

The only tops in use are testotum tops (*potekateka*). These are *toupulapule* shells (*Conus ebraeus*) which are spun (*takavilivili*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *mulimuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potekateka watu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *punga* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¼ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *wakapotekateka* or *wakatateka*.

Discs for the game of *tupa* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8194), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3¼ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tiko*) is made of *ngayu* wood:

526 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and heated over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*putiko*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ 322 inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tiko*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

The composite dart (*vulo*, C8100) is made of *ngayu* wood with a head (*ulu toa*) of *ngangie* wood (fig.49.*c*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

526 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is
322 rubbed (*mulumulu*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is named *vele tafu*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *vele* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

FIGURE 30.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (CB111): diameter from slot to bottom 3¾ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¾ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (CB112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (CB054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (CB055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *totou*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*fuyu*) (CB101): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*uaia hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua kamaula*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (B) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

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1: Bangkahole 2. Bangkahole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

561 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general
531 domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

531 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, taro, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lupe* or *wulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

884 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

561 Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next
226 graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
[224] boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matea* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-kiloe-o-Matalikí (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-tee-o-Matalikí (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nukuya-o-Matalikí (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Matalikí (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the
828 servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
553 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki).
526 Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
773 such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakaua, a difficult woman of surpassing

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1936-8) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

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The two seers, Woteo and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the eastern and western islands, notably the chief Woa, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

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Organized plays, dancing, and singing have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

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Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-205).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

521

Kio, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*tuka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defence of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to te vaka*). The teams take turns at defence and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defences. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wahetoa nuae (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka wai!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Waimaya" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua nuae (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *uai Levi* (modern name, playing the god Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*tuvaa*) are drawn about 30 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Levuka (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

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526 other players in the other circle. Lewehe calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Lewehe (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Lewehe or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Lewehe repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Lewehe. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valovalo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tahopau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na agalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach.
535 Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves
177 them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line
859 performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The indi-
593 vidualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*ama*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

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5'39

Ko te hau, ko te hau o Maui	The hitchook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te ylim, ko te ylim o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te ylim, ko te ylim o te kiole	[repeat]
	9
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mai te puloko tuna, mai te puloko tuna	Like *puloko* cooking, like *puloko* cooking
Mai te puloko tuna, mai te puloko tuna	[repeat]
	10
E Luna to tiuu e angi mai	Oh Luna, your wind blows here
E Luna to tiuu e angi mai	[repeat]
Ka pa aua to voka ki Kalaunoa	Your canoe will be carried to Kalaunoa
E, ka pa aua to voka ki Mata Kalokalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tae ia koe ki tawa ma te lulu ma te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their talo
Ka tae ia koe ki Kalaunoa, ka tae ia koe ki Kalaunoa.	You will reach Kalaunoa, you will reach Kalaunoa.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

8'57
5'24
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Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Poloni (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki uuli tuu. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

5'24

Kinikini is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kinikini*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wakatangi ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

526

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *utu pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *utu toulioili*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *lolikiki* in which the player hops on one foot.

526 *Uta pepe* [illegible]. A line (*uapua*) two fathoms long is marked off on the ground by scraping with the foot. Two tapua (*vaka*, canoes) are chosen. In turn each player of one team makes the *uta pepe* movements up and down the *uapua* line, while the count is kept of the total number of times the team moves up and down the line. The players of the other team follow. The team that scores the greatest number of complete jumps wins the contest. In *uta pepe tuhaag*, two players, one from each team, jump together at the same time, without moving on any course. One team wins a point (*hai*) when the player from the other team drops out. The team that first wins 10 jumps (*ufu kaapaula*), wins (*ta te ufu*) the match.

In *utauta* and *uta tautilili*, a *uapua* line may or may not be used.

Tohitahi hopping. A rectangular grass (*uapua*) about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide is lined off on an open space. The participants, singly or in groups, hop up and down this line, scoring one point for each arrival at either end of the boundary. The player with the most points wins the contest. Because this is an endurance test, the skillful hopper makes each pace as long as he can and thus economizes on wind.

529 *Tikiti houa* (juggling with very young immature coconuts). Played by children and adults. In competitive juggling, the players chant and juggle in rhythm; those who are able to continue to the end of the chant win the contest. A number of chants especially composed for this amusement were collected (1). The usual number of *houa* used in juggling is three; some experts are able to juggle four at a time.

Shell Tossing

Tiki pulepule (tossing *pulepule* shells, the Polynesian counterpart of jackstones). Played by adults and children of both sexes. From two to twenty persons may play at one time. A large number of seashells of the type known as *pulepule* (*Cypraea*) are gathered and placed in the center of the group of players who take up their positions in a circle seated on *takapau* mats. Each player has a throwing stone (*tiki uatu*) which he holds in his right hand. The object of the game is to toss up the stone, pick up the shells from the ground in a given fashion, and catch the stone as it comes down. Twenty-nine figures may be played in one game, starting with the simple tossing up of the stone and removing of one shell from the heap. The beginner, who is chosen in no special way, but who simply is the first to call out, "I am first (*Ko aku te pule tayi*) is known as the "*pule tayi*". He continues to play until he misses—until the stone has fallen (*na te*) without his having caught it, until he fails to pick up the required number of shells, or until he has removed all the shells, which is one win (*ufu tayi*) for him. Should he miss, the play goes to the next person on his left, and so on in a counter-clockwise direction round the circle of players, continuing the one figure until all the shells have been removed. As each player picks up shells during his play, he places these under his bent knee, to be counted when the figure is over. Each player in turn counts (*hoai*) his shells one by one, counting without any special numerical prefix (*hatoa* being 10, *lua hua*, 20, and so forth). At the end of the play the number of figures won by the individual players, which are called *ufu tayi*, *ufu lua*, and so forth, are compared and the one who has won the most individual plays wins (*ta te ufu*). To tie either in a single figure or for the whole game is *uwole*. The loser is *uwoa* (defeated). As each figure is finished, the next is begun by the person to the left of the starter of the preceding figure, regardless of where the last play ended. Thus, each player from the start is called by the name of the figure which he will begin. The figures are played in the following order:

1. *Pule tayi*: throw up the stone, remove one shell from the heap, and catch the stone as it drops.

2. *Pule lua*: remove two shells at a time with each toss of the stone. It is considered a *uiua* to pick up more or less than the required number. An odd shell at the end is counted by the player who finishes the figure.

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22. *Pule teke ki luaga* (raise up): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone with an upward swooping movement of the hand.

23. *Pule yana:* throw up the stone in such a way that it will fall near the front of the body, remove as many shells as possible, and catch the stone at the height where the *yana* (neck ornament) hangs on the chest.

24. *Pule luku ki te vaka* (scoop to the canoe): throw up the stone, toss a handful of shells into the lap and catch the stone.

25. *Pule lulei* (decorate): place the shells in a line along the outside of one leg and thigh at intervals of one inch, and remove these one by one with a toss of the stone, in such a way as not to disturb the remainder.

26. *Pule lupe:* toss the stone high in the air, slap thighs with both hands, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

27. *Pule yi potuhi* (fish *potuhi*): throw up the stone, move one shell at a time toward the body with a flick of the flexed index finger and catch the stone.

28. *Pule heheme* (eyes closed): throw up the stone, close eyes tightly, pick up shells and catch the falling stone without opening the eyes.

29. *Pule uuyilayila* (sleepy eyes): throw up the stone, and with eyes more than half-closed pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

Disc Throwing

524

Whakpotakaeha (disc throwing for distance). The disc (*potaka*) is a stone of *punga* coral. To throw the disc is *wakatawka*. The course is the village street. The teams are made up of ten men each, one team from each village. Three men throw each round. The stone is held with the thumb and index finger and thrown for distance with an underhand motion. The team with the greatest number of longest throws at the end of ten rounds wins the contest.

Disc Pitching

Tupe (disc pitching). The game is played with coconut-shell discs, of varying weights and sizes, cut from the bottom of the dried, *tuaré pukeli* nut shell. The discs are polished smooth and the edges made even and regular. Two sets of discs are not distinguished by different colorings, the discs are not ornamented, nor is there any special container for them. The surface on which the discs are thrown is a new, smooth, ordinary pandanus mat, 6 to 8 feet long and of any width. The players sit at the head of the mat. The opposite end of the mat is raised 4 or 5 inches by the insertion under its edge of a coconut leaf midrib, which is called for this purpose *hanyale*. A third person called the *hanyale* sits at the raised end of the mat to keep the prop in position, to judge and recover the thrown discs. The object of the game is to place the discs as near the edge of the mat as possible, even tilting them over the raised surface, so that they are closer to the edge than the discs of the opponent.

The game is played by two players at a time. Any even number of discs up to 20 is equally divided between them. Though the first pitcher is at a disadvantage, he is not chosen in any special way. One player simply says to the other, "Tupe", and the other throws. He tosses his disc up to the edge of the mat with a well-aimed side twist of the wrist which spins the disc and helps to check the danger of its rolling off the edge of the mat. If the first player's placement is a good one and lies just at the edge of the mat, but not tilting over, the second player attempts with his first pitch to hit (*tongi* or *tita*) it off from the inner side so that his own disc will remain on the mat while the other is knocked off. If the first disc of the first player is badly thrown and constitutes no danger to the second player, the second player throws without attempting to upset its position but to place his own shot in a good position on or near the edge of the mat. Then the first player, in his second pitch, will attempt to knock off the opponent's good shot, replacing it with his own disc. As soon as he betters his own preceding throw, which has itself been bettered by the opponent, the disc of his preceding throw is

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526 removed (*to*). Should he have two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*hoi*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *titu lua*; to knock off three is *titu tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *kanyalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ta te ula*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *tai*; two, *tai lua*; three, *tai tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *kanyalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tupe ia! E kole, te tupe! te tautoro ia!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skillful player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours on end by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the pool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

524 There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *teletelounga* and *poi ter* do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

526 [M] Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*wakaunga kaho niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope; the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the hole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

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526 height, the winner is the one who, having climbed to the highest indicated, first reaches the ground. Each contestant stands before a tree with a climbing bandage on his feet. The left hand rests on the tree trunk; the right hand is clasped around the tree. At the given signal (at present, on the count of three) each man springs up the tree and climbs as fast as he can. In coming down the tree he may slide as much as possible and leap from the tree when about 8 or 9 feet from the ground.

Coconut-husking contests (*yokenga nio pupuhu*). Three carefully sharpened husking sticks are placed in the ground, 1½ paces apart, to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. The husking sticks are carefully placed to make an angle of about 70 degrees with the ground. On a small coconut leaf mat impaled over the stick, the village husker hunkis, squatting on his unhusked nut. Sixty *yoholi* nuts are placed in the center of the triangle. Each husker impales a nut on his stick. At the signal the men start to husk and continue until all the nuts are husked, including the nuts on which the men squat. The man who husks most nuts wins the contest. One man may stop the contest at any time to repair his stick if it falls over or if its point breaks or blunts. Behind each man stands his second (*tohatoho*), a man from another village, who counts his nuts at the end. In an average contest, three men husk 60 nuts in 2 minutes. After one contest, the points of the sticks are resharpened and fixed in the ground again, and another contest follows.

526 Nuts are competitively husked not only in inter-village contests but also by villagers preparing for a feast, making copra, or dividing nuts from the reserves. At the present
245 time, in making copra at the reserves, after each adult has collected his weekly quota of from 100 to 200 nuts, all the young men, accompanied by children, women, and old men move from one pile of nuts to the next, holding a husking contest at each pile. In this contest two or more men compete against each other until the pile is finished. The group spends the whole day going thus from one pile to the next. Sometimes a women's team accompanies the men to husk the nuts of the women, at times competing against the men. The mixed contests are occasions of great fun-making which reach a climax if a woman defeats a man. The women wax jubilant, and the onlookers hurl all sorts of advice and ridicule at the unlucky man, who is glad to make his escape. The news spreads like wildfire through the copra settlements. The old men are quick to make suitable utterances, and it is long before the defeated man hears the last of his shame.

526 Composite dart-throwing contests. Held on an open space (*malae*) usually on the beach at low tide. An exhibition contest was given during our stay. The *malae vale* (dart-contest space), the beach in front of Loto village, was cleared of rubbish before the contest commenced; men of Yato cleared one half, men of Loto and Ngake the other half. Rubbish was thrown into the sea, and the loose coral was pushed off to the side with the butt ends of coconut midribs. This made a clear space about 75 yards long and 15 yards wide. Two throwing pits (*tuua*) were dug, one at each end of the *malae*. Each pit was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and sloped from the ground level at the rear to a depth of 1 foot in the front. The sand from the pit was piled up at the front end to form a small butter used as a throwing base (*mali tuua*).

The composite dart, *vale*, is described on page 214. The thrower takes the dart in his right hand, holding it at the *yiku* end with the thumb and middle finger, the index finger steadying the *yiku* tip. To test the hold, balance, and aim of his spear, he takes a preliminary run (*holio*). He starts five paces behind the *tuua*, takes several quick steps forward toward it, holding the dart with the forearm vertical, the dart horizontal and level with or a little higher than the shoulder. He stops in his run and, with the fingers of the left hand, plucks (*wohongauli*) the dart at a point about 2 feet from the *yiku* end. Then he moves back to the starting point, makes another *holio*, and again tests the dart to be sure that his trajectory is correct. The third time, he advances to the *tuua*, plants his left foot against the butter, and hurls the spear (*wohopoi te vale*). A well-thrown dart moves through the air horizontally about 10 feet above the ground, strikes the ground at an obtuse angle, and then slithers (*totolo te vale*) a long distance

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526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*uukatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*tulu tuu*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tuu* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*kai*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ia te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *polohinuli*.

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Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 30 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tiko*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tiko*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngaya* wood. For many weeks before and
557 after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

526 Running races (*uutele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tulohi*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata uuele* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

526 Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride
186 themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling
527 was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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[527] the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions
526 that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*mokoyma*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into
526 seclusion (*kaitoa*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even
826 if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him
261 covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitoa hala*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these
526 few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must con-
[534] tinue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malo of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*tuenga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai taec fkina, pelola to malo, tai ahr to tin, yada aka ki te one i te lungga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*ene*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua kaua*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*kolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pabipahi te kaua*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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remote cord of the ring with one hand, ducks under the cord into the ring, kicks one foot into it and the other foot away from the ring, and then trots on. He goes around the ring two or three times. Then the two men duck under the cord and enter the ring. The champion stands in the center, his second at his side. An opponent (*nawe*) advances from his shelter, enters the ring, and the two men wrestle. After a few seconds' wrestling, if there is no throw, the second stops the bout. Other men from the second village and from the champion's own village enter the ring in turn and wrestle, but the second stops the bout each time. Though the wrestling is not taken seriously, the champion is now considered unbeaten in these preliminary trials; and the ring is said to remain in his possession. He and his second take down the ring. Had the champion been beaten in one of these contests, the ring would have passed to his opponent and the opponent would have removed the ring. Only recognized champions of their respective villages have the right to wrestle with the island champion inside his ring. Once the ring is removed and the challenging finished, the general contests begin. Bouts take place anywhere on the ground which, though unmarked and without a ring, is still called *ene*.

A man from Loto, the challenging village, stands on the grass in front of his shelter, silent and looking straight ahead. A challenger from Yato advances toward the Loto man. When close together, the Loto man appears to notice him and the two men open (*wehenge*) the match thus: Each man bends forward from the waist and grips the outstretched fingers of his opponent in an interlocking grip with his own fingers. The two disengage and swing the arms around to the back of the body, beating the hands against the buttocks. This is repeated several times, the men sparring (*lielie*) for grip, balance, and foothold. Then the two engage seriously and seek for a throw. In the old days famous champions dispensed with the sparring movements, rushed straight at their opponents, and sought for a surprise grip and unexpected throw. If a man did this when his opponent was expecting to spar, he generally took his opponent off guard and threw him. There is nothing unfair in these surprise rushes.

Instead of advancing only one man, the challenging village may advance three or four men who wait for a contest. One opponent comes forward, and the one among the challengers who is considered a fit match for him waits while the other men retire. If the other villages are backward in advancing a man, the challenger walks up and down before the shelter of his opponents. He does this carelessly, silently ridiculing the apparent faint-heartedness of his opponents. This invariably shames the opponents into advancing one or several men, in which case the challenger indicates the man he wishes to wrestle by engaging his fingers. After each bout the winning village is supposed to issue a challenge for the next bout. If the bout is a draw, the initiative remains with the previous challengers.

Each match lasts for 35 to 45 seconds of intense struggle. A bout is won by causing opponent to fall, by lifting opponent's feet clear of the ground, or through opponent's allowing part of his body other than his feet to touch the ground. Any wrestling hold is termed *liko* or *tenge*. To lift from the ground by grasping the front of the male is *liko i te ene mele*. A male that comes loose and provides a good handgrip is *mele ewetale*. To throw or lift by grasping the thighs is *liko i te tenge*; to lunge or dive forward and grasp the leg or thigh is *tui te tenge*; to push a man to the ground as he lunges for the leg is *pato tua ver*; to throw by any means is *ui*. Other holds are used: to dive for the knees and pull them from the ground, which is countered by locking (*pokio*) the other's neck under the arm, trying to throw him off his balance by a sudden twist of neck and shoulders; and to hook a foot behind opponent's leg and trip him with a sudden push. Long arms and heavy weight are considered an asset in these holds. Striking with the closed or open hand, grasping vital organs, and twisting limbs so as to inflict pain have no part in Pukapukan wrestling. Even though there is no referee for the bouts there seems to be no temptation to indulge in unfair holds.

If no throw occurs at the end of about 45 seconds of wrestling, the bout is considered a draw and either wrestler indicates this to his opponent by relaxing (*wehenge*)

526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reinforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tuva*, strong men); *uma vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *uma vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked
[578] by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicule, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papahi*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people
524 sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines
184 or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the
621 shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the
533 prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The
535 enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

526 Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

826 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe paddling races (*uninganga ruku*) and canoe-sailing races (*uninganga lisiki ruku*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waitoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*uninganga kauku*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*uniayakeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They
527 are of three kinds: *uninganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *tuloa*, and other reef fish; *uninganga matola*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *uninganga kakai*, or *matoua*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*kasi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During
[834] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
526, 292

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for description of wrestling competitions and the wrestler's malo, see p. 48.]

Z:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been reenforced by new posts.

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PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type o. chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.
535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the tale for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been run-
ning and tele throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
748 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation
for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women.
This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas.
In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the
ha'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect
nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to
do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu
on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to
Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Men's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomor-
row fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the
recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, em-
bracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport
program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th.
Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New
Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day
was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard,
people from each village grouped under its own shelter.
First there was imine, in which singers from each village
sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then
tug-of-war between teams from each village, including wo-
men's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners
from each village visited in turn each other village. Wed-
nesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard
throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters
as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were
devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each
village visited in turn and played against teams from the other
two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g.,
wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food,
fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday,
January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and
coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer
by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

9:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--34 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

285 filled by the open ole and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
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225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awanwa and Ngaliyeyen were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua pumpunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word pumpunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that pumpunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Tana, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Tana. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Tana, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko to lana o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga; ko Manawuna ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine is ki Tayaka. Wekake loa lunge o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua loo. Wo loa la te wenua is ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kaitua, Masuke, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Wakalua.
Yato: Tokelau iti, Tokelau matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

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[322]

Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakeyinu te vake* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakamaliunga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakeyinunga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*maliunga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uso*, one anchor line of *sennit*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

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The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *mauu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *mauu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *mauu*, each woman five *mauu*, each child one *mauu*; each man and woman received 50 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

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To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *imu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *imu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *imu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotonga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotonga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotonga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

1:Benglehole and Benglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

527 2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lawi*) on village
food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*,
262 as *lavaya heveu* (crabs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures
that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers.
If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last
for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village
men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[621] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be
made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or
second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as
a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other
food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service
in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamalinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new
sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal
people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*,
though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *moneiunga*.

5. *Kavehave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other
[623] inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old
men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each house-
hold. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wanie, *tuamayunga*, and *puahi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *unikiuma*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia uale* and *lulukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lauhava*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Iuu hai o te uua* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
574 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
527 trolled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Lauuatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo*
262 *ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingalinga* (land shells), feasts
613 of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three vil-
lages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for
their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative
of the small amount of flesh food that this village could supply its guests. For these
feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special
delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts
from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special
work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its
religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *ziongo* (religious avenue).
When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all
joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake
group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food
and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have mai-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
514 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
527 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
262 Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
613 stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is com-
plete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural
[572] fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously
impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish
brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for
taukeru feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food
dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or
cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the
old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved
solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people
for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for them-
selves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangonga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*ananga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*hinahi*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ani*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iha ani*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ihaika*, and to make fire thus is *nuta ani*.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. 574 A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are 264 eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *tpiipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mawu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lolei lawa*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tubituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yusi*, sometimes given as *eui*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lulu*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*wuwuo ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lulu*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

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Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*piso*), the windmill (*potoha lounin*), the leaflet bull roarer (*uahotaugisangi*), and the leaflet spinner (*uahahi matangi* or *uuti lole lounin*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tionga a Maui* (fig. 49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu lounin*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets;

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the medial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

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Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *uahanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by covering a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes. Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merrymaking that introduced the six months of pleasure.

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Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

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The toy bow (*uuna*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *mutau* tree.

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GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 171 526 The two seers, Wotua and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 572 Organised plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

536 527 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hoi*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to le uku*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *hio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *hio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *hio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatau sawa (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakaffayu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hoi*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua wasua (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*wasua*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewoke (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *molae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*uulutele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed of a team (*tulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tuua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *molae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*kai*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *molae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ta te uku*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palehinuli*.

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Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *molae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tiko*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tiko*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *molae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngayu* wood. For many weeks before and
857 after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

526 **Running races** (*uvelele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vaeale* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

526 Wrestling (*pepeko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride
186 themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling
527 was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*uukayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*vomanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane likina, pelula to malo, tai ake to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua hawa*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pabipaki te lanu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*waingonga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*waingonga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533]

Swimming races (*waingonga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*wakayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *waingonga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *waingonga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *waingonga kakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*kui*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[834]

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category 116--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yei. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
527 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd; Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lita, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
285 (*takapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely
554 dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would
461 militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve
531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Pungo-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wakamaliengo*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 The canoe crew is known collectively as *nuoo vaka*. Specialized names
793 for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uuuu*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatani*. They are

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 Lito makakakaka: brittle plaiting material, easily snapped with slight strain.
Panga punipuni: closely plaited mat.
Panga taupupa: uneven rough plaiting.
Panga matalatala: loosely plaited mat.
Yiyinu: even, straight plaiting secured through uniform tension.

In the commencement stages of plaiting, the worker uses her toes to keep elements steady until she has established a firm working edge. The finished portion of large mats is folded under as the work progresses or else kept flat under heavy stone weights (*watu maunga*) so that the working edge may be brought within reach of the hands. Some workers prefer to lay fine plaiting on a smooth board (*papa* or *palepale*). Straight edges, either right or left, are difficult to produce, and a woman's reputation as a plaiter is based on her ability to make them. Of the good plaiter, it is said that she has skilled hands (*lima pateka*), busy hands (*lima taieka*), or quick hands (*lima tovili*). These terms are used in chants by the man who wishes to comment on the plaiting skill of his mistress.

555 285

285 The plaiting of large mats is an arduous task. By continuous work a woman can plait a mat 6 feet by 4 feet in about 30 hours.

531 Design is obtained by using alternate elements of *lito* pandanus and *lauailu pakapaka* pandanus, or by the use of overlaid or through and through elements of red dyed pandanus. The Pukapukan plaiter makes little use of contrasting check and twilled plaiting to make pleasing designs in pandanus work, save in the building-up of a few blocked geometrical designs. The method of preparing red dye and of dyeing (*pani ke kukula*) material for designs is as follows:

386 285

The worker scrapes from the roots of the *nonu* plant the dirt, rootlets, and dark brown outer bark. She places a coconut-leaf mat (*lavalava*) on the ground, covers it with *puapua* leaves, and scrapes the roots a second time to remove the dark yellow bark, which falls onto the leaves. Hot ashes from a fire of coconut butts are added to the bark scrapings and the whole well mixed together with the hands. The mixture is placed in a wringer (*tauanga*) of coconut husk fiber and the liquid wrung out into a wooden bowl. The wrung-out bark mixture (*ota*) is placed aside. Strips of *laukie* pandanus are now passed through the liquid, then rolled on the hand and placed back into the liquid. *Puka* leaves are packed on top of the rolls of pandanus and the wrung-out bark is placed on the leaves. The whole is set aside for 24 hours. The bowl is then opened, each roll of material is passed through the hands to smooth the dye on the strip, and placed back in the bowl. Sea water is poured on the wrung-out bark material which is pressed (*lomi*) and mixed with the water. It is then wrung out for a second time and the rolls resteeped for a second 24 hours. The rolls are finally removed from the dye, smoothed with the hands, placed unrolled on a coconut leaf mat (*palapala*) and allowed to dry in the shade. When dry, the material is ready for use.

285 531

Old Pukapukan designs (*kave*) are shown in figure 14. A group of old women recognized only these designs as definitely old. The Pukapukan worker, however, shows great skill in adapting or inventing new designs. A sampler of designs (C8208) contains 32. The names of some of the newer

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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531

designs indicate the extent to which the environment furnishes ideas for design: *yiku iku*, fish tail; *uku*, two-ply twisted sennit; *laubiu*, coconut leaf; *mangamanga*, spider; *puyipuyi*, tobacco pipe; *polotiko*, house veranda; *kowatau*, sennit anchor line; *malo pula*, spotted malo.

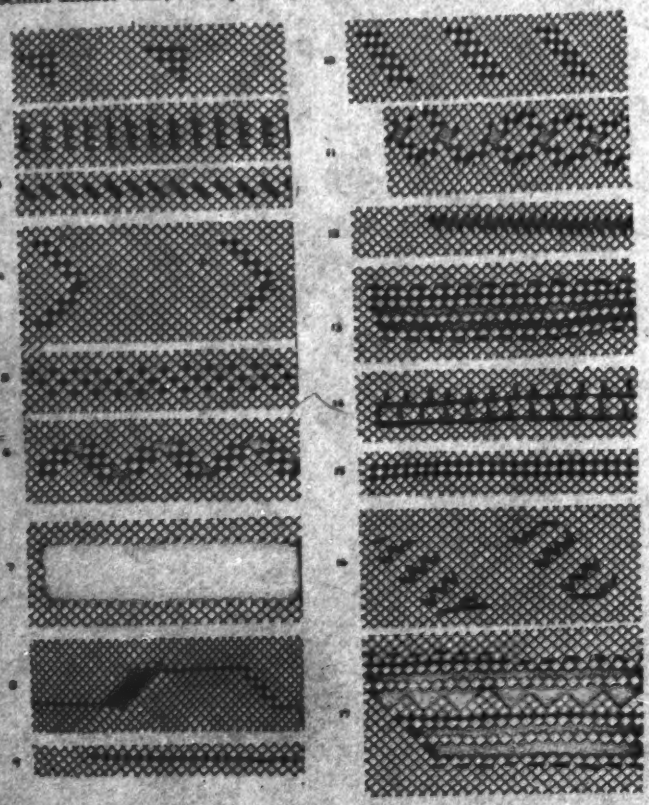

FIGURE 14.—Old Pukapukan pandanus mat designs. Native terminology with available translations: 1, *matatala*, pandanus leaf spines; 2, *te lau uvnua wakouike*; 3, *aloanga*; 4, *kauma*, shark-skin implement for working pearl shell; 5, *koyi tuila*, flash of lightning; 6, *matuakalou*, variety of sea cucumber; 7, *koyi nuanua*, rainbow stripe; 8, *vae kane*; 9, *moamoa*, a small blue cigaret-shaped coral growth; 10, *lauuuti*, banana leaf; 11, *paiokiole*, diamond-shaped; 12, *molokau*, centipede; 13, *nuanua*, rainbow; 14, *tokowelangi*, stone resting platform; 15, *kauamalo*, five-ply braided sennit malo; 16, *ulukauma*, a bundle of *kauaua* implements; 17, *langi pini*.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

285 352 Sleeping and floor mats are made of all three pandanus materials in various sizes for children and adults. The name of the material is added to the general name for a mat (*panga*) to distinguish the various types. Pukapukan mats in Bishop Museum are:

Name	Specimen Number	Material	Size	Wefts to Inch	Use
Panga lanpua	C8070	lauwilu	3'5" square	6	Crawling mat for child
Panga lauwilu ava	C8071	lauwilu	1'11" × 1'6"	5	Mat on which new-born infant is laid
Epaepa	C8074	lauwilu	5' × 6'6"	5	Durable under-mat for sleeping
Panga lito	C8114	lito	5'3" × 4'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lito	C8122	lito	5'8" × 3'7"	5	Floor mat
Panga lauwala pakapaka	C8123	lauwala pakapaka	4'10" × 4'	3	Coarse foundation mat placed under epaepa for sleeping
Panga kanoui (mixed) lauwilu ma lito	C8166	lauwilu and lito	5'1" × 3'3"	6	Durable sleeping mat
Panga kie weie	C8121	kie weie	5'4" × 4'	6	Soft mat used to cover body when sleeping

285 171 All the above mats have the exposed sinistral finish described by Buck (27, fig. 118,c), except the last which presents two interesting variations in the fundamental plaiting technique:

> It is made of single elements to obtain a soft surface, but in order to bind the edges securely, the Samoan fine mat technique of a five-weft braid finish is used in defining the lower border. The commencement edge on the reverse side of the mat follows the method described by Buck (27, fig.161) and the continuation is the turned back fringe described by Buck (27, fig. 162 right). In the Pukapukan mat the dropped sinistrals are cut off flush with the lower border. The upper, finishing edge follows the Samoan method (27, figs.163,164) with the exceptions that the Pukapukan mat has a five-weft braid finish; the fringe ends produced by the projecting sinistrals and dextrals are cut off flush with the border; the right upper corner is not braided into a tail but the last three working dextrals are roughly interlocked by carrying the third working dextral from the end over the corner of the mat and pushing it under one sinistral, then with a forward turn, pushing it under two dextrals and cutting the ends off flush with the edge. The last two working dextrals from the end are turned back at the edge and pushed underneath the third dextral where it passes to the other side of the mat.

285 531 All the mats have overlaid or through and through designs of the customary red-dyed pandanus material. Most of the designs are old but several are obviously modern, for example the turtle (*wonu*) and the house side (*talowale*) designs. The mats are more heavily laden with design than is usual because the plaiters felt that many designs were appropriate for what they knew would be museum pieces.

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285 531 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181. Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ana*).

285 292 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo hawa*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3662. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail-finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 292 178 Malo Ch60. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 292 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiokiole* design. An informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him when he attained sociological adulthood (*wahatau*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiokiole* design.

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533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
534 dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
531 types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and arrow, and shield were unknown.

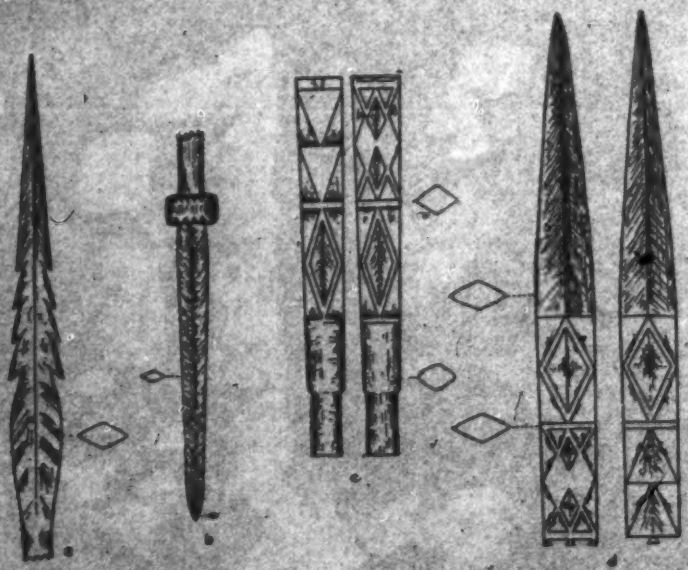

FIGURE 31.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of coconut wood spear (100) (C8109): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt mesial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¾ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6⅛ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*puwlowale*) of *wetapuwa* wood (C8066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wakatale*), single large lozenges (*paichiole*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and mesial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 2¾ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

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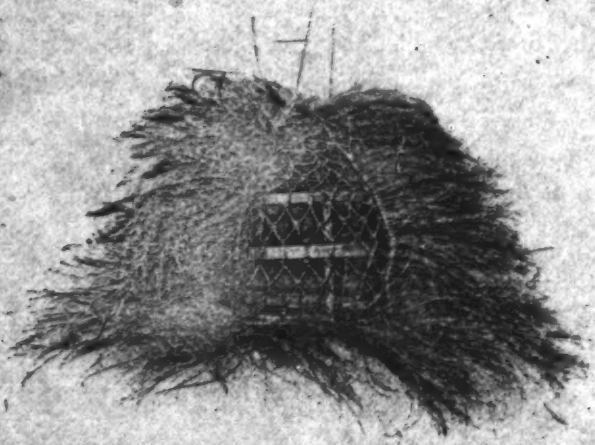

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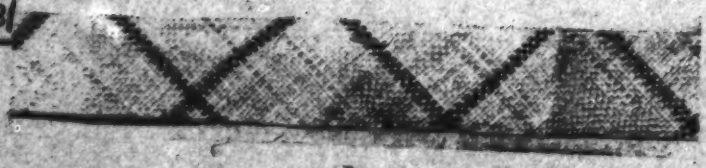

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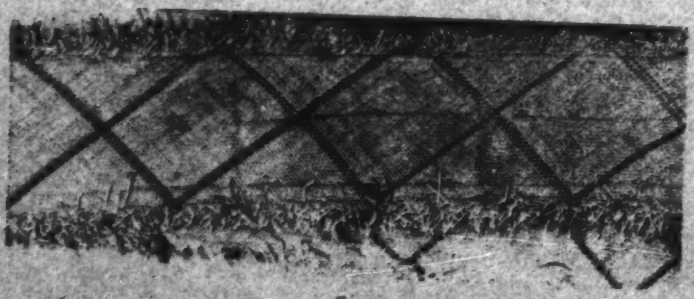

C

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *lisi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
317 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
624 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook taro meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vasenga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakatangatanga gini kolou,[4] o to tauf' kita ki te vasenga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolou ia. I a kolou, ave taku kolou i a kolou tuna ke wakatakatake wou i te mota. Ke pukou tuana i loto, e vayi ion, ngalepalepe. No i ai na aunai ia te vasenga ke kongo kolou talinga. Wakamaale kolou wakaleiei. Ko te vasenga ia na aunai ai ki a kolou. Tangi ai lou ia te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in aunait or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the re-
serve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in
secret.

628 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotuna* fern to use as fertilizer for
village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *kotou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true
202 drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nesu*, the larger gong *holilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nesu* to a double-ended drum; the word *holilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa nesua*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *horiro*, wooden gong).

Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched
533 sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*hauta*). Formerly, when a large dancing and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*nau vaka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chant-
534 ing on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *vaikonoa* or *uvea* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *haha hi te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

533/534 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

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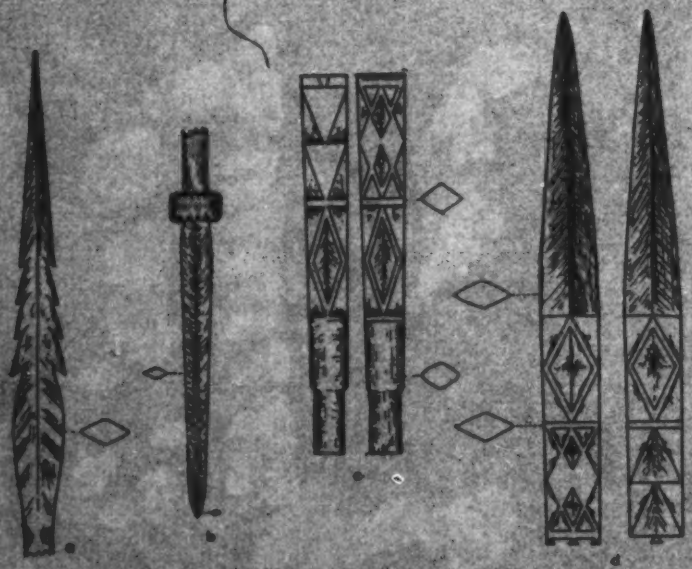

FIGURE 51.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of coconut wood spear (*tao*) (Cb109): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt medial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¼ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6⅝ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*yuulowalo*) of *wahanuta* wood (Cb066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*tuhatalo*), single large lozenges (*paiohiole*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and medial edges. Weight of spear 4⅝ pounds, length 9 feet 2¾ inches.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wokama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
539 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kolokolo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nou*, *wetau*, *koupou*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*uai ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uaiaga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku kakala*) to tame her spirit (*wakalata i tona mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
194 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations be-
533 tween the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *mahanave* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
A5 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh,
— to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *nguyu* bush or *kotuma* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other,
833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on
539 his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting
— should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to
764 the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*wya*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*lua* or *taluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the
775 Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*vulovulo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tahapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na agalo, loai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 535 177 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm 859 of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*anu*, modern) 593 seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

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type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

1

Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu
Ko wakauakuuku te muli o te kiole, ko wakauakuuku te muli o te kiole
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi toko toko to
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta

Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat]
(He) throws (her), bites her in the ngayu grove [repeat]
The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
[Nonsense syllables]

2

Ko yaele mai ia koe, ko yaele mai ia koe
Ko lomia e Taua, lomia e Taua ke tu te manavaka

You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Taua, pressed down by Taua till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect

3

Moe lai i a Te Yei ia te makauakunga o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Wati ai te titi o Tolota

Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]

4

Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi
Kise atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te tuki

We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]

We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.

5

E te manu e nimonimo ia
E te manu e nimonimo ia
Wakakauka atu ia te wale
Wakakauka atu ia te wale
Matiatia matiatia mati mai
Mati mai ki lomi e

Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.

6

E te manu e welele mai ia
E te manu e welele mai ia
Tau i te pungua ia wanga
Tau i te pungua ia wanga

Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *pungua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]

7

Lamakina i te vai o Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te yitolo
Yiotolo mai ke liko ai te ngongo

Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.

8

Kakalo atu ia matou e
Ki Te Manu koe wanghe

We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising

Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili

Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan

Ilili matou, ilili matou
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
Ilili matou, ilili matou

We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kaw tuve*, strong men): *mua tuka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto tuka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli tuka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua tuka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto tuka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli tuka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulonga*.

[578]

526 The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

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526 Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupa* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

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826 ing behind C leader and A man pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 93), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*moinanga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*moinanga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Walatoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621/533]

Swimming races (*moinanga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*mokoyekoyeko*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They
527 are of three kinds: *moinanga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *moinanga matalo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *moinanga kahai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lasi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[834]

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *hamai*, and *uanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and so after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared taro, 499 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The dancers are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

186 Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taboo governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men 226 are out present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been 577 idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women 461 was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*mainganga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first fin- 285 ished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*lioki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

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Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *alee* dirge:

Moe ma te tuna e,
Tatou tuungi ki motu e,
Na mauli kape i mata e, kape ma ua vae.

Tino yasiefia, ye vava, yasie wua mai tai nei—

Tieki te kakai motua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia kotou i te kotou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te tokanga
a te wui mulivaka,
Kua ngale koe, e ulu laina i te pou tu,

To yika tala wawali ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatuetuetu la lalu
Wakatupeupeu atu koe ki Mulivae.
E tolu wuvale, e tolu taina,
Aku wakaalain mai koe ko te wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Kamaini koe ye Waiel,
Ko ye tua na wuivaga o tangata o te atu
Vaeee.
Kua yau loa te tala ma i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tela.
Tauei au e tangiwanga wakamaauva
Wakamailuaga i te kalaga ma te kaue ma te a
kotou ma te ulu lelei kotou.
E ulu taina, ke vave ake au ye Uya,
Ke aka tuki atu i na ngatu lelekala e
Malotu ake, nenewu.
Kua tolu mo te wintaagalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding.
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to cut,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Waiel.[29]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoan.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[30]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uya,[31]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

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It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the man of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[29] A character in a popular story.
[30] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[31] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant [613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance,

833 is not always clear or consistent. Thus the lalau, Wakaoli io koe, (see page 126) was composed by the subject Lialo, assisted by friends. A happy phrase suggested by a friend in the second person, addressing Lialo, is incorporated verbatim. Phrases suggested by Lialo himself are naturally in the first person. Though in extreme cases, the pronouns chop and change with great frequency, informants saw no cause for confusion. In line 1 of the lalau, the phrasing, "Wakaoli io koe", dance out you, was suggested by a friend; the phrase in line 3, "Akaanowia oku tino manu", cool my body birdlike, was obviously formulated by Lialo himself. These examples could be duplicated in many of the chants collected. They show that a certain consistency of craftmanship in these matters was of no value or interest. They also illustrate one of the pitfalls which makes the translation of such chants no easy matter.

Analysis

Structural analysis indicates that any chant is composed of an arbitrary number of sections or phrases (yikunga) of varying length, each unified within itself by meaning. The very short chants may consist of but one or two sections. Each section is divided into three minor sections, a first, the uyunga pu yikunga, a middle, the lolotonu pu yikunga, and the end sections, the yiku pu yikunga. These subsections mark off pauses, a fresh breath being taken at the end of each; they also serve to break up the meaning of the total phrase (yikunga) into several minor meaning units. I do not think that a chant is composed with these divisions and subdivisions clearly outlined in the mind of the composer. They represent a pattern of composition that is more subconsciously rather than consciously followed.

Another structural device is the wakamaunga, which consists of one or more sections and serves as a general introductory statement to the main chant. In the elaborate cycle of chants making up the Tamanu series two long wakamaunga preface the three main chants. But these wakamaunga were so long that it was necessary to add an introduction to the introductions; this explains the first section of the Tamanu called uyunga. Wakamaunga of more moderate length are those attached to the kupu malama: "Na yayae to matokatolu" and to the lalau: "Akaolia tukia ki te vaka" (see page 132). A second introductory device is the lolominga, a short set of phrases which adds material not incorporated in the main chant. This use of the lolominga is illustrated in the lalau: "Wakaoli io koe"

533 (see page 126). A lolominga may be sufficiently long to stand on its own; it is then not different from a short love chant. A lolominga of this type is the chant: "Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga" (see page 106), which is the elaborate development of a metaphorical comparison between a woman and a canoe.

Meter

The general characteristics that distinguish the chanting of different chants are termed tanga (from ta, to chant.) This may be roughly, though incorrectly, translated as meter. It may include meter, but in general the meter of a chant refers also to its pitch, volume, speed, and accent. The chanting depends for its musical quality upon rhythm obtained through accent and sometimes meter, through crescendo and diminuendo of volume, raising and lowering of pitch, acceleration and decrease of speed of chanting. In terms of these characteristics informants distinguished the following types of chanting: ta wakatato, fast, pitch low; ta wakateka, fast, but voice a semi-falsetto; ta wakatoto, a fast falsetto, considered appropriate to the expression of grief; ta wakatokotoko, the pitch moves up and down frequently in sharp changes of emphasis, with crescendo and dimuendo of the voice; ta wakamotumotu, characterized by sharp changes of pitch, starting with an emphatic low, then raised to a high pitch which is held for several beats, then dropped to the previous low; ta wakaleka, an even flow of sound with voice on the same pitch; ta ki lunga, the voice is kept at semi-falsetto pitch throughout the chant. A further type is ta waka e e, so called because of the frequent, long accented e sounds occurring throughout the chant.

One informant made a hesitant, but not absolutely successful attempt to base some of the distinction between different tanga on metrical considerations. According to him a meter which alternates notes, long-short, long-short, is termed ta wakatokutoku. His metrical version of one chant is presented below. Beyond this, however, he could not present any further consistent distinction, save one in terms of relative smoothness as against choppiness of recitation, or calm as against excited chanting. Perhaps in ta wakamayangi, a meter may be established. This is the rhythm for the juggling chants which accompany the throwing of the articles into the air. It is a slow even flow of sounds in rhythm to the even throwing. It is evident that formal meter is not an intergral part of Pukapukan chanting. Meter is of course present in all the chants but it is not harmonized into a consistent system that can be named and used. It may be noted that accent is of great importance in chanting. It falls with the length, but is

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are: —, for a long vowel; –, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″, a strong accent; ′, medium accent; ↓, low pitch; ↑, high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e e; 11 to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e, e, e, te tawito niu loa.

2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.

3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.

4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:

5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.

6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.

7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;

8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;

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533 9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.
539

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.

11. Ya wakaknekne; ya wakatuloutulou.

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.

16. Ko titike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.

21. Yuatia teia; wakatangilia teia.

22. Na tama i te mata lulumu, na topetopea;

23. Yoko a Wenutuki te lakau wakatalatala.

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[81] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[77] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowel: is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

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539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[521] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The matou is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524 539 [533] 6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau,
Te potia ua, te potia ua,
Ua lele, ua lele,
Poloiti polo lau mea mea } Meaning obscure
Aleuei, aluei, pa na, pa na
E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,
Motu la Manuyiki laua Severed are they,
ma Lakawanga. Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

526 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is
322 rubbed (*mulumulu*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is termed *velo tutu*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *velo* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

534 FIGURE 50.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (C8111): diameter from slot to
284 bottom 2¾ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¾ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (C8112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (C8054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (C8055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *vetau*, that of beaters *agangia*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*fuyu*) (C8201): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*mata kili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua kousala*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (8) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171]

Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nawa*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nawa* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa wenua*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

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Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kauie*). Formerly, when a large chanting and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*mua saka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

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The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chanting on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *mahoaoa* or *matau* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *hulu hi te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
534 dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
531 types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and arrow, and shield were unknown.

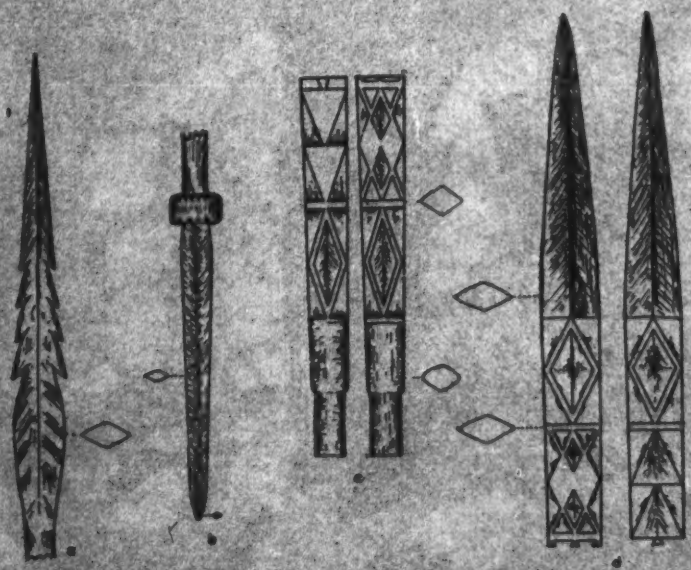

FIGURE 51.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of coconut wood spear (*tao*) (C8109): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt medial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¼ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6½ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*yuwlowvla*) of mahemata wood (C8066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wakatala*), single large lozenges (*paiehiola*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and medial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 2¾ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valouulo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *takapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 535 177 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm 859 of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The indi- 533 vidualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*ewa*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reinforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau turu*, strong men): *mua vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked [578] by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *fulunga*.

524 The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people 186 sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are 621 on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the 533 night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the 535 prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

526 Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

The dances seen during an evening's entertainment were performed by a small number of people in Loto village: 535 177

Men and women danced together in four lines, the men performing one set of movements in unison, the women performing another set. In one dance the men brought their knees up high in a stationary run or kicked their heels behind them, while the women moved their hips rapidly from side to side, keeping the upper part of their bodies motionless. The gestures and steps of this dance and several others recorded in motion pictures are identical with rapidly performed dances of Tahiti. Each dance was led by one man, who made gestures and remarks amusing to the natives.

The accompaniment was kept with an improvised drum made of a roll of mats. The rhythm was first given, and after a long roll of the drumsticks the dance commenced. Throughout the dances, the dancers sang songs which they called *'imine*, a Tahitian word derived from the English "hymn."

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533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category 116--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 Wuli vakevake is to dance by tilting the body backward from the hips.
Wuli pulou is to turn the palms of the hands downward; wuli vakevake te lima is to turn the palms upward.
Kakalo na mata is to dance with wide open and staring eyes.
Kekemo na mata is to dance with the eyes half closed.
Yopo te leo is to dance with a protruding tongue.
Wakaponga te ngutu is to distort the face with mouth in an attitude of defiance.
Wakamanga te ngutu is to dance with wide open mouth.
Wakanuku te tua is to dance rhythmically raising and lowering the abdomen and back, usually with knees and hands on ground.
Wakamakaka is to bend the head and shoulders backward.
Takawitiwiti is to squirm and move all parts of the body rapidly.
Wakaeiei is to sway the hips and buttocks forward and backward, and from side to side.

Several phases of the dance, no longer performed, were described. To dance moving forward out of line (atu) and then back into line is wakaoloolo. This was done by an especially good dancer who wished to come forward to display his skill. The term vilo refers to dancing in circular formation. Depending on the number of dancers, several concentric circles with eight to twelve dancers in each danced round in the same direction. A dancer might change from one circle (also called atu) to another during the dance, and the general effect of the vilo was one of circular movement with frequent interchange between the several circles. In the kaputata movement, the dancers lined up in concentric circles, with only alternate circles facing in the same direction, and all moved at once. Further variety was achieved by following dance phases in which the dancers moved in rows.

In general the movement of the body accompanying the chanting is a matter only of the rhythmic motions described. But, in addition, simple actions mentioned in the words of the chant are described with gestures of one or two hands to indicate, for instance, falling, throwing, or distance. The best dancers are those who most consistently and gracefully keep the body and buttocks swaying. Those who perform the most spectacular or energetic movements are not considered especially good dancers, for their movements do not involve skillful control of all parts of the body.

The Pukapukans do not seem to have had named dances or series of dances as, for instance, Canoe Dance, Talo Dance,

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the tale for the feast, but a meeting of
[362] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 20 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

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527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yet. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
527 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngaka women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngaka. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngaka women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
534 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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An extra sail support is needed with the gaff sail (fig. 32). This spit is around *toko*. At the lower end it rests in a mortar (*mahamanga no te toko*) fastened to the mast. In a strong wind blowing directly aft, the gaff sail is supported by a further stay that runs from the head of the spit to the stern cross lifting bar, occasionally to the curve of the stern piece around which it is fastened.

For a one-man canoe for sailing to the islets, a rough-and-ready sail is made from a coconut-leaf mat (*tahapau*). A pole is stepped in the canoe and lashed to the forward cross boom. The midrib side of the mat is fastened to the pole with sheets of coconut fiber (*kaleen*) and the outer edges of the mat stayed by guys passing to the hand of the sailor who sits in the stern of the canoe and steers. A *tahapau* mat catches ample wind to speed along a small canoe.

The mast of any Pukapukan canoe is mounted at either end of the canoe, the outrigger being invariably kept to windward. The canoe can not tack without unstepping the mast and setting it up at the other end of the canoe. Sailing fast (*kaiali* or *pole*) in a heavy wind, some members of the crew rest their weight on the outrigger cross booms in order to counterbalance any tendency of the outrigger to lift out of the water. Under sail a Pukapukan canoe lies close to the wind, but tends to make rapid leeway for want of a keel.

Paddle and Bailer

The Pukapukan paddle (*vaea*, fig. 26,*d*) has a projecting knob (*mata*) at the distal end of the blade. This knob has a dual function. It protects the blade (*kaiaea vaea*) when the canoe is being poled over lagoon shallows, and, when the paddle is brought from the water with a sharp wrench after a short jab stroke, the knob makes, in contact with the water, a short, sharp, ringing sound (*kaea tangi te vaea*), used to attract fish to the fishing canoes. It is a very characteristic sound in Pukapukan paddling, and whenever it is necessary to indicate a canoe in May Day play festivals, a file of men walk about making this sound with their lips, at the same time raising and lowering their arms.

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The paddle is used on both port and starboard sides of the canoe. The outrigger does not offer great impediment to the typical short, jabbing strokes of the Pukapukan paddler. Any paddle is used indifferently for steering and paddling. Formerly the paddle was always held with the knob (*mata*) turned toward the rear of the canoe. This usage (*ala tua*) is reserved today for short sports and for making the paddle resound, the front (*ahuale* or *mahamaka*) of the paddle being now conventionally directed toward the rear.

Each canoe has as part of its equipment a long pole (*toko*) used for poling the canoe over reef shallows. Some canoes returning to Wale from Moon Ko-hing the reef circuit and make good speed with two people poling, one in the bow and one in the stern.

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The bailer (*tuie*, fig. 26,*e*) is of common Polynesian type. It is not decorated with carving. In use, the bailer is set filled, lifted, and emptied over the side of the canoe, but water is gathered from the bottom of the hull and dust cut with one vigorous and continuous scoop. In small canoes, an empty coconut shell serves as a bailer.

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Measurements

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The principal measurements of seven Pukapukan canoes are given in Table 3. These measurements may be compared with those of the 13-meter canoe shown in figure 25.

322

The amount by which the forward end of the outrigger float is set to starboard to assist the steering quarter of the canoe ranges in the canoes measured from 2 to 4 inches, with an average of about 3½ inches. Pukapukan canoe builders gave no rule

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
526 eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
512 children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

536 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
527 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*ruka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*te ti ula*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatoa nona (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuya" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua moana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *uai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvaua*) are drawn about 30 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewiea (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--1 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa! " expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

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538 Direct quotations in a story are always pitched higher than the ordinary speaking tone. This is a matter of convention and it makes no difference whether it is a giant or a small child who is supposed to be speaking. There is no attempt to imitate the voice of the subject speaking; the high pitched tone indicating that the narrative is broken by a quotation is sufficient. The end of a descriptive sequence or of the development of a minor or major theme within the story as a whole is always indicated by the word oti (finished). The use of this word roughly corresponds with our own tendency to pause in speaking or to end a paragraph in writing. Continued action or passage of time is indicated by a long drawn out e-e-e sound. Where a final adverb is used to qualify a statement as in the phrase: "He speared him makeke (hard)", the adverb is pronounced with force, very slowly and with great facial gesture. A final convention that may be noticed is the almost complete absence of the third person nominative and accusative pronouns in story telling. No confusion seems to be caused the Pukapukan auditor by this omission, though it sometimes renders it difficult for a European auditor to follow the sense of the particular passage. The place of the pronoun however is often taken by a repetition of the proper name of the person affected. The beginning of a story is usually devoted to an enumeration of the names of the people about whom the story is told, their sex and lineage affiliation.

126 Most of the stories were dictated by Veti and Pau. Talainga wrote out several of the longer stories in Pukapukan. Stories without text were secured from a group of informants. They were generally told by one narrator who stopped at frequent intervals to consult with his companions in order to be sure of the continuation of the narrative.

538 An attempt was made by some informants to distinguish two types of stories (tala): tala wenua and tala wanongo. The distinction, made notably by Talainga, though not absolutely clear, seems to be this: Tala wenua are stories about Pukapuka, its origin and history; tala wanongo are Pukapukan stories which relate events that occurred elsewhere. Of the stories he recorded, Talainga named as tala wanongo the story of Maui's fishing up of Tonga, the story of Laumeakula and Laumeamelo, the story of the raising of the sky, and the story of the tavake bird. The other stories he recorded, of the voyage of Wue, of the defecating of Yawau, of the fight in Waletoa, are tala wenua. Other informants disagreed with Talainga's classification but could not clarify the matter. Because it is obscure in the first place and, secondly, cuts across the accepted classification of myths and folktales, the

538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Mauikatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale, very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next. At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (tangata manamana), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft. At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (talotalo), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities
773 of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is
522 given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband
as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults
and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan
[226] man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten
[226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, "I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! . pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. W hen the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatateki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[171] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan
[538] version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
You crawl on the roof,
You jump down to the end rafters.
We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
You are killed by the people
And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538 171 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven): Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it be until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[71] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538/773 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538/773 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conns shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538/173 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko kioleloa te matua tane; ko kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kula. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawala, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te pepanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa lua matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Teia ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino. E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kale imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yelo mai na toe takanga. Peia mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, paknongea, wakawewewewela. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momoto ia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale o Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Moa loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na pale. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takale i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kioleloa was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernbrmal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] ii. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
577 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command. and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 773 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare! "

Taua gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua men were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au mai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of
621 representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the
609 three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognised as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its
621 own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe
476 building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals
[578] composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several
626 ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy
476 in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 Te pivai' elo, malo pipilo, — Pig smelling, malo stinking,
626 E kiai ya wano la ma — (He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
461 Talu la ki te wakayaya — (He has) placed himself in sacredness
Kae mea noa e so ai. — No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te maln, te maln, te maln	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewai, te wewai, te wewai,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vaisanga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu ananu pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E kua yinga wau ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

* The chants are random, hence the use of the Tahitian *pioi* for pig (live song) and *poi* for pudding (inanimate song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *houhau lama* or *topola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iti tauia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulubu*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Maniondi and Maniopopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Maniopopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

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flower of the uetua tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Maniouli, Maniepepe, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Maniouli, Maniepepe, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Maniouli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-wate has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Maniouli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*peyue*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *peyue* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wasa: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuiri: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wualole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lamatai: very large nuts.
Niu kawa lolua: nuts with long husks.

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372 The origin of fire is told in stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Maulkatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Maulkatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *koko* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Maulkatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Maulkatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *ohiohi* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Maulkatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Maulkatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Maulkatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *koko* bird,
Noko kotia te vaonata o te ohiohi.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *ohiohi* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyen, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyen brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyen, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*, split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hemoti*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the bark of the stick. Place the *hemoti* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*potumoto*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*mokomoti*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
317 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

*In another version of the story, Maulkatoto is said to be a god, but commonly not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Maulkatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

392 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued
763 today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
178 C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
292 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
283 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or
292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wa*).
828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
787 fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *uulo* cord (*matai uulo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
539 antiquity of the garment:

Walakawa ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupa a Yiva angaoti	Made so in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ena wakarvevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

391 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

392 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the yeu has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the uue:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taku falei ma mo kunga ia ma, ma ma Tumulivaka, ma ma Mataliki ma tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanaa laa ma tama a Punga Momoto: ko te manuga, ko te tuvala, ko te wai ika paa. Yua ma tee tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kawa, te kile, te tuli, te kawa, te wai tupua o kunga o te wenua. Ko ma tama ia a laua ko te wai ika o te moana, ko te wai tupua a kunga o te wenua. Koa mono latou i kunga o te wenua, maa latou i ma punga kikina.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili laa te uue, ko Mataliki. Lapa laa ki te ulu mai kunga o te kunga. Minale laa ma tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awanga laa kawa. Minale laa ma toe tamaliki, welele laa ki laka o te moana, mami; mai te tuvala, te manuga, te kakai, te gale, te wenua,—te wai ika,—minale ki laka o te moana; minale ki laka o te ulu; mai te kikimamaki, te ulumaka, te tiwikiwi, te punu, te kawanui, te tua kakati,—ko te wai ika i laka o te ulu. Yua ma toe tama a laua, ala ki laka o te wenua, mai te kaipa, te uuga, te kanua, te kiele, ko te wai tupua i kunga o te wenua. Ko ma toe tama a laua, welele ala ki ma kunga manuu i ma toe ga wenua, mami; welele kaiuuga o te vaiwaiwa, mai te tuli, te kawa, te kalili, te galegalenuga,—te wai manu o welele ki kunga. Wanaa ai te uuuuga o te nuuuga, e tangata i kunga o te wenua. Tapai laa te kaon o te wua o laua, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pala oki te tama a te tuvala: wanaa oki te tuvala tama tama, e tangata. Ko tama tama o te tuvala ia, ma [illegible] ko te manuu. Ko tama laua ma wenua i kunga o te wenua, tapai laa tama ingoa, Te Mango o Te Wai Tuvala.

Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scattered. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, (all there: with were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rotettar*, the *tuvala*,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kikimamaki*, the *ulumaka*, the *tiwikiwi*, the *punu*, the *kawanui*, the *tua kakati*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipa* crab, the *uuga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their man was given, the name of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale; the child of the whale [illegible] went to the sea, grew there, hunting fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Mango o Te Wai Tuvala (the branch of the whale).

[835]

*The reference to "evil works" indicates the [illegible] which [illegible] and upsetting the [illegible] of their land.

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Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te wua ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai loa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe ia oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu loa te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called wua. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a wua also which grew from them. The wua grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the wua of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i luaga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua manga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wanga, tupu mai. Peia oki i a Yeitae.

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

Ko Te Tawola, kua wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau e te moana.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na nana hi nganta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malenu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; peia oki te wanau a Kenakena, peia oki te wanau a Pukapuka, peia oki te wanau a Malenu, peia oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanau a latou tamaliki wolo ki luaga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki luaga o te wenua.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malenu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malenu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 173 539 616

Note: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Matalíki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the [illegible] children. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their new transformed bodies and shapes and these names

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613 because the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an
[539] important social group.

773 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all
616 land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua
773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it
613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this
773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was
616 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*keinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups.
616 Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*keinanga*, *mona*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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605 visits at the house of Elia, and Moingi, Elia's wife, visits with Vati. Neither Elia nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *male atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *male atua* are involved in a case. Neither *male atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *male atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense taupo that exists between *male atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

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Sometimes in spite of the taupo *male atua* become so obsessions as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *male atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants needed to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *male atua* taupo in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of
[171] Pukapuka who married his *male atua*, Wostan, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly asserted me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *male atua*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old taupo were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

The attraction of *male atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
602 chants (*tupu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a bagalua or in a
539 sentimental affection of one *male atua* for another. When asked for explanations
835 for the *male atua* taupo, informants could only quote the two following sections from *tupu*. The explanation is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Manolini koe, ko Tuka au	You are Manolini (the Pukapuka), I am Tuka. (Orion)
Te ngaua ma koe galua	(We lived) like two [illegible] together (in the [illegible] stars)
Kati ahi e taka ranu ana	Turn to me, oh my male atua
E [illegible] e [illegible] ranu	You are [illegible], you are the taupo [illegible]
Ko [illegible] ahi [illegible]	(For which) my heart has longed
Kati ahi [illegible] e [illegible] au.	(When I am you) my [illegible] the [illegible] (Orion) of the Night [illegible]

The second chant runs:

Ko [illegible] ahi ki au	I and [illegible] (my male atua).
Ko [illegible] e [illegible]	The [illegible] (beside me) and [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

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832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
539 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetau*, *kaupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*tui ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uainga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku hakalo*) to tame her spirit (*wakalata i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pale* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
194 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations be-
[533] tween the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *mahenua* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the tuttle of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai, pulé, pulée,	Carry above the head (?)
Teyre [illegible]	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other?) side,
Tiki, tiki ai, tiki, tiki ai	Up and down, up and down,
Kapakai, kapakai,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kawa*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a vault for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *kuhava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*nis wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*amanga*) of the old men's group (*tupale*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tuanayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli nunin*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taps or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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114 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

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115 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

[114]

The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

115 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngake village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

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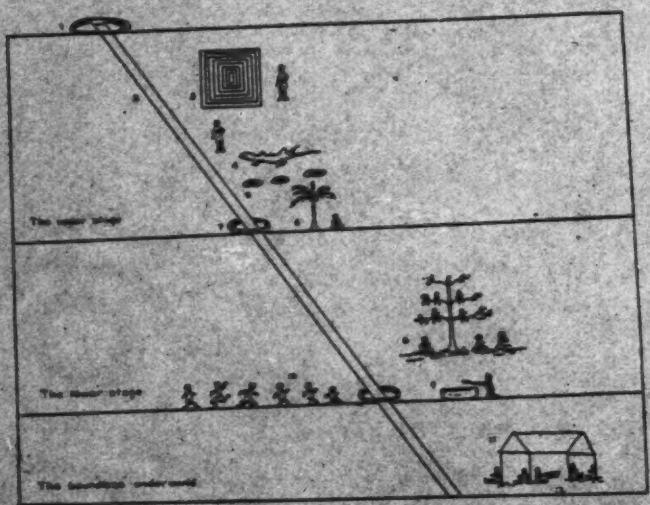

FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te kapi lunga*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te pa a Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Lobe; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Máti; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te kapi lalo*); 8, *ewka* tree of god Tangi, women who have horse children sitting in branches, childless women sitting on ground below; 9, musician god Tulikalo playing his gong (*sawa*); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Lova (*te wale poa tiaitini o Lova*); 12, goddess Lova plaits her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Malau, oscillating stone of Yokamani, talo gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surrounds house of Lova in the bottomless Underworld (*te Po likulibu*).

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After stumbling along this path, the two came out on a flat space where they saw a giant lizard (*moko uvolo*). Te Yoa cried out in fear at this apparition. Both men prayed to their god to help them, and when Wotoa lifted his foot to scare the lizard, it closed its gaping mouth, and the two men walked quickly and safely past it. They came to the banana tree of the god Mulua, then passed on to the pools of fresh water (*te vai no te Po*), where they washed themselves. Going farther, they came to a coconut tree (*te niu a Malu*) cared for by the god Malu. A number of gods were sitting round this tree, and the two brothers were pleased to be able to pick out the gods they were accustomed to worship on earth. The gods inquired about the visitors and were surprised to hear they were mortals and not souls. Wotoa said he was thirsty, so a god climbed the tree and threw down nuts which the god Te Awuawu husked for them, and which the god Ngaliyeyeu opened and apportioned between the two mortals. The gods joined them in drinking a nut and then left to go elsewhere. They had been picnicking in the shade of the coconut tree.

Passing on, the brothers came to the stone of Yokamani, which is just by the opening to the lower level of the Po (*te pu ki te kapi lalo*). A spirit rested on this stone which Yokamani oscillated, so that the spirit lost balance and fell into the *kapi lalo*.

The brothers passed down to the *kapi lalo* and saw the *puha* tree planted by Tangi, guarded by the god Loke. On this tree were the souls of recently deceased Pukapukans. Children were sitting in the branches of the tree, mothers were sitting on the ground, and other souls were hanging strangled in the nooses (*matapili*) that hung from the branches. Still other souls were hunting about the ground for lizards to give the gods to eat.

Going farther, the brothers came to a place where there were many more gods all wearing their hair nicely plaited on the top of their heads. From this Wotoa and Te Yoa got the idea of making hats of plaited pandanus, and that was the origin of hat making in Pukapuka. [Plaited hat making was not introduced into Pukapuka until after white contact.] The gods were all dancing, chanting, and playing games. Tulikalo, the musician god, was playing on the wooden gongs. The brothers listened and watched and were thus able to introduce to Pukapuka the dances, games, and musical rhythms they heard and saw.

Wotoa and Te Yoa passed on until they came to the Po likuliku, where they saw a big round house with many thousands of wall posts (*te uale pou finitini*), one post for each member of the population of the Po to rest his back against when he wished. This was the house of the goddess Leva. Round the house stretched groves and groves of coconut trees and huge beds of talo, called *Te Ui-o-Lepiu*. A little way off was the ocean (Te moana-o-Tupepe) where the gods and spirits fished and sailed canoes. Inside her house Leva sat plaiting a mat. The brothers learned how souls often get caught in this mat. [On the basis of their report, qualified by the account in the story of Milimili, some say that Leva ensnared souls in the mat which meant that they lived in the Underworld forever; others say that the gods insisted that Leva incorporate in the mat elements all the souls that they smelled out, but that Leva sought to hide the souls under the mat until lineage gods had an opportunity to crawl under the mat, abstract the souls, and return them to the upper world.]

The brothers stayed for a long time in the Underworld, looking at all the wonders. At last, however, they began to long for the familiar delights of the upper world. They went to Ngaliyeyeu and asked him to help them return. Ngaliyeyeu agreed and went before them to guide them past the perils of the road. They climbed up the path, and when they reached the top a wave opened up. They stepped onto the reef and waded ashore onto Wale.

The people meanwhile thought they had been drowned. They had found their malos hanging from the banana tree by the beach; when the two did not come back from their swim, it was reported that they had been carried out to sea by a big wave. So all the people were mourning them as dead. When they stepped onto the beach, the

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539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were
154 unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
[312 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
171] world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

774 The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
775 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

775 When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 539 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *hawhie* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yiuata to put together again the tree chopped down by

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakanlu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a male or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

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type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

1

Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomoso, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomoso
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu
Ko wakaukumku te muli o te kiole, ko wakaukumku te muli o te kiole
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi toko toko to
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta

Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat]
(He) throws (her), bites her in the *ngayu* grove [repeat]
The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
[Nonsense syllables]

2

Ko yaele mai la koe, ko yaele mai la koe
Ko lomia e Taua, lomia e Taua ke tu te muavaka

You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Taua, pressed down by Taua till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect

3

Moe lai i a Te Yei la te makemakenga o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Wati ai te titi o Tolota

Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]

4

Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi
Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te tuki

We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]

We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.

5

E te manu e nimonimo ia
E te manu e nimonimo ia
Wakaukau atu la te wale
Wakaukau atu la te wale
Matiatia matiatia mati mai
Mati mai ki konei e

Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.

6

E te manu e welele mai la
E te manu e welele mai la
Tau i te puapua ia wanga
Tau i te puapua ia wanga

Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *puapua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]

7

Lumakina i te vai o Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te yitolo
Yiotio mai ke liko ai te ngongo

Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.

8

Kakalo atu la matou e
Ki Te Mane kon wengha

We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising

9

Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili

[illegible] matou, [illegible] matou
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
[illegible] matou, [illegible] matou

Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan
We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	[repeat]
	9
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	Like *pulaka* cooking, like *pulaka* cooking
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	[repeat]
	10
E Luea to tiuu e angi mai	Oh Luea, your wind blows here
E Luea to tiuu e angi mai	[repeat]
Ka pa anu to vaka ki Kalaumea	Your canoe will be carried to Kalaumea
E, ka pa anu to vaka ki Mata Kalokalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tae ia koe ki tawa ma te lulu ma te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their taro
Ka tae ia koe ki Kalaumea, ka tae ia koe ki Kalaumea.	You will reach Kalaumea, you will reach Kalaumea.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Pelemi (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki mali tua. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

Kinikini is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's foot. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kinikini*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopa" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wohetangi ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *utu ŋeŋe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *utu tuulikili*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *kokoki* in which the player hops on one foot.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 113 773

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

539

E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki runga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa runga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki runga, wuwuti ki runga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ula lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki runga, koa oko ki te konga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe kaoga o te ula lakau. Kakao chi te toe kaoga. Kakao chi te toe kaoga. Wuwuti ia, wuwuti ia, oko ki runga. Iti loa te vaka ki runga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti a Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pau ki runga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

[See category 539 or 116 -- analyst.]

539

Mānia loa te wui atua, ya lulu i lunga o te wenua. Yuki mangamanga te wui atua. Wano atu te wui atua ulu ke tai ona konga nunai. Wo na toe atua ulu atu ki na toe konga. Yau loa la i a Tamayei. Ulu mai la te moana ki Tokelau. Yau loa mai Tonga, yau loa e, oko mai loa ki te moana nei, pae ai lunga o te kilitai. Takayeu ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Ko kakao mai te watu ia mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Onoono ai, e waingata. Niko loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai iai ke to loa, yau oki wakawou. Ko tona tino ya yau ia e tino kaka. Yau oki ki te mea ya onoono ai taumua. Insino ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Koa yau loa ki te tiketike te tupunga o te watu ia. Wano oki wakawou ki Tonga, kaliai iai ke to aso koaloa. Yau oki wakawou. Leke mai loa, ino oki ki lunga o te mea ya onoono ai taumua, onoono atu ki lalo; koa wakakena mai mai lalo o te newu o te moana. Wano loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai ke ili ni lua ayo. Yau loa, ko tona tino atua tika. Kakao mailunga o te kilitai. Onoono atu ki te mea ya wakakena mai i te tolu o tona yaunga. Koa wano loa ki te uia. Pae loa la i lunga. Onoono loa, kali loa, kali loa, kali loa e; uia ki lunga. Kite loa i atua, e wenua. No loa ki lunga o te watu.

The many gods who had gathered on the island hastened away. The gods ran off in all directions. The gods went to seek their place to hide. Some gods went to other places. Tamayei came then. He searched throughout the sea to Tokelau. He came from Tonga, he came, finally reached this sea, drifting on the surface. He circled around looking down. The rock was arising from the rock-bottom of the sea. He looked, it would take a long time. He returned again to Tonga. He waited there for a while, then came again. His body with which he had come was the body of a ghost tern. He came again to the thing he had first seen. He circled over it, looking down. The growth of the stone was becoming high. He went again to Tonga, waited there for a longer time. Then returned again. He flew here, circled around in the air above the thing he had first seen; it was whitening below the spray of the sea. He went again to Tonga. He waited there for a few days to pass. He came, his real body of a god. He appeared on top of the surface of the sea. He looked at the thing that had been turning white at the third of his comings. It was turning red. It floated on top. He looked, he waited, waited, (and) waited e-e-e-, it was red on top. He knew, it was an island. He stayed on the rock.

Ngawa loa te tangata mai loto o te watu. Ko Mataliki te ingoa. Onoono atu i a Tamayei, e tangata ko i loto o te watu. Wuiungia loa i a Tamayei. Wano atu loa i a Tamayei i tona wanonga. Koa pau tona talatala.

Then the man from inside of the stone burst through. Mataliki was his name. Tamayei looked, it was a man inside the stone. Tamayei was afraid. Tamayei went off on his journey. His story is finished.

No loa i a Mataliki i lunga o te watu, ma te wakaope mai te laielaie, te kilikili ki lunga o te toka.

Mataliki stayed on the stone, piling up sand, the corals on top of the rock.

Ke no i a Mataliki ki lunga o te toka nei, wowou loa i te wenua nei e te wui atua. Wowou atu, talipili atu ki Yamoa; wowou i te toe konga, talipili atu ki te atu laulau. Wowou atu oki ki tokelau, talipili atu ki te Pa Lakawanga. Ko wai ta latou yanga nei i loto o te po. Onoono atu i a Mataliki, kae wolo tona wenua, kae talipili mai ai wenua ki tawo o tona wenua. Lili loa i a Mataliki. Wakamalama loa i te ao. Mānia loa te wui atua. Maka loa i te latou wowonga i te wenua.

While Mataliki was living on the stone, the island was being built up by the many gods. They built it up, it grew near to Samoa; they built up the other part, it neared the distant lands (*atu laulau*). They built it up also to the north, it neared the Lakawanga group. They were doing this work in the middle of the night. Mataliki watched lest his island grew large, lest some islands come close to the side of his island. Mataliki became angry. He made the day dawn. The many gods disappeared. They dropped their building-up of the island.

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano koe ohna e wawine ma koe. Teia te konga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongaleleva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koisi taoa tamawine. Ko te wawine ia ka amai e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tamawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, oko kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine na talasala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te tamawine ia, amai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, koa loa te vaia. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te tama, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Pupute oki wakawou, to oki; e tamawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E tautua no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te ononono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Koa opoopo i te wai atua ki ona tawa. Ononono loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kavea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wai atua. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, motu. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaokao ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ka te mata wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga laua lua tamaliki; tawanga lua matutua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongaleleva. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth, also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched. Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for stoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See category 173 or 116 ~ analysis]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely
173 that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation* of the textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

839 They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangaloa.
173 The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taupeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (yau): Poike, Niutao, Tase, Tapungaye. First to the yau of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the yau of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his yau completely. They went to the yau of Tase, fought with Tase, struck Tase dead, ravaged his yau. They went to the yau of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his yau completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taupeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taupeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the inlet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloa. Taupeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloa. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-na-to-i-Te-Aumaloa (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloa), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likolike*) and decayed coconut (*yami*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumuwawine was her name. She went to Matauta, [illegible] to Matawea. [illegible] to Tokaipole and Taupeloa. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flew above. This

* It was suggested that they have the Tongans were too strong for them.

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is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupeloa who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeloa looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tuna. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupeloa and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeloa said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeloa shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Watu-manava-nui (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wulumanu-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

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A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai aka mea ke yamayamu ai au? (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his [illegible] on the inner reef. They raised to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

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173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*taulua*) with a crew
173 of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kalua, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyasola; the second,
173 Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyasola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyasola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the ocean. [illegible] in Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyasola. The

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woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalekimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malokametoa. These two knew that Tuyiyanola desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyanola had several wives and families (*puna*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyanola became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongaleleva people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongaleleva to find a canoe crew.

Luaivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Luaivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalekimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Luaivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Luaivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, lelei te yua o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach and to see seen higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to rouse his men. First he went to the houses of Maunga Ilunga, then to the houses of

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Mafiwuta, then to the houses of Yangalipole. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivalpepa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivalpepa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*yau*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

173 There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake.
The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their
171 canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no
meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when
192 entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called
yau where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yau* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

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come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sisa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. In any case Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

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Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualau, Tapotos, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*hau uwuota*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualau and another place called Pupuya (Stone—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

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In the time of Kuhaua and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following account:

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Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Matalihi. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

539 173 were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

172 Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

173 One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells 173 of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuna:

539 173 Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offence if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Tootuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

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539 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people
173 could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaka, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period
of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna,
773 became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their
tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it,
189 would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou waka-
matanga le yi o latou longo ki tupua").

539 The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copula-
173 tion group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nym-
phomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions.
731 A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Mouna, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mameo, Matakos, and Ulo, all of the Maliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

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PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

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Rehabilitation

168 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it
261 was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The
621 time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia*
wakamoemoe). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te
166 Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kiailu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wukaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pelo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

[685]

Civil War

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

578 "The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wala* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was
placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled
only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but
also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

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173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngaya* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

173 Mermiane Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
761 permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and
533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *alee* dirge:

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Mon ma te tuto o,
Tutod tutangi ki motu o,
Na mauli kape i meta o, kape ma na vae.

Time yaulilu, ye vavo, yaule wau mai nei—

Tiki te hahai matua, ne hotou na vale,
E tangis hotou i te hotou tangata,
Wali wau mai ki a koe te potiki o te tahanga
o te wai malivaka.
Kua ngalo koe, o nie laiau i te pou te,

Te yilu tala wuwali ko te matamatangi—

Ko wakaokaoka ia iale
Wakatepeupeu atu koe ki Mulivae.
E tolu wuvale, e tolu taiou,
Aku wakaokaoka mai koe ko te wale atua.

Na potua ko koe o Talikai.

Kamatai koe pe Walei,
Ko ye tua na wakanga o tangata o te atua
Vamoa.
Kua yoo koe te tala na i te tala o Tiki na
potua.
Ko te valu o Te Palo ya tale.
Tauci au e tangeungeu wakamauvo
Wakamaitanga i te hainga ma te koe na te a
hotou ma te ulu laia hotou.
E olau taiou, ko vave alu au pe Uyo.
Ke alu tuhi atu i na ngutu ilakaki e
Malecke alu, tamevo.
Kua tuku ma te wiwangalo e koi tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god house.
They killed you in the middle of the place Talikai.
You smelled like Walei.[39]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the people of the Samoans.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of Tiki who was killed.
The cause of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[40]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[41]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
579 that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
643 time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed
669 for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pallou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[39] A character in a popular story.
[40] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Vamoa and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[41] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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173 It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery
131 from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records
643 speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was
528 again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: 1

173 Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage.
639 This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

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They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Walatapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *vovei* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognised that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngaya* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngaya*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newu.* He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uilcele, Vakaua, Vakauli, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Pukapuka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, they girt on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pale* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uilcele went away to Ile and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uilcele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?

* The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tulikale.

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Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Ulikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Ulikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Ulikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He wakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kilika. He went to Kilika, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*uale lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kilika listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kilika arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taiva* and *vete* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into *two* (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Manganaanga and Taitongaauiu, and Tane, and Matalihi and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Motu-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuanuui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kilika and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kilika. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kilika were searching for them

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in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening.

Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kilika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kilika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kilika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kilika ran to Wumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kilika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koke* (throwing weapons). Kilika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wunui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Wanla. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warded off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tua* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kilika arrived at Te Wunui. Kilika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The tulo bad was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kilika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wunui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kilika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kilika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kilika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kilika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his men who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kilika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Tamualanga, bandaged it with *uelo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kilika, "Kilika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kilika jumped over, Vakaua was fainting over Tuiva. Kilika pierced him in the head; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kilika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kiliku shall
639 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
571 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *lo kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutes* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[354] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Motiwous, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
539, 773

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for mythology, see pp. 8 - 9.]

000 she spoke could fly as high as the bird sitting there. She replied that he could fly higher. Then the chief took his spear and hurled it into the air. "Can Manava Nui fly as high as that?" he asked.

The other chief, who was fishing on the reef behind the islet, saw the spear in the air and ran to his house, and learned the news that the woman had brought to them. They called the woman ashore and killed her, lest she return to her people and tell them that the two chiefs were aware of their intentions.

That night they crossed with their followers to the first settlement of the Eaki. It was the custom of all the Eaki to sleep side by side, using a long log as a pillow. The two chiefs carried a second log to where the Eaki were sleeping and crushed their heads between the two logs. They went on to the other settlement of the Eaki and attempted to kill them in the same way. These people all chanted as they slept. The chiefs dropped a log on the heads of these people also, but a strong man (*toa*) hurled it off, shouting "*Tuki pou!*" (Strike the post!) The people sleeping with him leaped to their feet and ran to Pukapuka Islet along the low stretches of coral which surround the lagoon. It was a stormy night with thunder and lightning. Manava Nui was sitting in one of his stone seats, watching the sea. When he heard his people crying out and running away, he followed them, flying above the reef. The two chiefs pursued him, hurling their spears into the air to prevent his coming ashore. At the passage in the reef at Pukapuka Islet, Taupeloa and Tokaipole speared Manava Nui to death as he was flying to the reef to rest. They rushed to the village and told the Pukapuka people the murderous plan of the Eaki. The Pukapuka people turned on the Eaki and slew them all as they came along the reef from Motu Ko to Pukapuka Islet. After burying the bodies in a single pit, they went out on the reef and dragged ashore the body of Manava Nui; and when they cut him open, they discovered that he had eight hearts.

Manava Nui was buried at a point where the boundaries of the three sections of the village meet. When the two chiefs died later, Tokaipole was buried between Loto and Iaki sections and Taupeloa, between Loto and Ngaki sections. Two ancient graves on these boundaries are pointed out as the burial sites of these heroes.

Frisbie (2) translates Manava-Nui as "Stout-Hearted" or "Many Stomachs." He describes the grave of Manava Nui as 16 feet long and 5 feet wide. The headstone is chiseled to represent a bird, and four large slabs are placed on either side of it for his eight fabulous "stomachs".

773 The story of the wrestling of the gods Te Akuaku and Ngaliieieu
● 537 is told.

Te Akuaku was a god of Akalava [Mangaia?] who traveled to Tonga, where he found all the gods gathered for a wrestling tournament. Te Akuaku wore the rainbow as a wrestler's malo around his waist, and around his shoulders he wore the rays of the sun. When he approached and challenged the others to wrestle, all the gods stood back, frightened by the brilliance of this stranger. Finding that no one would accept his challenge, Te Akuaku left Tonga and journeyed to Samoa. As he came to shore, he looked down into

the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends ('oa) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live. 773 539

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections belonging to three groups of people. 000

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1).* [367] In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

* Lp. 12 -- Analyst]

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky,
is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land
of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were
gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The
gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the
sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The
god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask
Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant
land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu
arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two
friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods
crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the
sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu
turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were
again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both
arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position.
The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about
but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on
his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly,
tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was
stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu
stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe,. and finally stretched
his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck
above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth
and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

773 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and
171 fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65, category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:

Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupenu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoomo wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto. "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i anai te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ka tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:

There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 kawa maku ma e kau." Meake lua ona taina ia, "E totoko," wakaloaloa, mea loa, "Ka wo tatou." Veveia loa i a Maui. Ko Maui Potiki, e tama wai manamana. Tapena loa latou i a latou kawa ma latou kau, ma te kawapoto, ma te kau wakalialia. Ko te kawa la a Maui na yuai ai e lua tokalua ia e kawa papala.

said, "He's obstinate." (In the end) they felt sorry for him and said, "We shall all go." Maui was happy. Maui Potiki was a fellow who could perform magic. They got ready their lines and their hooks and a short line and a wretched hook. Maui's line provided by the two (brothers) was a rotten line.

Oti ake, wo loa latou. Eia te wangota ka wo ai latou, e tukumoana. Alo loa to latou vaka wakaui ake, to ki tua, makake to latou tau. Kamata loa latou i te yi. Tuku loa i a Maui Mua i tana kawa ki lalo, wakayeke loa, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu, e palu ave. Tuku oki i a Maui Loto i tana kawa, wakatu ake, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu mumu. Wuwuti loa a laua palu ia, oko ki lunga.

(That) finished, they went. This is the type of fishing they were going to (do), tukumoana. They paddled their canoe, rushed it over the reef, went to the back, dropped their anchor. They started the fishing Maui Mua put his line down, let it out, (until) it was down (deep). His palu bit, a palu ave. Maui Loto also dropped his line, let it out, (until) it was way down. His palu mumu bit. They pulled in their fish, got them up.

Yiliyili loa i a Maui Potiki, "E wea te wowonu o te konga nei?" Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "E lau ma witunga kumi." "Ti e kole pe e lualau e tu ai ki lalo." Teia te mea ya peiai laua, kae lavea tana kawa; eia te toe ya peiai lua, kae puku ai palu, wolea laua, wakatangilia laua e Maui Potiki. Ko te mea ia ya makeke ai laua. Ya to tamaiti oki i a Maui Potiki, e kiai na matau e te tuku palu, e laua ya mou wo tuku palu.

Maui Potiki asked, "How deep is the place here?" Falsely Maui Mua and Maui Loto replied, "It's 170 fathoms." "What? Oh no, it is certainly two hundred to get all the way down." This is the reason they (the two older brothers) spoke thus, so that his line would not get caught (on a rock); this is another (reason) they acted thus, lest he might catch some palu, beat them, and they be made to cry by Maui Potiki. For that reason they were hard. Besides Maui Potiki was younger, not yet used to fishing palu, (while) they had often fished palu.

539 Oti ake tuku loa i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa, wakayeke ake. tu ki te lau ma wituna kumi, ya tala e lua ona taina. Wakamatala loa tana watu; kai loa tana palu yayaulua. Kiki loa i a Maui Potiki. tupe loa i tana ika ia, tupe loa e, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, tu lototonu te kawa loto; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili loa i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto: "Maui Mua ma Maui Loto e, ewea taku ika nei?" Kakole lua tokalua ia, "E yengayenga, e palu mumu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, koa tali pau tana kawa. Onoono atu la latou ki lalo, e palu yayaulua pe. Kakoli i a Maui Potiki, "Koi a kolua la, e yengayenga, e palu yayaulua koia." Kamuloa lua ona taina ia makekea. Ya wakayi wua laua. Tapi koia e motu e kawa papala nayuai ai e laua. Kakole pe, ya wakamakekeina e na mana o Maui Potiki. E tama wai manamana.

That finished, Maui Potiki dropped his line, let it out (till) it reached to the 170 fathoms (depth) mentioned by his brothers. He loosened his stone; his palu yayaulua bit. Maui Potiki pulled hard, pulled in, pulled in e-e-e, (got) all his top line in; he kept pulling, e-e-e, reached the middle of his line; kept on pulling, e-e-e, got all the middle line in. Maui Potiki asked Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Oh Maui Mua and Maui Loto, what is my fish here?" These two answered indifferently, "It's yengayenga, a palu mumu." Maui denied this, "No, you think so?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, his line was nearly all up. They looked below, it was indeed a palu yayaulua. Maui Potiki taunted (his brothers), "According to you two there, it's a yengayenga (but) it's a palu yayaulua all the same." His two brothers were very jealous. They had just let him fish (for fun). If only (his line) had broken (it was) a rotten line they had given him, but no, the mana of Maui Potiki had made it strong. He was a fellow who could make magic.

Maunu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kauyele ki te watu, tuku ake ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki te konga na wakangatai i ana. Wakamatala loa tana watu. Kai loa tana kau a pulaka. Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili oki i a Maui Potiki. "Ewea oki taku

Maui Potiki fastened his fishing noose with a stone, put it down, let it out, got it down to the place he had left off. He loosened his stone. His pulaka stalk bit. Maui Potiki pulled up, finished the top line. Maui Potiki asked again, "What is my thing here?" Indifferently his two brothers said, "Probably a palu ave or a palu wutu."

539 mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "Awa e palu ave pe palu wutu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lalo. Onoono atu latou ki lalo, e kau a pulaka. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua e palu ave; e pulaka koia. E nei e iai te kaua pulaka nei." E mea yia a Maui Potiki. Ko Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ko yi wua lua i te lolau palu tukumoana. Eia no ingoa, e yengayenga, palu mumu, palu ave, palu wutu, palu yiloa, palu malau, palu paniwi, palu matapula, palu kalou, palu mango, kaupatuwao, katakata. Koi ai na toe palu, ma na toe ika o te wangota tukumoana ia.

Maui Potiki disagreed, "No, you think so? What is my thing here?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, finished the lower line. They looked below, it was a pulaka stalk. Maui taunted, "According to you two it is a palu ava; it is pulaka all the same. Here is the pulaka here. It was something fished up by Maui Potiki. Maui Mua and Maui Loto fished only the lolau palu fished by the tukumoana method. These are their names: [The text here mentions the names of 16 deep sea fish.] There are other palu still and other fish caught by the tukumoana method.

Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa. Yi oki i te wawa. Mea oki pe ana meanga i ana meanga mua. Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki. E iai te wawa ma te wuti nei e mea yia e Maui Potiki.

Maui Potiki cast his line again he fished up taro too. He did as he had done before. Maui Potiki fished, hooked a banana. Maui Potiki pulled it up too. Thus the taro and the banana here are things fished by Maui Potiki.

Tukutuku oki a Maui Potiki, wakayeke ake i tana kawa lalo pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa loto pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa lunga tu ki te konga e wakangatai. Tamata loa i ana e te wakayeke. Yeke atu tana kawa ia ki lalo, tu loa ki te konga ya wakatu ai lua ona taina.

Maui cast again, let all his lower line all out, his middle line all out, and his top line to the depth of the place he had left off. Then he started to let it down. His line went below, reached the place his two brothers had fished at. Maui let still more out, he didn't stop, the line simply kept going down. Maui Potiki said to his

539 Wakayeke atu oki, koa ye tu, koa yeke wua te kawa. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina, "Ewea taku mea nei? Koa ye tu ai. Tiai ka wowonn ai? Ti!" Kakole pe, ko iko tana kawa i a te ulu o te wenua i lalo o te moana. Tamatatu la i ana e te tupe. Langa mai la i ana, koa ye malanga. Onoono mai la lua ona taina mua, koa makeke te kawa a Maui Potiki. Kakole lua tokalua la, "Teia la, lavea tana mea ya tukutuku ai ki lalo. Koa ye tu oki Lukuna." Meake i a Maui Potiki, "E makeke." Tamata loa i ana e te kiki. Wakalonga atu la i ana ki te kawa, koa malu mai. Kiki loa i ana ma te wakalongo i tana kawa. Tawi ai ana peia. Wakalongo atu la i a Maui Potiki, koa motu mai te punga o te wenua. Wakalongo atu oki i ana, ko tipi te wenua i lalo o te moana. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Koia kolua la, na lavea angaoti. Onoono mai la kolua, kowea, taku ika e lele nei. Ewea taku mea nei?" Koa ye vava lua ona taina ia. Koa waingata a laua nganganangа. Koa mea peia, "Kei! Ewea la? Awa e mea." Koa ye tapa tonu i na ingoa o na ika. Koa lai te mea waike a Maui Potiki koa yi.

two brothers, "What is my thing here? It doesn't stop. Why is it so deep? Whew!" but no, his line was twisted round the top of the island below the sea. He started the pulling up. He pulled, but couldn't budge it. His two older brothers looked, the line of Maui Potiki was caught tight. The two of them sneered, "There now, it's caught, his thing (line) that he put so far down. It doesn't stop either. Dive down for it." Maui Potiki said, "It's tight." He started to pull in. He listened to (felt) his line, it was getting weaker. He pulled on it, feeling the line. He held it so. Maui Potiki listened, the rock of the island was breaking. He listened again, the island below the sea was moving. Maui Potiki taunted Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "According to you two there, it's gotten caught and that's all there is to it. You two look here, why, my fish is swimming here. What have I here." His two brothers made no answer. Their reply took a long time to come. They said, "I don't know, what is it? I suppose it's something." They did not correctly name the fish. The strange things fished by Maui Potiki were many.

Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki i tana mea ia, pau te kawa

Maui pulled in on his thing, finished the top line. He pulled

539 lunga. Tupe oki pau te kawa loto. Tupe oki tali pau te kawa lalo. Ko na tipitipinga la o te wenua, kamuloa i a Maui Potiki kikokikoia. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Ewea taku mea nei?" Kakole i a lua ona taina ia, "Awa e watu tongi, e la ya makeke ai kowea mua; koa taenawa na," Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina ia, "Onoonoliake." Ke onoono atu la latou ki lalo, onoono atu oki ki na kaokao o to latou vaka, ma na konga mamao koa kakao te wui ulu lakau, koa taumangamanga. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua, e watu; e wenua koia."

in also all the middle line. Then he pulled nearly all the lower line. (Against) the tiltings of the island, Maui pulled with all his strength. Maui Potiki asked, "What is this?" His two brothers were indifferent, " I guess it's a large rock, that is what made it tight at first; it's heavy there." Maui Potiki persisted, "No, you don't say? What is my thing?" Maui Potiki said to his brothers, "Look here." When they looked down, looked also at the sides of their canoe and to far off places, there appeared in sight the various treetops which were branching out. Maui Potiki objected, "According to you two, it is a stone; it's an island all the same."

Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tango loa i te matai. Puta loa te ulu o te wenua, kitea ma te kelekele. Tapa loa ma te ingoa, ko Tonga. Onoono atu te wui atua, ya lulu i te wenua na yia e Maui Potiki. Kakalo atu latou, e ao ke. Mimia loa te wui atua.

Maui Potiki pulled in his line, grasped the snood. The top of the island floated up and the coral was also seen. It was given the name Tonga. The many gods who had been gathered on the land fished up by Maui Potiki looked around. They looked, it was a strange world. The gods hastened away.

Mannu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kau, tuku oki ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki lalo, yi oki ana wenua. E lai tana wenua na yi: ko te atu wenua, ko te atu Yiva, ma te atu Yayake, ma te atu Manuyiki, ma te atu Lakawanga, ma te atu Yamoa, ma te atu Tokelau.

Maui Potiki baited his hook again, let it down, let out the line (till) it was deep, fished up more of his islands. Many are his islands he fished up: the distant islands, the Yiva group, the Yayake group, and the Manihiki group, and the Rakahanga group, and the Samoan group, and the Tokelau

539 ma te atu Laulau, ma te atu Vayitupu, ma te atu Lalo. Oti ake te yi ana wenua ia, maunu ake i tana kau, tuku ake ki lalo, tukutuku ake i tana kawa, tu ki lalo, Wakamatala loa tana watu, matala. Kai loa tana mango tongi. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana mango ia. Kakole i ana ki lua ona taina, "Ewea oki taku mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "E wenua." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "E kole, koi ai. Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga, pau ma te kawa loti, tali pau ma te kawa lalo. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowiake. "Kakalo atu la latou, koa wakalava te tawi tonga mango i te katea o te vaka. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Tangowia mai te tao. Onoono kolua wakalelei. Tenei au ka wakatu i te ulu ki lunga nei. Yoka loa koe, e Maui Mua, i te kapakapa. Tango koe e Maui Loto i te tala." Wakatu mai loa i a Maui Potiki i te ulu o te mango ki lunga. Kakalo loa i a Maui Mua ko te kapakapa, yoka loa makeke. Tango loa i a Maui Loto i te tala o te mango, makeke. Liko loa i a Maui Potiki i te yiku o te mango, tili loa ki te langi nei. Yemu ake i tana matai, maka loa ki lunga o te langi. E nei, e iai te mango e wakalava i te langi nei, ma te kau na yiai, ma te tao na yokai. Pau ai loa te tala ia.

group, and the Laulau group, and the Vaitupu group, and the Western group. Finished with the fishing of his islands, he baited his fishhook, let it down, let out more and more (till) it was way down. He loosened his sinker stone (till) loose. His huge shark bit. Maui Potiki pulled in, drew in his shark. He asked his two brothers, "What have I here?" They answered, "An island." Maui Potiki said, "No, you don't say! What have I here?" Maui Potiki pulled in, finished the top line, finished also the middle section of the line, nearly all of the lower line. Maui Potiki said, "Look here." They looked there, there was at the side an enormous shark (tawi tonga mango) on the starboard side of the canoe. Maui Potiki said also, "Take hold of the spear for me. Be careful. I am going to get the head up above here. You, oh Maui Mua, you spear it in its fins. You Maui Loto, seize its flukes." Maui Potiki got the head of the shark to stand upright. Maui Mua looked at the fins, speared it, tightly. Maui Loto grasped the flukes of the shark (it was) tight. Maui Potiki took hold of the tail of the shark, threw it up to the sky here. He cut off the singer line, threw it on to the sky. Thus at the present time there are the shark lying on the side of the sky here, the fishhook with which it was fished, and the spear with which it was speared. The story is finished.

539/773 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui open wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

539 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui.
173 He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The lengi fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The malau and the lali fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The wangamoana fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the taotaoama, tried to

2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a taotaoama fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called te pulu o Yina (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the taotaoma fish. All the other fish of the sea, the manini, the tawa, the ngatau, the tiwitiwi and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the manini tauila (seasonal manini fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

539 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the
773 manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nuanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539/773 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past, [821]and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale, very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next. At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (tangata manamana), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft. At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (talotalo), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 As the tree grew up as before Yinata's heart was glad, because he now had his favorite shelter again. Lata was glad too, because through his power he had put another trunk inside the bark as the tree grew together, and so he now had his canoe log also. So Lata worked and worked away at his canoe, hollowing out the underbody, fitting it with stern and bow covers and washstrakes. He cut his outrigger, lashed it on the crossbooms. The front wave guard on his bow cover was so high and flat it was like the platform in a storehouse. He made sail and sheets and fitted another tree trunk for a mast. When everything was complete and the canoe well and truly made, Lata went round the islands of Yamoa looking for the best men for his crew.

He chose the men who had power to withstand the strength of his hand. As each likely man came to him, Lata grasped him by the neck with his hands and attempted to bend his head forward. If the man could stand the pull and his neck remained stiff and upright, then Lata was satisfied. If his head bent forward, then this showed he was a weakling and Lata discarded him. After a time, this selection was completed. The crew carried the canoe to the water and launched it. They took their places in the canoe and these are the names of the canoe members:

Lata, captain and owner	Matai-monomono (Caulking-wedge)
Tupua-ulu-watu (Head-of-stone)	Mata-pili-kawa (Expert-sennit-maker)
Tupua-lulu-lapa (Flat-head), (Broad-head)	Wakapeyi (Defecator)
Tupua-kaia (Thief)	Wakapalalu (Defecator)
Tupua-keli-ana (Hole-digger)	Pate-momono (Caulk remover)
Tupua-manatu (Thinker)	Matai-waowao (Jumper)

Before the canoe set sail, Lata talked to his crew and told them that he expected them to help him and themselves should the canoe get into any dangerous situations. All the men agreed to do their best, so with high hopes the canoe set off to voyage abroad, Lata saying he wanted to see the world and all the crew expressing pleasure at the idea. The canoe soon left Samoa behind and held a course for Witi. It was not long, however, before they met with heavy squalls, high seas, wind and rain, the sky so black and cloudy that they could see no sign of abatement and the outlook was dangerous. Lata turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to help us by keeping away the wind and rain?" Tupua-ulu-lapa volunteered to try. So he made his flat head grow bigger and bigger until it grew

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.
[522] There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The Island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (pa) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (toa) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 filled with crabs, but he filled his remaining two with stones, coconut husks, and leaves, and covered the tops with crabs so that it appeared as if he too had three full baskets. Both men hung up their baskets from a branch of a tree, side by side. Then as it was late and dark in the bush they lay down to sleep, about 30 feet apart. Tupua-kaia began to tell stories about his wanderings and adventures as a member of Lata's crew, and as the Witi champion listened he became drowsy and sleepy. Every little while Tupua-kaia would stop in his story and call out, "Are you asleep?" The other would answer, "No, why do you ask?" And Tupua-kaia would reply, "I ask just to see whether I should continue telling my story to you." After a time the answers of the Witi man became more and more incoherent and his voice was full of sleep. At last there was no answer when Tupua-kaia asked his question. Tupua-kaia called softly many times, but still there was no reply He got up, opened the plaiting at the bottom of the Witi man's basket and let all the crabs fall out into his own basket which he held underneath. He did the same for the next basket, making however a different sort of hole, so that it would appear in the morning as if the crabs had eaten their way through the plaiting and had escaped of their own accord. This finished, with Tupua-kaia's baskets full of crabs, he went and lay down again, pretending to fall into a deep sleep. The Witi man awoke first, Tupua-kaia still simulating deep sleep. The Witi man called out, "The sun rises, it is time for us to be up and going." Tupua-kaia did not stir. Again the Witi man called out, but Tupua-kaia did not stir. A third time the Witi man called and Tupua-kaia pretended to wake with a great start, asking what was the cause of the great noise. The reason was explained to him. He got up quickly, went off to get his carrying pole, loaded his baskets on the pole and called to the Witi man that he was ready to start back to the beach. But when the Witi man went to his baskets he found two of them very light in weight. Thinking something was wrong he opened the top and found that they were empty, the bottoms of the baskets being torn as if by the claws of the crabs. He called out in alarm, "My crabs have all escaped. Wait for me while I go and dig some more." But Tupua-kaia replied, "No, we cannot wait, all the people of Witi are waiting on the beach for us that they may count our crabs. We cannot be late." "But," called the Witi man, "if we go back now, I will be beaten on the count, and I will surely be eaten for being the loser in this contest." Tupua-kaia remained adamant however that both must return at once, so they set off, the

539 Witi man imploring all the time that Tupua-Kaia should wait for a time, but Tupua-kaia remained inflexible. At last they came to the place where the Witi people were gathered. Then the official counters came forward, took the baskets and counted the crabs they contained. The count showed that Tupua-kaia had collected 100 more crabs than the Witi man, so he was declared the winner of the contest, and the Witi chief ordered his champion to be killed and eaten. Nevertheless, all of Lata's men were put back inside the stockade and the Witi men went off to gather firewood and oven stones to cook the Witi man. This was done and Lata saw him killed, cooked and eaten by the Witi gathering. Thus Lata and his crew were saved once more by the cunning of his well chosen crew.

Again, however, the Witi men decided to arrange another contest, hoping to beat the crew of Lata. This time the contest was braiding sennit (kawa). The name of the Witi expert was Lua-kawa. The chosen member of Lata's crew was Mata-pili-kawa. The two champions went to the meeting place, all the materials were brought to them, and the two began to roll and braid. While the Witi man was making up strands and rolling them into lengths, Mata-pili-kawa was in no hurry but worked along steadily. Then Lua-kawa went off to find some more materials, but Mata-pili-kawa continued to work steadily as before, and in the end won the contest, not by trickery, but by great skill.

The Witi men now found that the crew of Lata were too smart to be killed through the medium of a contest, so they decided to kill and eat them without any excuse whatsoever. Plenty of food was brought to the stockade and Lata's crew grew fat and sleek feeding on the good things provided by the Witi people. The chief of Witi sent a messenger to the stockade to find out whether the prisoners were fat enough to be good eating. This messenger came back and said to wait a while longer. Then later the chief sent a second messenger who reported that the men were fat and good eating. The chief therefore ordered his men to gather together the firewood and stones near the stockade, because on the morrow he planned to kill and eat the crew. Lata heard these orders so he asked his crew, "Whose turn is it now to save us from the Witi men?" Tupua-kele-ana called out and said he would save the crew. He began to dig in the middle of the stockade. He dug and dug until he had made a hole under its walls which at last reached the beach where Lata's canoe lay. Tupua-keli-ana returned to Lata and reported that a way of escape lay open. In the middle of the night the crew prepared to escape

539 from the stockade. As they were about to leave, Tupua-manatu suggested to Lata that Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu should be asked to discharge and fill up the inside of the stockade with feces. Lata thought this a good idea and it was done by the two men at his command before they crawled away from the stockade. All the men escaped safely and came to the beach. Here they found that the Witi's men had removed all the caulking from Lata's canoe. Matai-monomono was at hand so he came forward and recaulked Lata's canoe. Then the canoe was launched, all the crew embarked and prepared to sail away. The canoe was already some distance from the beach when Tupua-manatu thought, "The Witi canoes are fast sailing canoes; if they follow us they will overtake us again and we will once more be prisoners." He spoke thus to Lata, who was frightened until Tupua-manatu suggested that the canoe put back to the beach and a hole be made in each Witi canoe such that none would be seaworthy enough to follow Lata's canoe. Lata agreed to this. When they came near the beach, Pata-monono went ashore. He went from one Witi canoe to the next punching out the caulking of each. This completed he went back to the canoe and Lata pushed off again. They were not far from the shore when Tupua-manatu had another idea. He asked Lata, "What about the bailers in the Witi canoes? If these are not broken to pieces, the canoes are still able to follow us and follow us they will until they take us prisoners. I think the bailers should be broken to pieces." Lata agreed this was a good idea, so he turned the canoe shoreward once more. When it was near the beach, the Witi people still sleeping soundly, Matai-waowao jumped ashore and went to the Witi canoes. These were built very high above the ground, but Matai-waowao being a good jumper, was easily able to leap over the sides of each canoe, where he quietly smashed the bailers to pieces. This finished, he returned to the canoe again and Lata pushed off.

At daybreak the chief sent his men to bring Lata and his crew to the ovens. The Witi men to the stockade, but on opening the gates out rushed a flood of stinking feces which drove them away helter-skelter. Other men rushed to the beach. From here they saw Lata's canoe standing by outside the entrance to the harbor. They ran their own canoes down to the water, thinking easily to overtake Lata. But on being lifted into the water the canoes immediately began to fill up, and when they looked for the bailers they found nothing but crushed wood. The canoes sank to the bottom near the shore and as the Witi men danced with rage and fury on the beach, Lata waved a farewell, hoisted his sail and stood out to sea with a fair wind.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

534 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

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539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is
522 given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan [226]man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten [226]today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, " I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me." Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.

539 was it?" Te Malo told them, "Where? Why in the house of Te Totoloa. The red-eyed sweethearts of Te Totoloa broke it off." The two children asked, "Are there many similar hooks there?" Te Malo said, "There indeed are the many hooks of the men."

They went ashore. They reached the shore. They told of the breaking of the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo went to wash his hook in fresh water. Te Malo was thirsty. He went to the well of Yelekoua. Te Malo asked Yelekoua, "Is there a pool of yours here?" He said to Te Malo, "What about my pool here? There are the gourds filled. Are you thirsty? Te Malo answered, "Yes." Yelekoua said, "Come then, there are the filled gourds." Te Malo went to him. Yelekoua said, "Sit there." Te Malo refused, "No, you move over." Yelekoua said, "Sit right there." Te Malo refused again, "You move over." Yelekoua refused because there was his adz hidden below the mat, inserted under his two thighs. Te Malo did it (sat there), Yelekoua would not (move). He sat on the place where were the two knees of Te Malo, Yelekoua handed over the gourd, Te Malo drank it dry. Te Malo also took the next gourd, drank it dry. The thirst of Te Malo was quenched. Te Malo said to Yelekoua, "You drink." Yelekoua took the gourd, drank, drank, drank, (the gourd) stood on top of the mouth(that is, was tipped way back). He removed also the next gourd. He drank also, drank, drank, drank, bent his neck to the back: Te Malo had tempted him in order to stupify the mind of Yelekoua. Yelekoua also removed the last gourd. This was the third gourd of Yelekoua. He drank, drank, while Te Malo watched. The neck bent right back. Te Malo pulled out the adz hidden below the mat. He seized it, slashed the throat of Yelekoua. Yelekoua died. Te Malo called out to the island, "Oh, the people, come to beat the shark who injured us." The people came. They pounded Yelekoua, till he vanished. It is finished.

Of Te Ingoa

The story of Te Ingoa and the god Malangatiale is the last of this series. Te Ingoa and his father Te Moana were two of the survivors of Muliwutu lineage after the catastrophic tidal wave and this incident probably refers to a time when there was a sufficient body of old men to make an expedition to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to secure food for all the people.

The group of old men (tupele) made the journey along the eastern side of the reef to Motu Ko. When they reached the islet Te Ingoa left them and walked along the outer beach until he stood at the place called Tua-o-poutama. Te Ingoa looked up at the long line of birds flying to land from the distant sea.

539 These birds directed by his god Malangatiale flew straight to roost on the trees at the place where he stood. He called the old men to the place. They came with their nets and caught birds until they grew tired and their bones ached but still the birds came flying in from the sea to roost on the trees. When they had finished killing and had gathered the birds together, the canoes were full to sinking with their enormous loads. As the men paddled back to Wale they saw the line of birds circling back to sea, chased back to their perching grounds on ocean sandbanks by the god Malangatiale. The birds were divided among all the people and great was the fame of Malangatiale. To this day it is said when food is scarce, "If only the birds of Te Ingoa would come to us, then many would be the strange birds we could eat."

Animal Stories

The tropic bird's tail

The white-tailed tropic bird was perched on a coral rock in the lagoon. The many fish wished to pull out the long feathers from the bird's tail. The fish, one after the other, swam quietly up to the perching place, but each time the bird saw the intruder's approach and flew off, coming again to its perch when the discomfited fish returned to its fellows. Some fish changed their skin color to blend with the color of the sea, other fish hid behind coral growths, but the bird was always too wary to be caught. Finally the wumoemoe fish decided to try. It approached the tropic bird very carefully and whenever the bird looked its way the wumoemoe changed itself to the color of its background, first white like the coral, then black like loli coral, then speckled like another coral growth. The fish came close, reached right to the tail and before the tropic bird could fly away, the fish closed its teeth around the tail feathers. The bird squirmed loose, but when it rose into the air, it had left its tail feathers firmly gripped in the mouth of the wumoemoe. Thus the tail of the white-tailed tropic bird became short, and thus the bird today differs from the scarlet-tailed tropic bird which has a long tail.

The many fish rushed to the wumoemoe and pulled away the feathers from him. The luluau and tiwitiwi and other fish inserted some of the long feathers in their fins and these fish have long fins to this day. The taotaoama and other fish put the long feathers in their own tails and to this day these fish have very long tails. The wumoemoe made up this verse:

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatateki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[71] [538] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
You crawl on the roof,
You jump down to the end rafters.
We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
You are killed by the people
And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions
171 of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 not have courage enough to come down. Perhaps this is why she called the winds (8) to blow her down.

The woman Kaliwi climbed to the windy heights of a tall tree. She chanted a call to the Wakalua wind that it might pound with its strength and blow her to the ground. The wind blew its hardest but Kaliwi could not fall. Next she called to the Tokelau wind. This wind blew so that the tree tops shook and the seas stood wild but Kaliwi could not fall. Then she called in turn to the Wakatiu, to the Palapu and to the Mauake winds. Each of these winds blew so that the coconuts fell down, the seas roared and the trees were bent against each other. But Kaliwi did not fall. At last Kaliwi prayed to the Tonga wind. Squalls sprang up and raced through the air. the sky was lost in rain, the branches of the trees broke and the cold wind pounded. Kaliwi shivered with the cold, her flesh quivered, her hands became numb and she fell from the tree top into the sea. As she fell her eye was pierced by a stick and gouged from her head. Kaliwi died and was turned into a komuli fish. That is why the komuli fish today has a sunken eye-it is the eye of Kaliwi torn by the stick.

Luea and his Children

Luea and his two children, Tuakatua and Kaimawu, went fishing one day in a canoe. A squall blew up and broke the anchor line so that the canoe drifted. The three paddles were broken by the father as he tried to move the canoe to land. A strange canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea came and took Kaimawu away. There remained Luea and Tuakatua. Finally the canoe overturned. A big fish swam by and Luea was swallowed up but not before he had time to tell his child, "If my strength rages inside the stomach of the fish, grasp its back and you will be carried to the reef."

Then the strength of the father raged inside the stomach of the shark. Tuakatua held to the fluke of the shark and was carried to the reef. He wandered inland, eating unripe fallen nuts until he regained some of his strength. When it came to other days, he climbed coconut trees and he soon had strength to walk back to Wale along the reef. The people supposed at first that it was a spirit of the outer reef approaching, but

8. The directions from which these Pukapukan winds blow are given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 22, category 116--analyst].

539 later they saw it was certainly Tuakatua. The boy was taken to the place called Matala and set down between two posts erected wide apart. They fed him food until he grew large enough to fill the space between the posts. Then he told his story that the men could hear.

The Ten Brothers

The husband was named Laumeakula, the wife Laumeamelo. Their family consisted of ten boys. The first born was Tayi (One). The second was Lua (Two). The third was Tolu (Three) and so the children were named up to Laungaulu (Ten).

The father and his ten children decided to go to the bush to cut trees from which to make fishing canoes. Laumeakula gave one adz to Tayi, two adzes to Lua, three adzes to Tolu and so on for all the sons up to Laungaulu who was given ten adzes. Then all went to the forest named Te Tea. Each cut down his tree and trimmed away the branches. As Tayi worked at his wood his adz broke. He knew his brother Lua had two adzes, so he went to him begging Lua's second adz that he might finish his canoe named Te-po-lunga-te-po-lalo in which he planned to sail to the place named Tua-peaupeau. Lua refused his brother's request saying that if he lent his second adz and then broke his first he would be unable himself to finish his own canoe. Lua advised Tayi to borrow from Tolu who owned three adzes. But Tolu also refused his brother and so did each of the other brothers in turn, even Laungaulu who had ten adzes.

At this, Tayi cursed his brothers for being stingy (literally, "red-bellied"). He complained to his father of the meanness of his brothers and both parents felt sorry for their firstborn son. They advised Tayi to ask once again of Lua who should be the partner of his older brother in all things because the two boys were born one after the other. The parents further told Tayi that when he had finished his canoe he was to wrap his two parents in a Pandanus mat, tie them tight with an anchor line, place the bundle in the bow of his canoe and then drop the bundle overboard in the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. If the other brothers saw Tayi with his bundle he was to tell them it contained only Tikinau and Tekenau. Thus, by having Tayi throw his parents overboard to drown, the parents hoped to shame the stinginess of their other sons.

Tayi obeyed the instructions of his parents. His brother Lua was this time sorry for Tayi and lent his second adz, though not generously but with many words as to its care. Tayi finished his canoe. The canoes of his brothers were already launched and out fishing, Lua fishing on the sea colored

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net tiwitiwi fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and looks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 disfigured body of her child. Enraged, she rushed after Tulekaleka but the latter quickly climbed a tree that leaned over the well. Wawine-mata looked in the water seeing there the reflection of her enemy. She dived into the well to grasp the image. Tulekaleka, seeing her feet pointing upwards, shamed her by crying: "There, there, I see the vulva of Wawine-mata!"

Then Wawine-mata found that Tulekaleka was not in the water but high up the tree. She climbed up the trunk to reach Tulekaleka, but Tulekaleka kicked her down and broke off her arms. Wawine-mata climbed up with her feet only. Tulekaleka kicked her down again, this time breaking off her feet. A third time Wawine-mata climbed, wriggling up by twisting her trunk. A last time she was kicked down by Tulekaleka. She fell dead at the bottom of the tree.

Of Vaetuaniu

There was a land on which only children lived. The children spent all their days surf-riding. A cannibal spirit from another land turned itself into a drifting log and in this disguise was found by the playing children. The children climbed onto the log in their sport which then carried them away to the land of spirits where all the children were eaten. Three times this happened. The third time Vaetuaniu was one of those carried away and put in an enclosure in the spirit land preparatory to being eaten up by the cannibals.

When night came the children tried to escape from the enclosure. One child tried to kick the fence down but he broke his leg with the kicking. Vaetuaniu repaired the fracture and asked another child to try. All tried, but even until daylight none were successful in making a hole in the fence.

In the morning, the spirit led the children to his house that he might eat. Vaetuaniu asked to be allowed to go to the beach to defecate. The spirit gave permission only when Vaetuaniu pointed out that it would be silly to eat his feces as well as his flesh. Vawtuaniu went to the beach. He made a small coconut leaf torch, then spat into a coconut shell and placed the shell on top of the torch instructing the shell to answer the spirit should he call. Then Vaetanuiu hurried away. Three times the spirit called and three times the coconut leaf answered, asking delay until the defecation was finished. When the impatient spirit came searching, Vaetuaniu was missing and only a piece of coconut leaf remained.

Vaetuaniu had meanwhile called on the seabirds to take him to the land of Tinilau. Only the matiku bird would do this.

539 The spirit, however, saw the bird flying away with Vaetuaniu on its back so he forced the bird to shake Vaetuaniu off his back and the boy came tumbling down to earth. The spirit ran to seize him but Vaetuaniu kicked him away. A second time he kicked the spirit and severed its head from its body. Then when it appeared as if the head would join itself again to the body, Vaetuaniu beat the spirit with a stick until its head and body were smashed utterly to pieces. Vaetuaniu called to the children and people of the island. They crowded on top of the spirit and pounded him with stones to such a degree that he was ground to dust. The island was safe and no more children were eaten by cannibal spirits.

Of Mokoyikungavali

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea were two parents who had a daughter named Yina. The parents were preparing taro for their next meal and so they sent Yina to gather puapua leaves with which to wrap the food before putting it in the oven. Yina hurried off to the puapua tree owned by her parents, then climbed to the top to tear off the ten bunches that her parents desired. Mokoyikungavali, who also claimed ownership of this tree heard Yina in the tree top and ordered her to climb down. Three times he ordered and three times the frightened Yina refused his command. Finally she slid down the tree and into the open mouth of Mokoyikungavali which he held gaping at the bottom. As Yina's feet were swallowed she cried to her parents:

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea, oh!
I fulfill your order to pick the leaves
Of the tree of Te Tea.
The creature Mokoyikungavali is here,
Sucking, sucking, swallowing,
I am finished inside his body!

She called again when she was swallowed to the waist, yet again when only her head remained free. None heard her. Her crying finished. The belly of Mokoyikungavali was so swollen with his meal that he could not stand, he simply sprawled on the ground at the foot of the puapua tree. The parents waited long, they then came to search, thinking perhaps that Yina had fallen from the tree. They found the ogre where he had fallen and questioned him as to the whereabouts of their daughter. Mokoyikungavali admitted he had swallowed her but stressed the fact that the girl had been stealing leaves from the tree which shaded him from the hot sun.

The parents would not be pacified. They threatened to

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 Te-unga-tupua on seizing Te Palo that he did not notice when Te Palo lit the piles with his torch.

Te-unga-tupua crawled over the first fire and was scorched. One of his legs was broken off. Te Palo still moved backwards and on the second fire the creature broke off his second leg. This continued for nine fires and after crawling over these all the legs of the demon crab had been broken off. Only the crab's body and his testicles remained intact. Te Palo still continued to attract him and over the tenth fire the body and the testicles of the crab fell from their shell. Then Te Palo called the people of Yayake to come and kill the ogre. They rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded Te-unga-tupua until nothing remained but a soft mass.

Te Palo and Malele

Malele was a cannibal in the land of Yayake who owned a pool in which people came to bathe. If the people came in groups Malele would not molest them, but if they came singly or two women or two children together, then Malele would kill and eat them, hiding their bones in a secret place.

One day two people came to bathe. Malele killed one but the other escaped and ran back to tell the people that it was indeed Malele who was responsible for the disappearance of many people. Te Palo heard this and when it came to another day he went to bathe in Malele's pool. Malele was resting in the water and he invited Te Palo to bath with him. Te Palo did so and soon the pair began arguing as to which should dive first. Te Palo said Malele should have the privilege because he was the owner of the pool, but Malele insisted that Te Palo should be the first to dive because he was the invited guest bather. Because Malele was stubborn in his insistence, Te Palo dived first but he came up very quickly. There was Malele preparing to press his head underwater and drown him.

This time Malele dived down. Te Palo quickly pressed on his head and placed his second hand on Malele's malo, holding his head and body deep under the water. As Malele's anger surged within him, Te Palo composed his chant:

Held under the water is Malele,
Under water in his own pool.
Air bubbles break the water's surface,
Angry is the rage in Malele's intestines.

The two men struggled back and forth in the pool, Te Palo always keeping Malele's head towards the deep water. Then

539 as Malele grew weak from lack of breath, Te Palo pressed down harded and harder until Malele died. Te Palo called to the people.

Oh Yayake, vicious Malele has lost the laugh.
Come here to pound him so that his skin
is in shreds.
So that he is smashed to pieces,
So that his skin is rotten,
So that he is as soft as taro pudding!

The people rushed forward and pounded Malele's body until it was smashed to pieces. Then they looked for the place where he lived. It was chockfull of the bones of the people he had killed and eaten. Te Palo claimed a bone from the hand of Malele. Ever afterwards he used this bone as a needle for sewing the sail of his swift outrigger canoe.

The Bird of Witi

After Te Palo killed Malele he heard that there was also a man-eating creature in Witi. This creature had the shape of an enormous koloa bird. The bird would wait on land for returning fishing canoes. If the canoes had been successful the bird ate all the fish. If they were unsuccessful, the bird ate all the crew instead.

Te Palo went to Witi and inquired there from the people the habits of the creature. They told him and Te Palo decided to kill the bird. Te Palo went fishing on the first day and when he arrived back the koloa bird, as described, came to eat all his fish. On the second day, Te Palo made a wooden cover to fit over the bow of his fishing canoe. He caught many fish and distributed these over the canoe so that some were in the stern, some amidship and others in the bow. When he returned to the beach with his catch, he was met by the Koloa which as usual began to devour the fish in the canoe. The koloa began in the stern and steadily ate his way towards the bow. When the koloa reached the bow Te Palo picked up his cover and fitted it tightly over the bow, thus enclosing the koloa. The anger of the koloa raged and seethed inside the cover, but Te Palo kept it pressed down tight until the koloa weakened with exhaustion. Then he called all the people who came running with sticks and stones. They pounded the koloa until it was broken to pieces and ground the pieces to dust.

Other Stories of Man-eaters

Of Kaleva

539 Kaleva was a man-eating warrior. He would walk through the bush striking down and eating all the people he found there. Thus it was for many days and soon there was left no straggler that he might eat. The wife of Kaleva, a woman named Yina, and her two children Te Lupeamanu and Te Ikamaitai, became frightened thinking that Kaleva would probably kill and eat them next. So Yina said to her children one day, "You are only little morsels to eat, but you are my two children. Let us raise our house high on wooden piles so that Kaleva, when he comes for us, will be unable to reach us." The children listened to their mother and the house was soon raised high.

Sure enough Kaleva came soon from the bush looking for victims. He came to his house and seeing it high in the air he called to his children to hand him down his bunch of coconut fibers from which he wished to make some rope. The children replied that the fibers were nowhere in the house. But each knew that they were only pretending. Kaleva wished the children to descend and the children wished Kaleva to ascend that they might tie his neck with a rope as he came up and then strangle him with it.

Kaleva became impatient at the prevarication of his children and he jumped up the piles to his house. His children were waiting for him with a rope. They snared his neck and then strangled him. Then they composed a chant and called it out that the whole village might hear. This was their chant:

Concerning the growth of Kaleva,
He was born a man-eater.
Who were his two parents
That they did not pinch him at birth?
Kaleva was indeed a shameless person,
He ate the menstrual pads of women,
This it was, that made his heart rotten!

Of Papalangi

Papalangi was a man-eater and the people of the village punished him for this. Papalangi was shamed by this and his brain became stupified. He became mischievous and decided to have his revenge on the people. One day as he walked along the road of Walepuka he saw two children playing on the platform of a house. He took his spear and drove it through the bodies of the two children until they were dead. Then he

§39 realized what he had done and he rushed a away to hide. He found no safe place anywhere until he came to a horrible rubbish pile where things of the parturient women were thrown. He hid under this pile and was safe though the people of the island hunted for him everywhere.

One day a woman went to this pile to throw there the feces of her infant child. Papalangi stirred inside the pile and the woman saw him move. She roused the people and they hastened to the place. They captured Papalangi and decided to punish him for his murder by beating him with switches of ngangie wood. Papalangi was whipped until his skin hung in shreds. The parents of the murdered children came last. They heated two oven stones until the stones were red hot, and then applied these stones to Papalangi's testicles. The final punishment was decided on: Papalangi was to be thrown into the sea and not buried in his family cemetery. One rope was tied to his arms and another to his legs. Papalangi was taken to sea and dropped overboard. Men of one canoe pulled on one rope, men of another canoe on the other rope and thus they pulled until Papalangi was torn to pieces.

Of Wulukulamatoto

Wulukulamatoto was a man-eater who had two wives. He spent many of his days catching booby birds which he would bring back home for his wives to eat. One day Wulukulamatoto was struck by the canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea as he was sailing to his bird island and he died.

The spirit of the dead man could not desert his two wives so he brought them at night presents of many booby birds. The wives were pleased with this attention and began to eat the birds but their god warned them not to eat the food because the spirit of their dead husband would enter their intestines with the food and then eat them until they faded away and died. The wives were frightened and refrained from tasting the food. Then they composed an insulting chant about Wulukulamatoto:

Make a place of cohabitation,
A place for Wulukulamatoto,
He strings boobies to feed his wives,
But he was obstinate towards us.
For him our wombs are hard,
As hard as seeds of the wetau tree.

Of Witielo and Witilangi

Witielo and Witilangi were two priests of the paternal lineage

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-
773 Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko kioleloa te matua tane; ko kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kula. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawale, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te papanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa lua matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Teia ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino. E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kele imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yolo mai na toe takanga. Peia mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, pakuongea, wakawewewewewei a. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momoto ia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale o Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te Kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Mea loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na palo. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takele i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kioleloa was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

539 parents called out to their child, to Nonu. This was their call, "O Nonu, oh, open there the corner of the roof of our house; inspect the procession here (see) whether it is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. He looked out, it was no good. Nonu answered his two parents, "They're bad. My mind is not pleased. Chase them to the ovens to smear themselves with ashes." The procession of pairs went. Other pairs moved up. Nonu (said) the same to his two parents.

Moa was the name of a girl; she was a homely girl, with kinky hair, smelly, ugly. She had been thrown out by the girls because of her ugliness. Moa went to pick tiale, tiale buds only were her things, they had not yet flowered. All the open tiale had been picked by the girls. Moa sewed her lei of tiale buds. Finished sewing, she went to bathe. Finished bathing, she returned to get ready. She put on her lei of buds. She walked along the main road. She reached the house of Nonu and the others. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked out. They called to Nonu, "O Nonu, oh, examine this girl whether she is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. Nonu looked out. Nonu was indeed delighted. Nonu was pleased. He said to his two parents, "Fetch her, let her climb up here so that we two can play."

The story was told to the island: "Nonu and Moa have married." Indeed, all the girls were dumbfounded. They were jealous of the getting of Nonu by Moa. Nonu and Moa went to bathe. The girls also went to spy on them. The girls objected, "What a waste of a man, she's such an ugly girl." Nonu collected seaweed, decorated their house. It is finished.

Of Angaino

Ko Angaino e tane Yato. Ko te yoa o Angaino, ko Kalou. Ya wai ipo i a Angaino ki a Te Oi. Talatala loa i a Angaino ki a Kalou, "Wano koe ki a Te Oi, ke yau ki aku nei. Ka wo maua ki Tua o Wakatiu." Wakatika loa i a Kalou. Wano loa. Ko Kalou, e tane Ngake. Wano loa i a Kalou ki a Te Oi. Wo loa laua, wo atu laua ki te vao, konikoni atu laua.

Kali la i a Angaino ke yau. Kali, e. Kali mai te taeyao e, tutonu te la. Kali mai te tutonungala e, awiawi. Na wo i a Kalou ma Te Oi ki te vao. Yau loa la i a Te Oi ki Tupapa, ki te wale atua, no ai iai. E kiai i a Angaino na kakalo ki ai. Oti ai loa te tala o te poloaki ia.

Angaino was a Yato man. Kalou was the friend of Angaino. Angaino had made Te Oi his sweetheart. Angaino said to Kalou, "Go to Te Oi, tell her to come to me here. We shall go to Tua o Wakatiu." Kalou agreed. He went. Kalou was a Ngake man. Kalou went to Te Oi. The two of them went, they

539 went off to the bush, they two copulated.

Angaino waited for her to come. He waited, e-e-e. He waited from the morning, e-e-e, the sun was overhead. He waited from noon, e-e-e-, till evening. Kalou and Te Oi had gone to the bush. Te Oi came to Tupapa, to the wale atua, stayed there. Angaino did not look over there. Finished is the story of that love message.

Of Tutuila

Ko Tutuila ma Yikitia. Ko Yikitia e wawine loa vave. E malulu te wui tane; vave loa i a Yikitia. Yaula i a Tutuila, e yoa no Takatakai. Ko Yikitia, e wawine ke. Yaula i a Tutuila, ya wuna, e kiai na maua i a Yikitia. Timotimo atu i a Tutuila i tona po mua. Pangea e Yikitia. Oti te po ia. Oko ake ki te toe po. Wano oki atu i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia, timotimo atu oki. Pangea oki e Yikitia. Malama loa te po ia. Wano loa la i a Tutuila tangi ki tona yoa, ko Takatakai, "Kalekala E ye maua loa e Yikitia i aku. Ya pange loa i aku ki na konga. Kae au tionga la?"

Kakole la i a Takatakai: "E tai aku tionga. Kaleawua la ki te po nei. Wano loa koe kiai. Wano la pania to kili te pua o te wau. Ke oko koe kiai, ka yongiyongi mai i a Yikitia i to kili. Yongiyongi atu koe i tona kili. Ke wakaulunga mai i a Yikitia i to ulu ki tona lima, wakaulunga oki koe i tona ulu ki to lima. Ke yongi mai i a Yikitia i to kaponga, yongi oki koe, i tona kaponga. Ke kamu mai i a Yikitia i o tuauma, kamu oki koe i ona tuauma. Ke kata mai i a Yikitia ki a koe, kata oki koe kiai. Ko aku tionga ia."

Po ake la te po, wano loa la i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia. Na oti tona kili te pani ki te pua wau. Koa kakala pe te kili o Takatakai. Wakayongi ake i a Yikitia i a Tutuila, koa kakala pe te kili o tana ipo, ko Takatakai. Yongi loa la i a Yikitia i te aloalo o Tutuila. Yongi oki i a Tutuila i te aloalo o Yikitia. Wakaulunga oki i a Yikitia i te ulu o Tutuila ki tona lima. Wakaulunga oki i a Tutuila i te ulu o Yikitia ki tona lima. Otiake. Yongi mai oki i a Yikitia i te iyu o Tutuila. Yongi atu oki i a Tutuila i te iyu o Yikitia. Patu mai oki i a Yikitia i na uma o Tutuila. Patu atu oki i a Tutuila i na uma o Yikitia. Manako loa la i a Yikitia, "Ko Takatakai pe tenei. Ko a maua tionga tenei e wai nei." Koa oti a laua wemilinga ia, lave kawatau atu loa laua.

Malama loa te po. Langona loa la i a Yikitia, "Kalekala pe! Te tangata na yau i te po ki a koe, ko Tutuila." Kamuloa te lili o Yikitia pokelekele. Kae ana konga la yau ai. Ko no i a Tutuila i tawa o Takatakai. E tengia loa i a Yikitia. E konga waingata! Pau ai loa te tala o Tutuila ma Yikitia.

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila. Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the while man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole--54 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Matayauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

Of Pania

539 Pania was a man of Yalongo lineage. He was in charge of the fishing for the old men's group. One morning he gathered together his crew and put out for the fishing grounds. He was unsuccessful and prayed to the god Te Awuawu to send fish to his trolling lines. Meanwhile his wife had been taken to the bush by a man of another lineage. Pania suspected that trouble at home must be the cause of his bad fortune so he also made other prayers to Te Awuawu in order to nullify the bad effects of possible adultery on the part of his wife.

After these prayers Pania and his men caught many fish. Coming back home, he passed over the reef and left a gift fish (tapu ika) for Te Awuawu on the rock shrine called Te Watu-o-Malaetapu in thanks for the help received from the god during the day. After presenting the fish to the old men at their meeting place Pania went home. He consulted his god about the behavior of his wife and was assured that she had misconducted herself during his absence. With this assurance in mind Pania ordered his wife to leave his house and go back to that of her parents. Thus breaking his first marriage, Pania stayed until daylight with another woman. In this way he contracted a second marriage.

Of Pukiko

Maloatu was a man of Ngake village. Pukiko was his wife. Maloatu suspected that his wife was having an affair with a man named Pania, but whenever he challenged Pukiko she lied to him and professed complete faithfulness to her husband. One day when Maloatu was walking through the reserve of Uta he thought of a plan to test his wife. He sought out his friend Lawuatu, asking him to go to Pukiko with the message that Pania awaited her on the back beach of Yamanaia.

Evening came and the men of the reserve land guard were returning to the village with their hair gaily decorated with flowere. Maloatu hurried to Uta and hid behind a cluster of trees. Soon he saw Pukiko coming. The night was moonless and very dark. As Pukiko came up to his hiding place he came forward and Pukiko, thinking the figure her lover, made to embrace him. Maloatu grasped her tight and then shamed her by throwing her lies in her face.

On the next morning Maloatu spoke to his wife, saying he was going to throw her from his house. Her brother heard of the contemplated divorce. He came to reason and argue with Maloatu. In the end Maloatu decided to take his wife back.

Of Malaetele

539 Yavake was the husband of the woman Malaetele. Tawaia, another man, was in love with her. One morning Tawaia saw Malaetele groping for fish along the reef. Tawaia excused himself from his own house telling his wife that he must go to see who the strange person was trespassing on this part of the reef. When he came up with Maletele, the two walked along the reef to the reserve islet of Kotawa. On this islet the lovers stayed for ten nights and then they walked on to Motu Ko where they stayed together for twenty nights.

At the end of this period Malaetele came back to the village. Now Yavake was an unusual man in that he lived with his wife only, having no affairs with other women. Malaetele walked to her husband's house and climbed on the house platform where she set to with her domestic occupations as if nothing had happened. The maternal sub-lineage of Yavake, however, determined to shame the wife, so they came to Yavake and told the whole story of his wife's adultery. Malaetele from her house platform heard the words. Confident in the power of her hold over her husband's affections, she composed and chanted this insulting song, hurling it with contempt at her interfering relatives by marriage:

From my place above,
I laugh at the words
Of the crabs and the rats.
They are but small fish bait,
Taken from the coral heads of Oka.
Their vulvas smell bad,
They have no success with any man,
Only ghosts come to sleep with them!

Of Lengatu

Lengatu was the wife of Kieilu, warrior-messenger and servant of Maina, supreme chief of the island. Te Pa was the chief of Muliwutu lineage. One day Maina sent Kieilu to gather together the people of the island that they might meet and discuss island affairs. Kieilu announced the meeting at the place Matano, then went on to Loto village and finally made his way to the place called Na Walenamu. Here he stumbled upon Lengatu and Te Pa making love together. Kieilu became incensed at the sight and incapacitated Te Pa by striking him on the fundament. Lengatu helped her lover back to the village. Then she left Kieilu's house and ran to that of her father. Her father was very angry at this method of announcing her divorce from Kieilu. He reasoned with Lengatu stressing the fact that

539 Kieilu was a good food gatherer and a clever craftsman, generous besides and always making gifts to Lengatu's maternal lineage.

Even so, Lengatu refused to return to her husband. She preferred to live with Te Pa and soon this new arrangement was made permanent. The whole island gossiped about the business: "Indeed, Lengatu is without doubt a very cheeky girl, changing and choosey about men. She has left the best man on the island. Let her suffer for it. Let her people not try to bring her and her husband together again. Leave her to find out her own fault that in the end she may return contrite at heart."

Of Kaikiki

Kaikiki was a man of Matanga lineage who committed adultery with Loloko. These two went to the islet of Ko and spent many days there together. Their actions were seen by the gods of the lineage of Poutama, wife of Kaikiki. When Kaikiki returned to his home he became very sick. His spirit was taken by the gods and thrown inside the eight-walled enclosure of the god Te Vayi, a place in the Underworld where a fire burns unceasingly. Kaikiki's skin peeled off with the heat and he would have been burnt had not his wife relented in her sorrow for him. She prayed to her gods to cure his sickness. They returned his spirit to his body. Kaikiki became well again and the people made a chant for him that is remembered to this day. Part of it runs:

I am come to the enclosure of Te Vayi,
I am hot, my skin is burned,
It is cooked. Your sickness it was
That sent me to the back of the sacred skies
Where I am seared by the fire of Te Vayi.

Of Kupenga

Kupenga was the wife of Te Anga. She was a woman sexually dissatisfied by the love-making methods of her husband and every day she would go to other men seeking fulfillment of her sexual urges. It came to another day and she was led by a young man to the back beaches of the island. With him she stayed until the day darkened. Meanwhile she had been spied on by the relatives of Te Anga who came to him saying, "Your wife has cohabited at the place Tua-o-Wakatiu until dark. There she comes crawling back to you, trying to deceive you with lies and flattery that you may not know of her doings."

The heart of Te Anga was filled with jealousy. His jaws

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
577 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

539 Wekao had been killed by Kaleva-motu, and his son, Te Vana, sought revenge. Because Kaleva-motu was a strong man and a noted warrior there was no way to kill him openly. Therefore Te Vana sought a stratagem and planned the killing while Kaleva-motu was engaged in fishing. Kaleva-motu, Te Vana and their friends decided to net kaloma fish. They netted on many beaches and then prepared to divide the fish into shares. The shares were placed on the beach and each came to take his fish. Kaleva-motu's name was called but he saw a coconut wood spear hidden close by. He ran instead of coming and Te Vana chased him. Kaleva-motu was swift-footed inland, Te Vana swift-footed on the beaches. Just as Te Vana came up to his enemy, Kaleva-motu jumped into the sea. Te Vana hurled his spear and saw it strike Kaleva-motu in the middle of the back. It was dusk and Te Vana assumed he had killed the enemy. But Kaleva-motu pulled out the spear and then swam quietly with only his nostrils above water to a lonely beach.

He made his way back to Wale. There was only one place where he would be unmolested and that was the sacred resting place of the high chiefs. None would come near this place. Kaleva-motu hid here and some of his relatives came in secret to treat his spear wound. Soon Kaleva-motu was well again, but it became known that he was violating the tapu of the high chiefs. The men came to kill him. Kaleva-motu asked that he be allowed to commit suicide. The men dug a deep grave for him and led him to the hole. His maternal relatives stood around the hole that he might not play tricks and seek to escape. This was their duty after the island decided to punish. They placed Kaleva-motu inside the hole and buried him alive.

Of Uila and Palakula

Uila was the son of the high chief Tuliayanga. On many occasions he whipped the children of Palakula and Kutikuti, his wife. The children went crying to their mother, complaining of the cruelty of Uila. "Have we no father to protect us, why does he not stop our pain?" Kutikuti could only reply to that that no help could come from their father and that they were children indeed conceived by the weakest of semen.

Palakula happened to overhear these remarks and he was spurred to action, even though Uila was the son of the high chief. He went to Uila and questioned him. Uila became angry and jabbed his finger into Palakula's eye. Then while Uila gouged out his eye Palakula gripped his tormentor by the testicles and tore them from his body. Uila died.

The people of the island surmised that the whole maternal

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 The following group of stories defies any simple classifi-
773 cation. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the
[81] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command. and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are
773 connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 Later his other son also died. Kui embraced him too and dropped him into the water.

Kui swam on. His wake was like the sea breaking on the reef, so powerful and fast a swimmer was he. He was in the water so long that coral rocks, barnacles, and seaweeds grew over his body, starting first on his legs, spreading up his body, and finally covering his head. He finally became so heavy that he dropped to the bottom of the sea. He was rolled along on the bottom of the ocean, until at last he was thrown up on the reef at Apia in Samoa. Though he looked like a big piece of coral, a living and breathing body was within.

The people of Samoa were at this time preparing for a great feast, and all the ovens were full of food. Kui rested until sunset. Then he awoke and decided to go ashore from the reef. He was too heavy to walk, so he rolled himself along. When he got to land, he visited all the ovens in turn, stealing food from each while the people slept. People came along and found the ovens tampered with, but all they saw was a coral stone lying by and, of course, they took no notice of this. From day to day Kui visited the ovens, stealing food regularly. One day a young girl came along the reef looking for fish. She noticed a big rock on the reef and, looking closer, saw that the rock was swelling in gentle movements, as if breathing. Sure of this, she went ashore and raised the alarm: "Yamoa e, teia la te kata ya wuke a tatou kmu" (People of Samoa, this is the brute that has opened our ovens). The people gathered on the reef. They saw the breathing stone and carried it to the meeting place where they discussed what to do with it. They decided to build a big oven. The people gathered wood, coconut husks, and the like for the fire. When the huge oven was heated, they threw Kui in. As the coral got hot it melted from Kui's body, dropped off; thus Kui himself was exposed to the heat and died. His soul left his body and went about Samoa killing many Samoans in revenge for his death. Then his soul went back to Pukapuka. Kui landed on the reef off the reserve of Niua. He was met by the god Te Mangamanga, who tried to turn him back to the sea. But Kui wrestled with Te Mangamanga and threw him on a sea urchin so that Te Mangamanga admitted defeat. Then Kui went through the villages challenging all the other gods to wrestle with him. He passed by the place Lowia, in Uta, in the form of a blazing fire. When the gods who were gathered there saw him, they were afraid and threw over themselves a net of invisibility. Kui passed on to the place where Te Auta-pule lived. The two gods wrestled and again

539 Kui was victorious. At the place Te Longalau, Kui met the god Malangatiale. (14)

Kui was in the form of a blazing fire, Malangatiale in the form of lightning. Kui called out, "Awi! " (fire), and Malangatiale shouted the same word in reply. Kui called out, "Ula! " (red), and again Malangatiale repeated the same word. Kui called out, "Awu! " (hot), and Malangatiale repeated the word. At every interchange each god flashed like lightning or blazed like fire in order to intimidate his opponent. They continued: Kui called out "Punga" (coral or meteor), and Malangatiale repeated the word. Then the two gods imitated the sounds of the tuli bird and the kawe, sea bird. At last they were close enough to grapple with each other. Three times they struggled back and forward between taro beds and lagoon beach, but neither was strong enough to conquer the other. At length they decided to become friends. It is said that their spirit was in every strong human being born in Pukapuka thereafter. Such a man was said to have na vave a Kui (the strengths of Kui). Kui became a god of Yangalipule, a lineage which produced many strong men.

Besides the three men of the stories below, the chief Kuluea also derived supernatural powers from Kui [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 539 or 116--analyst].

Uyo was a warrior. He gathered together a group of men and persuaded them to go with him to Motu Kotawa to live. Though Kotawa was sacred to Mataliki, Uyo trusted in his powers to save him from the dangers of breaking the tapu, and he knew his strength would save him from mortal danger. One of his followers was Te Pou.

On going across to the island, Uyo sent his followers to walk round by way of the connecting reef while he went on his own way. Uyo was a great jumper. Going by the reef he saw a shoal of fish in the lagoon. Taking his great seine net (kupenga uka yali lawi) 50 yards long, in his hands, he jumped from the reef onto the shoal of fish and caught many. Then he jumped from the eastern to the western reef across the lagoon, carrying his net and the fish as well. Arriving thus at

14. The god Malangatiale with whom Kui fought this drawn contest is the same individual whose accidental death is mentioned in the previous story.

539 Kotawa, he made a fire by rubbing his finger on a piece of puapua wood, built an oven, and put the fish on to cook. To get some nuts, he took a tree in his hand, shook it, and the nuts fell to the ground. Those nuts that hit his head broke in two. He husked the nuts by using his finger for a husking stick. Much later his men arrived on Kotawa, hungry after their walk around over the reef. The men decided to get food, but Uyo told them that the food was already cooked and opened the oven for them. For many days Uyo and his men lived thus on Kotawa, fishing and eating the nuts until, at last, the people on Wale became angry at the loss of so much food. They went to Kuluea, the chief, and asked him to repair matters. Kuluea consulted his god.

Now, Te Pou on Kotawa was a man possessed with the power of double sight. While on Kotawa he could see with his inner eye all that was happening on Wale, and, as if in a dream state, Te Pou told his friends on Kotawa all that he saw: Kuluea consulting his gods, the meetings of the people, men preparing their war malo, preparing canoes, and getting ready to fight. But his friends refused to take notice of Te Pou, saying he was having a nightmare and laughing at him. Still Te Pou talked in his vision, saying the people were leaving Wale, mentioning all the places in the lagoon that the canoes were passing in turn, and saying at last that the people had come to the landing place at Kotawa. But the men paid no attention to him and went on with their eating and sleeping. At last the people of Wale landed and, shouting "Manava Pukapuka i---, a---", as their canoes touched the beach, rushed forward. Te Pou then said to his friends, "I have warned you of this but you have believed me not." In fact, Kuluea had prayed to Taua, and Taua had made the man crazy (wakavavale or neneva).

A fight occurred. Two men of Wale were killed as they rushed after the Kotawa men, both Wale men having their skulls shattered by being knocked against coconut trees by the fingers of the superman. But all the Kotawa men were killed, all save Te Pou, who was reckoned a good man who had gone with the others to Kotawa against his will. Te Pou would collect the husks of nuts and cover them in the ground while the others would throw theirs carelessly on the ground. Therefore his life was spared. Uyo was killed thus: the men of Wale came up to him and found him paralyzed in body by the gods. But even so, all the men of Wale, even Kuluea, held back from him in fear of his supernormal strength. But Kuluea summoned courage, went up to Uyo, and thrust at him

539 with his spear. The spear rebounded from the tough skin without making a dint in it. Kuluea hit him on his head with a club, but Uyo blinked not even an eyelid, and the club was shattered in Kuluea's hands. Kuluea took an especially strong spear and thrust it through Uyo's eyeball, but the eyelids closing broke the spear off short and still Uyo was unhurt. Then Uyo, in his god-made craziness, spoke, "It is impossible to kill me by ordinary means. But if you lift up my arms, you will find in my armpit a big boil ready to burst." The men did this, and through the boil, also sent by Taua, Kuluea thrust his spear which penetrated to a vital part and killed Uyo. Then the men, curious as to Uyo's powers, opened his body and found there, instead of two livers (ate), eight livers; and to this abnormality is attributed his great jumping powers. Uyo was buried on Kotawa, and even to this day is seen the imprint in the rock, called Te Vae-o-Uyo, where one foot of Uyo landed after his jump from reef to reef. All the men went back to Wale, taking Te Pou with them. Later on when Kuluea had to face the danger of the Tongalelevan invasion, he said, "I am sorry I had to kill my comrade. His help is sorely needed at the present time to fight these giant people."

Waletiale, the second of the warriors with the strength of Kui, was a man of gigantic stature, who decided to start in Pukapuka a copulation group on the Yayake model.

Waletiale was a man so strong that he was like the supports of the island. He gathered about him a group of tall, handsome men at the place called Te Nau-o-te-tupua. When the women merely came to their sides, their penises stood erect and ripped off their malos. Waletiale announced the formation of his group to the women and invited them to visit him frequently. The women came first by pairs, then in a stampede. Some disliked, others were pleased by, the strength and vigor of the men. The single and the married women all went to Waletiale, so that the houses were deserted. The married women were particularly thrilled and their husbands saw them no more.

For many months their husbands waited. Their penises were yellow as slime from masturbating. They wilted with unsatisfied desire. As long as Waletiale stood guard over his meeting place the men were afraid to venture near in case they might be killed. They went to complain to the high chief of the island, to Kuluea. Kuluea was indifferent at first, being also afraid of Waletiale, but later he consented to pray to his goddess Taua, asking her advice in the matter. This was his invocation to Taua: "O Taua, press the bones of Waletiale

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare!"

Taua gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua men were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au mai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the
181 sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

539 lower back. His skin was smeared by their vulvas. They covered his nostrils. Welei stank. He could not tolerate the smell of vulvas. His god taunted him that his desire for women had subsided. Then the women chased him away, but because his nostrils were still blocked he soon died. His god was quite indifferent to his fate. "The child has got what he deserved", he said, and that was the end of Welei. They made this bit of verse about him:

Crowded below like Welei,
Stepped on by the many,
Stepped on by the thousand,
Crowded on top by the women
Who bite the good of man!

Of Yawau

Yawau was a man of Yamaunga lineage. This lineage went one night to fish Ruvettus. Ten fish were caught and brought back to the meeting place for division, which was close to the sacred worshipping house of the lineage. The priests in this house received their share, Yawau among them. Sitting on his sacred seat within the house, Yawau finished completely the tail portion of his fish.

Then Yawau went on with his chanting to the gods. There was a stirring through his back and frequent flatulence. Unawares, he suddenly began to excrete the fat of the fish. The priests behind poked him in the back and drew attention to the fact that his seat was dirty. At first he thought his friends were joking, then he was dumbfounded, ashamed.

A personal shame developed for Yawau. He was continually being teased by the children. He could stand the thrusts no more and prepared his voyaging canoes. He reached first the Tokelau islands, but when he landed the people greeted him with his shame. Again in Samoa, in the islands of Witi, in all the islands to the south, people knew his reputation. At last Yawau came to Kapiti-te-wue. The people did not know of him and his scandal was lost. Yawau rested here happily, married, and raised a family.

Of Wue

Wue was both chief of Yangalipule lineage and supreme chief of the island. He planned to sail to all the islands of the east and then to all the islands of the west. He built and provisioned his double canoe, gathered together the men of his lineage and his two sons and set forth. First he visited

539 Manihiki, then he went on to Rakahanga. At this place the people were playing at swings. Wue was contemptuous of the game, saying that in Pukapuka only children played with swings. In the evening the people left their swings hanging from the trees. Wue came secretly by night, cut down the swings, placed them in his canoe and sailed away with his treasure. At the next island the people were playing jackstones with Conus shells. Again the people were fooled by Wue's words when he said that only Pukapukan children played such games. As before, Wue gather the shells when the people went to sleep and sailed away.

At other islands and by similar tricks, Wue learned the game of juggling with immature coconuts, various hopping and kicking games. In Yiva and Yake Wue managed to cut the anchor ropes of fishing canoes deserted when a squall interrupted a fishing contest and thus stole long lengths of rope. On the island of Wakalava, the people were playing the game of disc-throwing (tupe). By a trick Wue learned the game, then stole away with all the discs used in the game. On the island of Yavake Wue visited the famous copulating places of which people who had gone before had told him. The Yayake men were proud of these institutions but Wue remarked that they were but mediocre compared with the copulating clubs of Pukapuka. In the island of Motulau the people possesed a feather which turned the whole body red if placed in the mouth. Wue desired this feather to take home but no matter what his words, the people were unimpressed and would not allow Wue to lay hands on the precious object.

Wue sailed to the islands to the southwest. He visited Tonga, Samoa, Witi, Witi-lewu, Witi-lelelele. On this last island he left one of his sons to settle. Wue was overwhelmed by the number of islands in the west. He could not visit them all so many were there. He returned through the Tokelau islands and arrived again at Pukapuka. He told of his journey, of the people, of their doings and the games he brought back with him.

Additional material on these voyages of Wue is found in variant accounts. It is related that the islands of Yiva and Yake were close together. They were separated by a narrow channel so that a fishing canoe might throw one anchor on one island and another anchor on the other island, thus remaining securely anchored in mid-channel. A fishing contest was in progress when Wue arrived, and Wue anchored close to the fishing fleet watching the people enjoy themselves at swimming, diving, and playing in the water of the channel after the fishing

539 was finished for the day. When the strong wind broke up the fishing fleet, Wue was better able to ride out the storm in his big canoe, and he profited by the dispersal of the other canoes to take with him as he sailed out to sea, all the fish and anchor lines that the Yiva people left behind them.

A man named Vailaki, whom Wue met on Wakalava, is remembered as a Samoan who built a plank canoe from a single large wetau tree. He sailed to many islands from Samoa, exhibiting his canoe to the people, and came on to Pukapuka from Wakalava. When he left to go back to Samoa, one of his crew, a man named Pokena, decided to stay on Pukapuka. Vailaki sailed without him, but Pokena soon died on Pukapuka without leaving issue.

Little more is known of the magical red feather that Wue saw on the islands of Motulau, said to be a group of many islands close together. When the feather was put in the mouth it turned the whole body a deep rich red color; when the feather was removed the body turned brown again. Wue asked three times for this feather, but the people of Motulau valued it too highly to allow him to take it. Wue evidently could think of no stratagem this time so he had to leave, bringing back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather.

Te Palo comes to Pukapuka

Te Palo, the Yayake warrior who fought with Te Nana, visited Pukapuka on a journey from Yayake which also led him to stop at Nassau Island. (16)

Te Palo's journey from Yayake to Nassau and Pukapuka was a journey of woman-seeking. He arrived on Wale in the middle of the night, quietly beached his canoe and then went in secret to scratch the women in all the houses. By daylight he was afloat again and drifted down to Nassau. Three times he came thus to Wale.

The married men soon began to notice that their wives were scratched and striped on the cheeks and breasts. They began to inquire one of the other as to the reason for this. At last some of the women whose cheeks were not scratched, being jealous of the good fortune of the married women, told of the night-visiting canoe. During the night the men waited and spied on the visiting Te Palo. Te Palo was seized and angrily charged with being the cause of the scratching. Quite unabashed

16. The atoll of Nassau is 42 miles southeast of Pukapuka.

539 Te Palo answered, "There is nothing to it. My comings were only comings to scratch your women who are so nicely established with you men here. Are you going to get angry over a mere nothing?" Under this calm reasoning, the ideas that had angered the men subsided.

Te Palo remained on Wale for one day. For his journey back to Nassau the island prepared two huge taro puddings. The voyager set sail and almost immediately opened his smoking hot puddings to eat. So great, however, was the speed of his canoe that he arrived in Nassau before the puddings had sufficiently cooled to taste. Similarly on a return trip from Nassau to Wale, Te Palo's wife who was with him in the canoe, arose from her seat to watch the waters curling past the bow. She overbalanced and fell into the sea. Te Palo made a grab at her but she was already far out of reach so fast was the canoe.

During this visit to Pukapuka Te Palo took the opportunity to inspect the land. He was greatly impressed with the quantity and size of the taro growing in the reserve of Uta. His words of praise are remembered to this day: "To look at this place here makes me realize that the taro beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by the small plover bird!

During all this journeying, Te Palo's sail had become torn to bits by the heavy winds. He laid it out at the place called Pingalu behing Ngake village and set to work to sew the rent places. One of his sailors brought him his favorite needle, made from the bone of the man-eater Malele, killed by Te Palo in Yayake. Unmindful of the fact that the use of human bone for any purpose was tapu on Pukapuka and that the breaking of this tapu would be punished by the goddes Taua, Te Palo went ahead with his task. Soon he felt his arm paining him, then he realized that there was a tumor growing in his armpit. This was the punishment sent by Taua. Te Palo immediately sailed away from Pukapuka, back to his homeland of Yayake.

Of The Tini

Another legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka concerns the activities of a group of Pukapukan people called The Tini:

The Tini were a group of people from the three villages of Pukapuka who used to go frequently to Nassau, spending their time on this island at fishing and playing at water sports. The group would fish for flying fish at night and then spend

539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it with ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are: —, for a long vowel; –, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″, a strong accent; ′, medium accent; ↓, low pitch; ↑, high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e ee; 11 to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e, e, e, te tawito niu loa.

2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.

3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.

4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:

5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.

6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.

7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;

8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--84 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

533 9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.
539

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.

11. Ya wakakuekue; ya wakatuloutulou.

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.

16. Ko titike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.

21. Yuatia teja; wakatangilia teja.

22. Na tama i te mata luluma, na topetopea;

23. Yoko a Wenutuki te lakau wakatalatala.

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

539 Naku pulua ki te welo ke lavalava	Covered with a spreading of welo flowers.
Tu la lunga o te unu ya o Mataliki,	She stood above the sacred worshipping stone of Mataliki the god,
Te mayul pe tilitili malo.	The one beloved as the elements of a malo. (3)
Ya ue pepe i te tiniu ko te nokenoke o te lalanga;	As quickly as if chasing butterflies, the women run to see the beauty of her plaiting;
Watu tonu ina, yayako ki mua;	Exact is her plaiting, straight in front;
Tau malo wai matapili ika	Your malo made well enough to serve as a fish noose.
Ya manea i na tupuna o te moana	Ancestors of the sea admired
Ki te kave lua o te lauena,	The two designs in the elements,
Watu wala kula ina la loto,	Designs worked within with red pandanus,
Yimu toki ina Wakalakalaka.	Designs as varied as the lashing of an adz.
Te matai te wawine tuwunga.	The most expert of expert women is my beloved.
Kavea ke wakayawia te mayakitanga tupu lelei,	Come, let me show you off, o sacred maid with your lovely face,
Vaimata uyi matangaleka,	Black your eyebrows, perfect to look at,
Wuwuke i loto o te wale tapu tapipi ia.	Brought from the sacred house (as if a real sacred maid!) then sprinkled with oil.
Wakalepua ke uluia mai oku tino	Stirred and excited is my body
E to amonga lalao maki,	By you, member of the lineage famed for healing the sick,
Na pulutia koe nanaia.	Secretly I embraced you.
Kavea o taua ki vao ke wakataukoti	Then fought with others over you in the bush
Ki te toki i na lelei o te tama pe Yinaliulu,	Cutting ourselves with adzes, child beautiful as Yinaliulu. (4)

3. This line is obscure but the implication seems to be that the sacred maid is as closely under the protection of the god Mataliki as the plaited elements stand to each other in a finished malo.

4. A double reference to the goddess Yina and the child Yinaliulu.

539 Na ta lau ina takitakina mai lunga	Chanted now the song for the lifting high of the sacred maid (5)
Kavea e,	Chanted the song for carrying her,
(Talowia, yau toku yana nei!)	(I beckon, come my beloved!)
Koa tangi te pu,	The shell trumpet sounds,
Tangi te nawa tokelekele,	Deafening the beating of the wooden gong,
Te lau o te aliki mai Loto.	Loud the chants of Loto's chief.
Te ulu vavai lau kenakena	You are as a cluster of white-leafed creeping vavai
Ya kotowia i te mako a te atu Tokolangi,	Picked in Tokolangi for the chanting,
Te taumakomako wakatongele	Or as the taumakomako plant, smooth and beautiful.
Ya takitaki tu ina mai,	I carried you and you stood there,
To tauyala, to lelei,	Handsome in your beauty,
Ya waingaina mai titinga,	Well fed from your childhood onwards,
E talo tu koe, lau ngavali no Wenuaeke	Standing as taro with swaying leaves in Wenuaeke (6)
No to tava loa ki Uta,	On the far side of Uta's reserve
Te wawine o Te Vai Talo Po,	For you, woman of Te Vai, taro gardens of the Underworld,
Naku lavalava ko te kie o lulunga kakana-langi,	I spread kie leaves for the gathered kakana-langi fish, (7)
Te pulotu o te mako o Loto,	For you, o beauty of Loto's chants,
Putenga mawakiwaki wua,	With thighs opening and closing,
I te ulu kalolo, koa takinai au.	With straight hanging hair, that attracts me.

5. The special chant sung when the sacred maid is lifted high in the hands of her retainers and carried about the island to the sounding of trumpets and the beating of gongs is given in [1:] : Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 238, category 116--analyst].

6. A taro bed famed for its luxuriant growth of taro in the reserve Uta of Loto village.

7. Figurative reference to the woman's genitals. Note the association here between the sex act and the concept of eating: the woman is as if fish gathered for a feast and spread on leaves to be divided among the people.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--94 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Valea e to ta wuti kula	I am satisfied with your bunch of red bananas (8)
Na malu vevenu i oku lalo.	Soft and moist to my lower body.
Na taia ngalo toku yiku o tai ika la mua,	I struck at the hook, then lost my tail as the first fish caught, (9)
E to ngako wu toto pe te tala o te malau	Fat your vulva, blood red like the fins of the malau fish
Malili au--	I am lost in amazed wonder--
Koa oyoia i lepa iai mumula la loto	Your labia stand burning-red there
O to titi ilangia te kilitai i lunga	Inside your kilt, lighting the skin above
E na koyi tenga o te lelei	The striped thighs (10) of my pretty one.
Ke wo mai mau ngutu i taku ipo lelei na tupungatai,	Let them come talking of my sweet-heart, beautiful, quickly grown,
Wua pupuku, na wenake ma te alangalanga,	Fat and round her body, plump her buttocks,
Uyi to kava kololo pe te ulu o te yamuti	Dark her pubic hair, hanging as the crowned leaves of the yamuti tree
Tulekina ki lalo, olo te lau.	Flattened down, but well-growing leaves.
Tama o te matangi wakalua	O child of Loto's wakalua wind
E leionga ika tauila, e wuwulu i o toto,	The fresh-spawned fish come in, but bathed in your menstrual blood, (11)
Ko te tuayillivalu,	Blood of the tuayilivalu fish,
Ko te yiku o te tawola tu,	Is only the tail of the Right whale, (12)
Ko te wakamatua tena o na tupuna o te moana.	The largest this, of the creatures of the ocean.
Kai ye yuayuakina mai titi wonu e,	Do not open to others your turtle kilt,
Titi taepu, to ulunga kea wonu manini--	Even your small turtle kilt, do not open to the group of green turtles--(13)
E maneai au la lunga o to tuapali tupu tala.	Let me alone play above your mons veneris, plump, well-grown.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

8. Reference to the vulva. There is frequent metaphorical reference throughout the chants to the woman's genitals in terms of a bunch or cluster of red fruits. In other contexts however, the banana is frequently used as a symbol for the penis.

9. Sexual intercourse is here likened to the activity of fishing. Just as in fishing the fisherman pursues a fish with his hook, so in love making the man pursues his mistress. There is a real parallel in the Pukapukan mind between the skills, the excitement, and the suspense of fishing and love making.

10. The thighs are very commonly referred to as being striped. This is a metaphor drawn from stripes on a fish's body and may also refer to the blue veining of the skin on the inside of the legs.

11. Carrying on the previous reference to Yina the culture heroine, the woman is endowed with the power of Yina to color fish with her menstrual blood.

12. The chanter boasts that his penis is like the right whale, largest of all and that only he may have intercourse with her.

13. The woman's other suitors are compared to a row of male turtles pursing one female turtle.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden,
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the sub-soil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E toaki atu tona nunuinga, wiliwili ake tona ao lua,	Spread the big tubers, separated the second class tubers,
Kauwia io mata lualau, moe mai mua tau Katikatinga.	Counted two hundred tubers; then you rest before your next activity.
Na matatini ma mata mano o te monotanga olo a Ngake,	One thousand, ten thousand, tubers you have for the taro puddings of Ngake's feast,
E tau tokalua te olo koa kave la wale	Two men are needed to carry your pudding from the house
E mangungu pau to yolonga, e toaki ngalepe ko te tulanga,	Members of your lineage rush where the food is spread, bursting from the houses,
E kati mai lunga ona lopa, na tala valea,	The young men bite into the food, speak satisfaction,
Takapelupelu ona wawine wai muli lele alangalanga.	The women fill out, their buttocks become round,
Na wua pupuku na putenga.	Their thighs become plump.
Ke wuli au mai lunga o te wu,	Let me turn towards your vulva,
Kai wakaata pe te ui pa,	Irridescent as pearlshell,
Ko pali mawolawola, toaki te wuluwulu	The labia part, the pubic hair of youth
Na matili ma to tuapali,	Spread across the mons veneris,
Uyi pe te ulu o Tongaleleva, wakalava te wu laingaloa	Dark as the distant tree tops of Tongaleleva, the vulva stretches like a tall tree (3)
Na muia pe Wenua-loa. Na tawiwi te lepe ma te kakano.	More and more visible as the islet Wenua-loa through the haze. Male and female organs conjoin.
Na ngatata pe te ayioyio	Struggling like the ayioyio fish on a hook
Na motumotu i toku niwi, aku akalava ke lave,	My penis breaks loose, I am caught again tightly,
Na pipiki makeke ma te pukiko,	I am hooked fast behind the clitoris,
E kukume atu kalali pe te vave o te ika.	I pull away swiftly with the strength of a fish.
Na toina au ki lalo,	I fall down below,

3. A legendary land frequently mentioned in traditional history and legends.

539 Wotu o mua, koa melo pe te laukape kea,	Your front is engorged, gold as turtle fat,
Wakaata mai. Tango ki te lima, yongi ki te iyu,	Suffused with red. I fondle with my hands, touch with my nose,
Wuli ake au ke aku kaina io mai lunga,	I turn upwards where I feasted,
I te kai manako o te tangata.	On the food desired by man.
E wakalililili lua vaimata, waka-lililili to koyi manava,	I am thrilled by your eyebrows, thrilled by your belly creases,
Wakalililili lua putenga, maea au i to tupu,	Thrilled by your thighs, ravished by your body,
Koa ata, koa kauwonoi,	Beautiful and fat,
Na yeyele, koa matanga kapa, tino nui koa matangawie,	A smooth, greatly desired, large body, pleasant to the eye,
Na onoonowia, lole te tupu matangaleka,	I looked, perfect your lovely body,
E avatu ma o muli yina.	Perfect right to your waist,
Wakaayawi mai i na wale, e tauyala koe ki mua,	Show off before the houses, handsome above all others,
E popoti te tupu tala i lalo.	The sides of your body below are beautiful.
I toku mata tu wakapulawa, i te manako ulu ma to tino	Before my eyes stand naked. My mind goes through your body
Naku takunatu ki te kalele ke pole mai koe ki aku.	And I commission a messenger to learn whether you favor me.
Lolo taua e toku tangata, ma to matamatangi ko Ngake,	Let us stroll, o my woman, to where Ngake's winds blow,
Naku akakoyia o mua ki toku malo nuanua, toku malo ula toto,	Your front I cut with my rainbow-hued malo, (4) my malo blood-red,
Toku wuti malo ula, toku malo wakaluia, toku malo akavai,	My malo red-streamered, my malo desired by women, my malo envied by others.
Yelea te wakatiu, pakia te palapu,	Tamed Yato's wakatiu wind, struck by Ngake's palapu wind,
Koa lauveve wua i oku ala matangi	Gentled by winds of Yato
Ya veve mai te tonga.	And made gentle the south wind too.
Manea taua mai Ngake, ko moe i Tipia ma Wakakoyi,	We stroll from Ngake to sleep in Yayake's lands of Tipia and Wakakayi,

4. A favorite transferred metaphor in the chants where malo is a symbol for that which it covers.

539 Ka yala ki Yake ma Awuawu.	And visit the lands of Yake and Awuawu.
Lio ake au ko na wutiwanga o Lapaiva	In your defense I challenge the houselots of Lapaiva
Apoapo ai taku lakau, wakaoli au ma na tangata o Langilili,	I flourish my weapon, fight the men of Langilili,
Ma na wutiwanga o Lapaiva, yau e te Yake	Fight the houselot men of Lapaiva. Come, woman of Yake, (5)
Ke manea taua ma to mulitaua,	Let us wander, your body's organs are like a dart throwing base, (6)
Wengatu au ke aku kitea o pawonu i Walalanga,	I go to see your turtles enclosed at Walalanga,
Pe ko pei taku mataweo, na wua pupuku,	Comparing them with my turtle woman, plump and round,
Una pulapula, una tanetane;	Whose turtle-shell-like skin is spotted with Tinea marks; (7)
Kai wiwi lunga, kai kapilele, vayia io,	I turn on top to feast on sliced layers of flesh,
Koa melo to laukape kea,	Turtle flesh golden in hue,
Ula pe te koyi o te nuanua naku tukiatu, ngaolo ko te tawa o te langi.	Crimson as the rainbow's stripe that I place along the horizon of my sky-woman.
Yeke io loa ko te kotianga o Avaloa	I move quietly to Avaloa's village boundary
Pe ko no ai te wawine lelei o Wulia,	Wondering whether the beautiful woman of Wulia (8) lives close by
Ya wakawiwi lakei ma te pua walakula,	We met, she was decorated with red Pandanus flowers,
Omo ko te yinu, puya te kakala.	Oily her skin and sweet smelling.
E wakavovi au kiai, wuli mai koe ke lolo awu taua	Shyly I look at you, you turn to me and we go wandering
Yala i o nuku lau mamake, ko te patenga o te naupata mai Yayake,	To your shady islet, to the leafy bed of naupata from Yayake,
Ke wai io ai e wainga ma taua.	That we embrace together.
E wakayangayanga mai, na lite ko toku tapele,	Spread are your legs as you lean upon my leafy couch,
E wulitomu mai koo, e angaiatu au ke wenuili ake akalelei,	You turn to me, I move toward you that we may feel each other well,
Polo au ko akaaka lua oku vae, lalao atu ai oku lima	I clasp you tightly, my legs convulsively moving as I use my hands

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--100 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

§39 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langililli are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitaua, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[§32] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulia an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

539	E apo vae tai ina, e apo vae lua ina e wakatau ki te koni,	Lifting your first leg, then your second leg, preparing for our embrace,
	Kunuwia mai na pakakina, witi atu, tavili io mai lunga,	We move up and down, I climb above, oscillate over you,
	Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,	Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,
	Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--	Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--these are the sounds of our embracing.
	Pia au e te vale wu, na valea, e te maniania	I eject, your secretions flow, satisfied our excitement
	Na tuki oku vave ya lulu mai loto o to wu,	Pounded my strength, gathered inside your body,
	Na mawelawela wua atu ki lalo,	Then I fall back, down,
	Tokutoku au ke malama ake ma oku mata,	Gasping till my eyes become light,
	Ke nui ake ma toku manava,	Till my belly swells large,
	Ke paki atu taua wakalua, *wakatolu.*	That we may embrace twice, *thrice.*
	Wolaia mai te potu yakali tawa niniva,	Flattened is your mature coconut, (9) once pointed sharply,
	Na yeyele, ye atatelekia pe te tawa o te yuvelovelo	Now smooth, no longer sharp to pierce like the spear's edge
	Na kotia au, motu i loto, ko takoto ai oku tala tupua, oku wanongo;	I cut you, broke you in the middle; now my history is established, my tale will be told;
	E nunumi au ke nono taua i te konga i tai	I hold you to me so that we stay in one place
	Wakalata ko te vao o aitu ke momoe mai wakalelei,	Faithful to each other in the forest of spirits that we may sleep well,
	Wakamatala ke kitea, na ngalo vale koe ma te tinui,	Loosen your kilt that I may see; you have lost secretions like other women,
	Na wetike o ipu laukape, matolu to kaokao wonu,	But your cup of turtle fat remains; thickset are your turtle-like sides,
	Na malu te puku na tangitangi, na yeyele to papa waulua,	Soft the sounding fat to the touch; smooth the bottoms of the double canoe,

9. A roundabout, though not to the Pukapukan mind, obscure reference to the clitoris.

539 Na mawola lua laungutu wu.
Na wuli tawa ai au mai lunga te puaka nui o Tonga e,
Na mawola to aloalo ngolo, aku toina ko te wuti o te ngayu i Taupe,
Te konga e tangi te lingolingo i te tala o Pepe i Yayake,
I te lua talo na yokaiai ko Wuina, na kave o lalo o te launiu
Ya wakaoli ai ia Kape i te imu no Malamalatia.

Spread apart your two labia.
I turn sideways above you, large pig of Tonga,
Spread apart your pig's breasts. I pull you to the shady leaves of the ngayu bushes at Taupe,
To the deserted beach where the landshells cried in Yayake' story of Pepe, (10)
Deserted as the taro pit where Wuina was speared beneath the drooping coconut leaf
Speared as Kape feinted, revenging his dead brother Malamatia, (11)

Na muln nei taua. Na tupu i wea taku lakau?
Na velo ko te va o Avayiki,
Kekeo ko lunga o te ulu o te talakelake,
Koa luela, e wati te lau,
Koa pakia, pakia, e tatane te kili koa wakia.
E popoti te tupu toyeyele,
E litolito i ngalu lele, e vevia au,
E yakayaka mai koe, ni lelei no Ngake,
E tavake mokomoko o te ulu ngayu nui,
Ko tu ki Alapata, kanapanapa wua ko te mata o te maina,

We touch each other. Where was my stick grown? (12)
It shot up in the spaces of legendary Avayiki,
Towering above the tops of the talakelake trees,
Which shook, broke off leaves,
That hit your body, spotting your skin, leaves torn off.
Your pubic hair grows trim and smooth,
White your skin as foam-crested waves, I am excited,
As you dance for me, you, the beauty of Ngake,
You, the white-tailed tropic bird of the large ngayu grove,
That stands on Alapata's island, shining to the face of the moon,

10. The reference is to a story no longer remembered. Whenever the Pukapukan wishes to give the feeling of a deserted place, he commonly characterizes it as being so quiet and unvisited that the landshells may be heard.

11. For the story of Wuina and Kape see page 59.

12. The word lakau meaning tree, stick, wood, or weapon has here the obvious sexual connotation.

539 To popongi na kili o te tiniu, peia waike te kili o te pulotu	Dark the skin of women, different yours, skin of the beautiful one,
E yuyulu i te tini o Pana, taku ngolo o na ulu tavai	Shining among the many of Pana's (13) women, o creature of the tavai tree top,
Na wakamate mai ki oku lunga, ya wakaili ki oku pi wu pa matangi,	You were as dead above me, resting on my breasts, sheltered from the winds,
Te tamawine na wuwuli i toku winangalo.	The girl who returned my desire.
Wakamatala ake te tai tua, ko ulu titimo ko te Po.	Open up the sea coast path, we enter stealthily into the Underworld, (14)
Yuli oku ala kauliliki, ko takoto toku unu na vae, na makoyi,	Treading on my narrow road, my foot tracks remaining well-marked,
Na wano ko te matangi, na yala i na nuku o aitu	We go to the place of the winds, to the islet of spirits
Toki i te wuti o Mulua,	Planted with the banana tree of Mulua, the god,
Toki i te kapi o Tangaloa, livai ia ko te niu a Malu,	Planted on the level of the Tangaloa gods who surround the coconut tree of Malu,
E liliva ko te va i matau,	Surrounding the space to the right,
E liliva ko te va i mayui, kakalo te atua wai newu,	Surrounding the space to the left; the magic-making god looks round,
Ko tu i te watu a Yokamani,	Standing at Yokamani's balancing stone.
Te palenga o te Po ma to ao, wakakati ai	Where the Underworld and the world of light join together, blocking the path
Lua wata wano ola ko te Po.	Of the two priests who went as living beings to the Underworld.
E mawiti koe la oku lunga, e kiai naku pukea mai;	You broke away from me, I did not catch you;

[103] 13. An old name for Ngake village, and one frequently used in the chants to refer to the village or the activities of its members.

14. For a description of the places and gods in the Underworld referred to in the following lines, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 326-328, category 116--analyst].

539 Na yelea ko te talakelake, wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo.	You were tied to the talakelake tree, your soul trap-tangled, died, stank.
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka o Tangi;	We were both thrown to the foot of Tangi's puka tree;
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini;	We entered Leva's house of a thousand posts;
Kauwia toku yana ko te Po, e manata ko te yolonga mua,	I count over my death gifts taken to the Underworld; then look for my early ancestors,
E mamata ko te yolonga muli; wakaake ko te ui a Lepiu,	Look for my later ancestors among the spirits; climb up to the taro beds of Lepiu,
Te mata taia a Lea, alualu ma Lepiu maua	Where Lea gathers tubers. Lepiu and I hasten on
Ke kiteake na ui liliku o te Po,	To see the illimitable taro beds of the Underworld,
E wai muli koko, tawanga wua, e wai motuinga,	Their corners far apart, the beds divided into sections,
Koa lalava, e wakia ko te talo lau kula,	Plentiful the taro in them. broken is the red-leafed taro
E wakia ko te talo lau melo,	Broken the yellow-leafed taro,
E pule tauina ye mawiti, e kotowia mai lakeia te pua o aitu,	Surrounded the beds by a guard that none may break, we cut decorations of spirit-flowers,
Koa kakala, e maneanea, yulu na ma to tuapali, taku newu matangi!	Sweetly they smell as we play, fastening them to your mons veneris, o my wind spirit!
Te ata wai o te waiti o te Po ma te ao malama	Into the shadowy space between the Underworld and the world of light
Ya velo ai toku vae tapu	I thrust my sacred foot
Ya wakakokia, tangi te lupe;	Stamping loud, and calling the pigeon's cry; (15)

15. An inadequate translation of the phrase tangi te lupe. To lupe is to beat the thighs and make with the lips sounds of a pigeon. It is the method of establishing communication with a god. In referring to a sacred foot the chanter is comparing himself to the well-known character, Te Yoa, who was saved from danger in his conflict with the man-eating demon Te Atua Pule by thrusting his sacred foot into the ground (see the story on page 48.)

539 Ya puyitai na te tangata, wakapuke ai oku wale maki.	The man blew once, seized my house of sickness.
Omoyia ki te wakamanongi, wakataka mai te tokanga;	Smeared with your scented oil, bring together the sickness makers;
Koa avake i lalo te yiva nei,	The yiva chanting rises,
Koa ta te kapa a tangaloa;	And the kapa chant of the tangaloa gods;
Wakaolia mai te atu mua, wakaolia mai te atu loto,	The front row dances forward, then the middle row,
Newutia e Vave mai lunga, na mimia ki te matamatangi,	The god Vave beats his drum, the gods rush in all the directions of the wind,
Wetuki ki ngake, ki te malamanga o te tangata;	Rushing to the east, to the cleverest among the people;
Wakatu polo ta mo Leva. e wakia to tili	They arise, chanting for Leva, singing your tili chant
Na watu ai i te Po.	Composed in the Underworld.
E avake loa tuveina, wakalonga ko te tama leoleka.	The sound of chanting rises and the gods marvel, listening to your sweet voice.
E mawola to lava koti ika e kiliti i to tapu tangata,	Spread out your coconut leaf on which the fish is cut, bring forward your food gifts,
E ueia mai ki ngalepe, tuku teletele;	We chase away the people, scattering them in all directions;
Polokemeyia ma te ngutuala,	We embrace each other on the main paths,
Wai ki te koni, toka aku pole, e ulu atu au kia koe,	And embracing, satisfy desire in my entering into you.
Ko wuluwuluna, ko takelea, ko kanapa i te vau yina ma,	We wash, bathe, shiny the skin in the pool,
Ko tu i te vai i yua tili,	We stand at the pool of spraying water,
Ake ko te vai i Wuluna,	Go on to the pool at Wuluna,
Ake ko te vai i Wualolo,	Visit Wualolo's pool,
Ake ko te vai i Tamulua.	And then on to the pool at Tamulua. (16)
E maneanea ai taua, e moungutuina, laulapua mai ki te ngutu	We play there and talk, speaking with our mouths

[103] 16. These are the names of well-known pools on the islet of Pukapuka.

539 E ni wakaiponga loa lata te manako ulu.	Of that adultery that delights the heart.
E tala to pali ia wuluwulu-lena,	I think of your smooth mons veneris covered with hair,
Na mapua pe te ulu yelu mai.	Hair standing as if just combed.
Awa! lalo kai kula pe te ngako taiva kauaki,	Awa! below is red food like the fat of the taiva fish,
Ka momono ki toku wuti malu, kai puyonui, kai tiketike wua,	I shall insert my banana soft, food swoolen, food high-standing,
Na yikai ai au, motu, koa teka.	I pushed in, then broken, separated.

A Lolominga chant in praise of a woman (1)

Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga,	Lash the house above with sennit,
E Ato i te wale, koa niniva	Thatch it, sharp are the sides,
E tuki te peau koa nonoke,	The rough seas pound, splendidly firm stands the house.
E kayiva te uilte katea,	With pearlshell fastened on the starboard side,
E nokenoke, e vaka Lakawanga.	Splendid is the canoe of Lakawanga,
Ke yaciatu te muavaka,	Let the bow of the canoe be torn open,
E mapipipipi a na wainga.	Torn wide open in the doing.
E uila mata takemo ake--	A flash of lightning dazzles me--
E wakakekeyu ki te puapua,	Fine is the canoe made of puapua wood,
Tsukonekone mai Lakawanga.	Of stripe-grained wood from Lakawanga.
E wakatau ai au tuta,	I fit together the flanges,

1. This short chant is a somewhat elaborate comparison between a woman and first, a house and then a canoe. The second analogy is a frequent and very apt one to the Pukapukan mind. There is first, a close association between the form of a canoe and a woman's sexual organs and second, the beauty of a finely constructed canoe; its perfect shape and build, immediately call to mind beauty of form and line in a woman's body. In this chant the woman is compared to a canoe from Lakawanga (Rakahanga), where it is customary to decorate the canoes with pearlshell ornamentation. This comparison is all the more appropriate in that the woman is descended from Rakahangan castaways.

539 Koa pu wa, pu lima,	They have four holes, five holes,
Pe te pu ui mai Lakawanga.	Like the pearlshell-holed canoe from Lakawanga.
Na weniti, koa makavekave,	Thick is the sennit, hanging in a fringe.
Te kalaka kula e, na pae mai ngake nei,	Before the crimson kalaka seeds drifted from the east.
Keukeu keu a e!	Perfect is the canoe, it is perfect!

Introductory Chant from the Tamau Cycle (1)

Ko wakangaki atu ai au, penapena toku vaka, lokiloki malie--	I long for you as I prepare carefully my canoe for launching--
Wakatele atu au ki o nuku i ngake,	I sail to your islets in the eastern seas, (2)
Uta i te lakie, te puaka tino nui,	Loaded my canoe with tern and large-bodied pigs,
Te manu o te maunga ya wakaolioli	With the soaring birds of the mountain tops;
E unu i tiku yana, e lolo taua ki te tili puanga a Te Malenga	Taking out my pearlshell necklace, we two go to the flowered offering place of the gods
E liliva ko te niu a Malu. E wakamatau ki te matangi	Gathered round the coconut tree of Malu. (3) Grown used to the wind,
E popoti te tupu wawine, na topotipoti nonoke i aku onoononga.	Soft and neat the hair on your maiden's body, lovely, beautiful to my eye.
To tu tolo mua tu witu, teka i te va o Yayanga wakatuloutulou.	Ahead of your seven sisters, you crown the space of Yayanga, humbling the people.
E ta tau papa malalilali, payekeyeke,	Your plaiting board is cut smooth and slippery,
Tio te malo wakamaepa te wuluwulu,	Plaiting a malo, your elements are spread apart, untangled,
E liaki te kie kula, e taki te kie wete, e lalanga te epaepa,	Display your red kie mat, your kie wete mat, your plaited epaepa mat, (4)
E wakamaonioni, e tovili i lalanga,	Your hands are industrious and quick at plaiting.
Taku yana tamawine, e aku onoonoyia,	My beloved girl, I gaze on you
Naku paipuia ki te ngutu, naku wakiwakia na la	And would ward your from idle gossip, trimming
Kae tupulia nuku te ulu.	The tree that is you from growing crooked.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--108 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[521] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

539 Na ulu atu, yala ko loto o na kaputinga a na palu	In my canoe I join the men fishing for palu
Tele ake te ika lalo moana ya tuki i te wui tane,	The fish swim below the sea chased by the fishermen,
Yele koti te kino mata momole--	Rivals for your beauty, those with ugly, flat eyes--
Koti tau o taku akaiponga i taku lakau	Would cut the anchor that marries me to my tree
Tu ko loto o te puyo wenua o Tonga ma Yake,	That stands within the back lands of Tonga and Yake,
Ta te uluanga mai lunga, na nenewu pe na yamatangi,	Cut the branches of this tree, branches close pressing as the prayed for wind,
Yau ko te mumu o Matakula toliki. Yeyele o waitunga,	Coming through the star-clusters crowding round Mars. Smooth is your waist,
Yau ko te koyi o te nuanua.	Prettier far than the stripes of the rainbow.
E liaki toku vaka wiwi, e pepelu i toku malo lepe,	I display my canoe (it is you!), I am girded in my malo of testicles,
E wuti wawa tau au ma to Nukuloa mamao,	I draw the sail sheet, come to your islet of Nukuloa, (5) far away,
Na wakatete i te ama akatipa i te wuli,	With outrigger raised, the canoe sailed erratically with steering,
Kai maka ko na mata tau ko Tawiti,	So that we were thrown wide away from the landing points of Tawiti.
Ki au e to malamala wetau o te vao o Te Tea,	I am filled, warmed with your tamanu fire chips from the forest of Te Tea. (6)
Ka tipu motu te puapua, yakoi te wakanava,	I will cut down the puapua tree, the straight wakanava tree that challenge you, the tamanu tree,
Na lio mai Ngake lelei, koi uyunake na lau o te wawine i mua,	I will protect the beauty of Ngake; start the hundred chants known to you, woman superior to all,
Na tokele ngungulu i Muliwutu	The booming sound fires with excitement the men of Muliwutu lineage
Lakalaka ia pau na muna o Tuyiyauola, wakakeyu koe e wawine vave	For you, the superior, the strong I would pass over all the wives of the chief Tuyiyauola (7)
Lio atu au e tane wua pe Te Nana,	I guard you, I, as skillful a fighter as Te Nana, (8)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

[103] 5. Nuku Loa, an olden name for Ngake's reserve islet Motu Ko. The meaning of these lines is that the man will take his beloved in secret to the islet that recurs time and again in Pukapukan stories as the one best suited for love-making.

6. The forest of Te Tea is that in which Lata chopped down the tree for his canoe. See story on page 17.

7. Tuyiyauola, chief in the land of Yayake, is well known in Pukapukan traditions for the fact that he had many beautiful wives.

8. For the story of Te Nana, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402, 405, category 116--analyst].

539 Yala ko te pu o lua wenua, tuki mai o koe e wawine,
Pange atu au i o lalo, koa puyangia e te lauwala
Yau i ki nei ke aku pelukia to titi.
Ki te makavenga o te wau tai ai te matangi

I come to the hole between the two islands. Turn to me, o maiden,
I touch you below where is the scent of Pandanus fruit.
Come that I may gird on your kilt
Fringed with the wind-cut bark strips of wau.

Naku tukuna i te ulu punga, koa wakayeke i te laulau
Ke kai ake te palu-malau ma te katakata
E lolomi ki te yinu kanaka, kao wai imu malie, e lemolemoyia au.
E to muavaka na ta wakaya-yako, tama o te atu Yiva,
E wakatangi taku poko ko te vai ayanga;
E wakatau ki te wu ke tau te mania, e tuki toku puna ia!

I drop my line to the rock heads two hundred fathoms deep
There bite the palu-malau and the katakata fish
Eaten with your rich taro pudding, your oven is delicious, richly tasty.
Your canoe bow is well cut and straight, oh child of the isles of Yiva,
The well at the outer reef hears my sounding buttocks;
Smooth and slippery you are as the wu fish, my gasping breath pounds.

The Second Tila chant from the Tamanu Cycle (1)

Toko toku tino awi mai Yayake, Mumula e, mumula!
Toko toku tino awi mai Yayake,
Mumula e, mumula!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue
Kakaya e, kakaya!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue
Kakaya e kakaya!
O uila kili e, e nokenoke tenga,

Raise my body of fire from Yayake's isle,
It burns, ah, it burns!
Raise my body of fire from Yayake's isle,
It burns, ah, fiercely it burns!
Clustered torches in Niue
Glowing red, ah glowing red!
Clustered torches in Niue
Glowing red, crimson red!
Your skin bright as lightning's flash, your fair thighs,

1. The second short chant from the Tamanu cycle is a vivid comparison of the desire that burns in a lover's body with the fiercely burning torches that consumed Te Nana's canoe, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--112 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukan's

539 Pupula kiai lua oku mata,	Strain to them my two eyes,
To welowelo mukavakevake.	Staring at the flushed whiteness of your body.
E teka wua au i o yau	I slip away to your leafy bed
E tutipi niwi pati au,	Swollen, embracing,
Ki tu ulu kayo langi memelo.	Flushed like a crimson sky,
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Sounding, ah sounding!
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Embracing and sounding!

Third chant of the Tuyiyauola Cycle (1)

Alu, au, na wota ki o lunga te matou	I climbed to the top of the matou tree (2)
Ya wuli ai au kekeo mai te ulu o Tawiwi	I turned there, towering above the tree tops of the island of Tawiwi
Tu melo te weniu kalaka totokeye i to mua malo	Red was the bunch of kalaka seeds, scarlet before your malo front
Taitai au, koa niniwi e o koyi alongamanava,	I swoon, then relax against the creases of your belly,
Kakati te wainga na awukele,	Close the embrace and hot our bodies,
Kakala o nene pua wau,	Scent of semen, sweet as flowers of wau,
Omo ai au e tamawine.	I smear it over my maiden's body.
Ko koe te tane na takayia na nuku o te ika wainga	You are the man who visited Yayake, islands of many fish
Tele ma toku tino wano ko ngake,	Sail away with my body, let us go to the west,
Wuwuli taua i Tonganui, mamata i na nuku o Tonga,	We steer to Tonganui, visit the islets of Tonga,
Toi ma taku ulu puaka o na wanga o Tuyiyauloa.	I clasping the hand of my pig, (3) pig of the houselots of Tuyiyauola.
Ko tuyimate koe e wai mana,	You are like Tuyimate, that chief of magical power,
To ai te tane leoleka o te yau tawanga o Poike,	You were born the sweet-voiced man of Poike's distant cohabiting place. (4)
E konia vayia wakamananga, e to ko te ayiayi;	We embrace at the place of spreading thighs, where semen rain showers fall;
Talanga, e wakamata ia wawine,	Erect the penis, exposed the woman,
E tutuki ki te yau timotimo--	And embracing, my thoughts turn to tales of famous cohabiting places--
E kotinga welo i Timalea.	You cut me as welo bark is cut in the islet of Timalea. (5)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The matou is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

539 E ulu kumala unu i te va mai ngake	You are like the tops of kumala leaves picked in eastern places
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya	In our love, set apart and sacred as gods of the Underworld
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku ngalo	We will disappear like islands lost in the sea.
Te uila e nunui i te kili	Your skin is bright like constant flashings of lightning,
E kalipo kili e angalua	A skin irridescent and flashing,
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi	As of a delicious fish I cut and remove your head
Lele i to koyi tapu o Moula	The colors of your skin run like the tapu rainbow stripes of Moula the god
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku wai ya	You are my fish caught and pulled up at the tapu islet of Ko
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau	As sacred, you, as the worshipping place of Ulutakapau (6)
Ko no takuake e tama ya	Where you stay praying, you, the holy one,
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi	For you, I brushed aside the entreaties of my lineage.
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki	You grew like the wutu trees of the land of Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,	Tall trees but stunted in their branching,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu	You flourished like the leaves of the tatapu tree.
Unu mai na pa koloa	I drew you safe from the enclosure of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
Te tane o na nuku kokoa	You, o man of the legendary mischievous islands to the east (8)

6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.

539 Wakatele yau ma te tino ika	You swam and came with the shoal of fish to my net.
E tapu lemoyi taku mea nei	A delicious food-gift for you is my body
Ika mai te va o Lautala	Brought to you from the wide spaces of the island Lautala.
Ko taku lava ta ko te tangata	My leafy lover's bed is cut by the man
Apo ma taku laukoe pala	Who brings me my knife of bamboo, (9)
Tatangi ngatata i te kilitai	Driftwood, sounding, rattling, washed by the water's surface.
Wakaulu ake ma toku manako	My mind is absorbed in you,
Ulu ki te lelei a te wawine	Filled by your beauty for women.
Ko no mai loto o Lulu-ipo, ko wakatalava i Longolau	We will live in Sweetheart-village, lie together in the island of Longolau
Wakawiwi ki te vavai mamake.	On a bed crisscrossed with pretty vavai creepers.
Tu mai ko wale ko te moana	You stand in the house under the sea
E tupilitia e Malokula, ni yoani no te tikitiki	Close by stands the god Malokula with his helpers, the small servant gods
Pole ai au ma te wua a tangaloa ngalu	Him I worship and all your group of tangaloangalu gods,
E aumanga una peva yiyika ko te ala o Malangatiale,	You, wearing your priestly head-dress of turtle shell cut straight as a line of Malangatiale's turtles,
E wakapa kaiyo ki ngalu. e tutuki ki te one mai Ko	Calling, "Turtles ho!" where waves break on the sands of Motu Ko
E takiwuliluaina te wonu.	Turtles of which you each turn over two.
E ayuye wakapaea io, kitea e toku newu ayanga.	Like drifted wood, seen by my minor gods of the outer reef.
Maneai taua kiai, puna mai koe tu ko te lepa	We stroll there; or you emerge, standing in the soil of the taro gardens close by.

9. Following out the association of her lover with the islands to the east, the chanter thinks of the man as bearing a piece of bamboo in a complicated symbolism where the use of the bamboo as a knife is linked with the idea of the man's cutting into the woman in sexual intercourse. Further, bamboo cast up on the beach as driftwood and scraped by the waves over the coral beach, calls to mind the sounds made in coitus.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--116 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Pepelu ma toku ulu vayavaya	I girt myself with vayavaya grasses from the gardens
Wuli mai e tino kaikaina, wakataia mai,	Turn to me your lovely body, let us become as one,
Lulu ki lunga yongi wakatakaina to kili i na lelei lopa,	Moving above you, let me inhale and caress your skin, beauty of young manhood,
O te koyi o te vaka,	Beauty like the keen cutting of a canoe,
E kakala angaoti e malau,	Sweet scent like that of a malau fish,
E wuli ki lalo ki vevenu, venu pe te io o te tapotu	I turn below to your softness, soft as the eyeball of the tapotu fish
Wakapeke ai au, na valea, wakaluia mua koa mania.	I raise my buttocks, satisfied, I lower the slippery front of my body.
Na kai wakapi na wakakume,	Another came to you with rich food-gifts, favors,
Na patia, koa wetangi;	She you spurned, she wept;
Yoko ko te loloi, te malo yilu,	She brought you taro puddings, pandanus-plaited malo,
E ye wuli atu ai koe;	You did not turn to her;
Longo mai ki aku wakawitinga ia koe,	Listen to me who tells this of you,
E toku yana maniu, taulanga malo tala ki lunga,	You who are my beloved perfect coconut tree; girt in malo, you stand straight,
Wenake ma te tupu takatoa, na makeke tama o te atu ngake,	Body rising perfectly, strong man of the eastern isles,
E tali keinanga, e maloyi, manaki i to lulu kiai,	Guardian of your lineage, strong champion of the wrestling ring, on whom your village depends,
Lomia pokia mai lunga, e loa	You smash your opponents down, throw them from above, you who are tall,
E tai lapui yayae te lopa toyiliki	You blow down with one breath, tear apart, the tiny young men
Wai taku au matamatanga.	You take away my breath as I watch you,
Wuwuli te ngolo matangawie, wakalelei mako a te Yawea	Turn to me, o animal easy to look at, you who glorifies the chants of Te Yawea (10)

[103] 10. An old name for Ngake village.

539 Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--	Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
Lalapa pe te ika matayau,	Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,	Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,	Gloroious is your skin with its Tinea spots,
Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;	Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,	Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
E wetuki veve ki o lelei	Hastening, running to your beauty,
Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,	Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
E ye lakaia tuku talatala i na kikino	Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,	You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!	You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--	Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino,	Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[335] 1. This is a lament (tangi) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (wale atua), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--118 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovely skin.
Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
Loa ngalo i tana muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
E vayia io toku kili, koa taukulakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--119 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Koko te toto ko te ngituala, uluia te ala o te tupua,	Blood streams to the road, floods the path of the bush-walking mourners. (4)
Koa maeia te wui atua i te tupu o te tama wano kino.	Grieved are the many gods over the face of the child whose going is evil.
Koa maka au pa yulu ko tu mai loto o te ui,	I left the row of pandanus trees standing in the middle of the taro gardens,
Te leo kaka ki tau tane, to longo liaki ki te matangi,	Your voice calls to your husband, your fame is spread by the wind,
To pua matangi yau mayala, vayia niu inai au,	Wind-wafted scent of your flower makes my body a slashed coconut,
Ta wa inake toku manava, vayia ika ngalepelepe.	Cut four times is my belly, a fish broken to pieces.
Weto oku wonotanga ki lalo, tupeke mai te tangata wakaola.	My limbs fall to the ground lifeless, the people revive me.
Koa mate. Ke wano ai e yui wawine ni tali no au wangainga,	You are dead. Let me go instead, my life return gift for your feeding,
Na yelewutia wao a tuli, tuia mai koa takitakina,	Sick with your convulsions, jerking like a plover, you clung to me who lifted you,
Yapayapaina pe te tawola, laulango o ulu kainga	Carried you from place to place, well wrapped by your relatives, like the legendary whale. (5)
Maeia ma to tupuakenga, 1. taku kea kili tanetanea,	I was ravished by your beauty, your skin like my spotted turtle shell,
Ya wakaniti ma na aua o Tinilau	Like the shell of the turtle family of Tinilau (6)

4. Bush-walking along deserted paths was seemly for those going to attend a wake; passing mourners along the main village road made others uncomfortable at the sight of grief.

5. The reference here is to the whale of the story of Tuyiyanloa page 71.

6. According to some informants Tinilau was the owner of all the turtles in the sea and dwelled in some distant legendary land.

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path, (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa numiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[176] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

Lament for Watuya (1)

539 Ulu taku tangi vavalo ki ngake, e yau aliki,	Come, sing my chant, call it to the east, a gentle chant it is,
Maka te tanganga, tike te potu, ko takoto te niu wakavale,	Dropped is the fishing group, bare the sacred seat, left standing are feast-reserved coconuts, (2)
Ya tataku i o atua, ia Mataliki ia Tamayei	We prayed to your gods Mataliki and Tamayei
Ke wowo ake oku tupuna ma na papa ula o Kui,	To bring together your ancestors and the red-rocked god Kui, helpers in your fishing,
Ya wakatele ika mai ngake, e wetuki i aitu wangota ko te moana--	Fishing spirits hastened to sea to help you, fish swam in from the east--
E tane na apoapo matai, e kiai na wakayopu ki tua,	He was a man with already prepared snoods, though not yet gone to sea,
Ya tapena to matua i o penupenu mau mea,	Your father had made ready strong, permanent fishing gear,
Ya kumeia ona tope, ona kawilo uwi, e likolikowia	Fashioned were the tope hooks, the pearlshell kawilo hooks, tight-seizing hooks
E kumekumeia, te mate o te ave ma te kakayi,	Nicely polished, death for the ave and the kakai,

1. This chant is also called the lament about Mataliki and Tamayei because these two gods of Loto village are mentioned in it. It was composed by a Yato man, Vaipo, for his nephew Watuya of Loto who sometime previous to the first missionary contact sailed away in a European ship and later died in Samoa.

2. The group of young men who formed a fishing team to provide food for the older men has now lost one member; the sacred seat in the god house reserved for Watuya will now be unoccupied; coconuts round the cemeteries reserved for the feast which was to mark Watuya's assumption of sociological adulthood will now never be eaten. The following lines comment on the fact that Watuya was about to join the young men's fishing group. His father had prayed to the gods to help the young man in his fishing and had prepared for him a now useless fishing equipment.

539 Niniva te mata o te akavae, wakapoi, koa piplki ngaleka,	Sharp-pointed was the barbed wakavae hook, tight-gripping at a jerk,
Ni makupuna tutupu a Te Upe	Descendants, these hooks, sprung from the first maker Te Upe (3)
Ko te tama na vayivayi manava, na wemiti wano ko te moana,	Your longing for the sea cut throug the hearts of your kinsfolk,
Te palo o Wetau, koa taki i taku uluaki na taumua--	Your death stunned Wetau, cherisher of you, his first-born-
Na mawiti i tana mata toki, newu te tuta, koa ye pi--	Thrown aside his adz, halted his work on the joinings of his watertight canoe--
Wenake ma tona matua tane.	You, the boy, who had sprung from him.

Chant of Boasting (1)

Koti ati i te ava no Panau,	Cut is the boundary of Loto and Ngake at the reef channel of Panau,
Te yae iatu i te tukutai--	Separated are the villages along the lagoon beach--
Ke tulituli aliki-tai	Let Loto men grope for the worthless aliki-tai fish (2)
Ke wa: ai au lavaya.	To prepare for their village feast.
Kinaki ki te namu o Uta;	Food complement of the mosquitoes of Uta;
Kinaki ki te pepe o Uta.	Butterflies of Uta to complement their taro.
E toai io to ulu, koa pakilakila!	Men of Loto have cut their hair, are completely bald!
I a!	I a!

3. By metaphor the fishhooks are considered to be lineal descendants of those famous hooks made by Te Upe who is reputed to have invented the Pukapukan barbed fishhook.

1. This is a chant of insult (tila) sung by the people of Ngake village after winning a contest to determine boundaries of the village.

2. Loto village controlled very poor fishing grounds, hence the taunt that for a big village feast Loto must be content to eat tiny worthless fish like the aliki-tai along with mosquitoes and butterflies as a food complement for the taro instead of the fat deep sea fish enjoyed at the feasts of Ngake.

A tila in praise of Motu Ko (1)

539 Malama te ao, ka malama,	The dawn whitens, it is light,
Yelea, yelea, yelea toku vaka nei	I tie, tie, tie my canoe at Motu Ko
Au niu e, au talo e, au ika e! au wonu e,	I gather coconuts, taro, fish, turtles oh!
Yiliyili atu pe awa tena oku atu i e.	The people ask whether anything remains for the late comers to get.
E loloi talo no Ava e,	Loloi pudding of taro from the island of Avalau, (2)
Wai e Pana aumai kai ai te Yawea,	Prepared by the women of Pana, eaten by the men of Te Yawea,
Na wakamalu ina likoliko,	Soft is their likoliko taro pudding,
Koa olo wala o na wawine o Yayake e.	Flavored with pandanus is the olo pudding of the women of Yayake.
Ya wakawiwi, wakatikei, to tauanga i te tawatai o Laka e,	Naked we embraced, embraced on the beach of Laka,
Wuli mai koe, e puaka e,	Turn you who are as a pig to me,
Wuli atu au, e tavake e,	I, a tropic bird, turn to you,
Ka tuvali io, ka tuvali e,	We will move up and down,
Ka valea koe, ka valea koe.	You will be satisfied.
Puya te kakala o te yei tu,	The scent of your flower wreath is wafted to me,
Puya te kakala o te takataka,	The scent of your dried coconut oil comes to me,
Melo mai loto wakatauyeu ki na lelei,	Red is the oil mixed with beautiful seeds,
Ye kalaka kula, ye wua tipi,	Countless kalaka seeds, innumerable tipi seeds,
Wuti, wuti kula, wuti melo,	Flowers from the banana, the red banana, the yellow banana,

1. Tila is the type name for this chant which dates from the time of the regent Tuiva. It boasts of the richness of the food resources on Ngake's islet Motu Ko, not neglecting the opportunity to include reference to the desirability of Ngake's women.

2. This is the island on which Te Nana found great abundance of taro during his visit to Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

539 Wutia te kai kia malie!	Delicious is the food gathered for me!
Malamalama te tawa ki Ngake,	Daylight breaks in the eastern sky,
Malama e e.	It is light.

A tila of the expedition to Motu Ko (1)

E vananganganga te pule,	The guard of the islet gives the announcement, (2)
Te koyo o Te Alo-lauina	Husking sticks are placed on the canoe named Te Alo-lauina
Ka yolo te vaka e, ka yolo	The canoe will speed along, speed along.
Te toki o te toli kauwi	Ready is the adz for cutting pandanus keys,
E payi wano ki te ayanga,	Our canoe is a vessel going along the outer reef.
Tuta, wano ki te Nukuloa	Stopping, then going on to Motu Ko.
Viovio ko te iki tawia, iki na,	We erect the anchor sticks, (3) anchor the canoe,
Na lele loa ki loto, yoka i te niu mata.	Rush into the islet, husk ripe drinking nuts.
Wakanau ake au: malie te kikokiko,	I sing praise: sweet is the coconut's flesh,
Tama o te ulu wutu.	Child from the grove of wutu trees.
Onoono atu au ki te pakayau ngongo,	I watch the wings of the noddy tern
Ko tipitipi ki lalo i te kcanga wua,	Dipping low over her nest of eggs,
Lele au i te ata, tango i te mulimuli ngungu.	I run under its shadow, grasp its grunting tail.

1. This short chant records an expedition made by Ngake villagers to their reserve islet Motu Ko to gather food and catch birds.

2. The food reserve is controlled by the village acting through a guard composed of village members. When a village council decides to take food from its reserve, it is the duty of the guard to announce this fact and arrange the particulars of the expedition. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beagleholep.p.38,category 116--analyst].

[501] 3. To anchor a canoe in shallow lagoon water a long stick is thrust into the sandy bottom behind the outrigger boom in such a way as to keep the canoe from drifting.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539	I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
	Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
	No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
	No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
	No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
	No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
	E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
	Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
	Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
	Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
	Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
	Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
	O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
	O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
	O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki. [133] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the [103] island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--126 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Fishing Chant (1)

539 Wakaoli io koe, na ulu ko Malokinuanua,	Dance you, who have the spirit of Malokinuanua (2) the god within you,
E ta ko te timu, na lueie o ala matangi,	You were conceived in squally weather and so changed the path of the wind,
Akaanowia oku tino manu, e kului ko tu matavaka,	Come wind, cool my bird-like body, a kului bird perched on the bow of my canoe,
E wakawaoa ki te tutuku, te manu tino nui o te moana,	Tutuku birds are my crew, the large-bodied birds of the ocean.
Tu mata ki ai te kakai ki na wotunga a kili a yua, moe lelepo,	The albacore stood to watch the skill of him with water-wet skin, whose sleeping place was ocean dirt,
Ko no ko te peau watiwati ni uyu no na timuangi,	Who lived on white-capped waves, went out when heavy winds blew,
E tautapake kokoto te leo, tauvalo kia Malokitelangi:	Mellow the voice praying to Malokitelangi:
"Yuatiake la to moana, langa ki lunga tau wangota,	"Open wide your ocean, raise up your fish for me,
Mimia ko te pu o na ngutu, ki te waiti o te kilitai,	Wash them to the deep waters of the reef shelf, to the sub-surface waters,
Ki te papa o taolo te yua, tu te newu kanomoana."	To the ocean bottom where waters move back and forth, where stands the dark, deep sea."
E avake tau ika la lunga e kokoti tali i te pakupaku,	Raise your fish high, it nearly bites off the teaser bait,
Taki te ulu o te kauyele. Tutapa tu au	Lift the loop of the noose. (3) Standing I call to my crew

1. This chant called tangitangi is sung in praise of the skillful fisherman for whom it was composed.

2. This is an alternate name for the god Malokitelangi who is mentioned in line seven. The rainbow (nuanua) is closely associated with this god.

3. Throughout this chant the fishing method referred to is noosing. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 69, category 116--analyst].

539	"Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama!"	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side!"
	E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
	E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
	Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
	E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
	Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
	Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
	E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
	Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
	Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
	Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
	Akatu te ao ununui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
	Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
	Ke vano maku pulu ika, o ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
	E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
	Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
	Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 E lulu ma te kauyele ki lunga, e ta ki te akáyiku,	Pulled up another fish without releasing the noose pole, struck it on the tail,
E tu pilitia e Yawenga e manoatia e Matanga.	While the god Yawenga stood by, god worshipped by Matanga lineage.
E avake loa te tui loloa, yula ki lunga.	Again, Yawenga raised for me a long line of male turtles, their backs exposed,
E wenake i lalo te mataweu, te ika talau te taepu.	Largest green turtles risen from below along with large fish and small.
To vaka ko pae matangi tona, e kanapa ko te wua Aliki,	Your canoe was drifted by the south wind, canoe glistening like the fleet of Aliki, (5)
E yau i ona wua tikou, te atua uli o te ayanga.	Whose fleet came quickly on high waves, helped by black god Yawenga of the outer reef.
E pupua i te ala la uta, e koyi i te ala koyingalu,	I was so swift I raised dust on shore paths, cut through striped sea paths,
Na uta ki te ayuye moana, na yele ki te akula panoko,	Loaded my canoe with flotsam of the ocean, noosed the swordfish,
E vaka palata mi te timu;	Placed in my canoe a thresher shark caught in the squall;
E lakau pae ko te matangi, lulu na atua wawine.	My canoe was as wood drifted by the wind, gathered by the female gods. (6)
E momotu io te kaungutu vaka, te papayiva	In my strength I could break off the bow of a canoe, tear apart wreckage
E vivio na yulu ki te waoa.	Hammered, fastened together with iron. (7)

5. Informants thought this referred in some way to the sailing away from Pukapuka of the man Aliki who was exiled because of his supernatural powers. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 408, category 116--analyst].

6. Lazy men too timid to go fishing in heavy weather were called female gods (atua wawine). Only male gods were interested in fishing.

7. The Pukapukans knew of iron before white contact. Driftwood and wreckage cast on the ocean beaches were burnt to ashes and the nails often used as drill points.

539 Lulu tu ake io wowoakenga, ni longo nou wotunga ika.	I stood proudly among gathered fishermen, great my fame as an expert.
E avake loa tea te moana, wetike wua loa te tupuna	Fish rose whitening the sea, exposing indeed the ancestors
Lulu mai na lau talake loa	Gathered with their hundred retainers
Akapono ke pono na ika.	Met to gather together the fish for my hook.
Koa tuku ki aku na wole, aku taomia te atua ya.	Given to me are fishing victories, I press away gods sending bad luck.
Wai malo na velo te yila, mumula mi ko tu uluanga	I prayed to the god Malokitelangi, god wearing a malo that hurled burning lightning that stood overhead
E kalapa i to matoyia u e, i na newu o te moana,	That flashed to the dark ocean. I, to the attendant spirits of the sea,
E tataku i taku vai matala, avatu maku akatetea	Spoke my prayer for good luck, carried my gift to the god.
Yopukia au mi lunga o te vaka Utamanu,	Fortune seized me on board the canoe named Utamanu,
O te uyo o Ngaliyeyeu ma to taokete Te Awuawu.	Standing at the bow, protected by the god Ngaliyeyeu and your brother-in-law god, Te Awuawu.
E lokiloki toku waoa na wili ma toku lulu vavave	I prepared a crew chosen from my village of strong men
Ya takilitia toku vaka, e kae moana e telei!	Men who could whirl my canoe around, no ocean big enough for our journeying!
Ya takayia te akau ki Tima ma te muli toka.	My canoe encircled the reef as far as Tima and the last rock of Motu Kotawa.
E yele mi tu yele witu, wuwuli ona ika kailopa,	I noosed standing, noosed seven fish, then turned to the fish wary and cunning,
Ue ia e te atua mala, ya kotia wua taku matai.	Fish chased to me by the god of ill luck. It bit my snood right off.
Ko wotu wa mai aku yelea i taku uluanga palatimu	Then rose four small pala fish noosed to make my good catch
Naku vayia vivili i te liu o Telekino	Which I beat shuddering on the bottom of my canoe, Telekino.

539 Yele au ke pupu te moana, tutuki pe popo wotunga,	I noosed till the sea foamed, pounded the fish dead like an expert food pounder,
E ulaki ki taku lau papa, koa akakayi taku lualau,	Loaded my canoe with my hundred pala, almost two hundred pala,
Taku ika amua ki Waletoa.	My fish were first to be unloaded at Waletoa. (8)
Wuwulu ki toku kili ika liki, pakupaku ki te tala o te eve.	I washed the fish scales from my skin. My teaser bait was the fin of the eve fish.
E longo i wea mea nei? E longo mai na kau mamao	Where did my fame carry? It was heard by people far away
Ko inu ki te yua o te moana, kai ki te vale o te pakipaki,	Of how I drank the water of the sea, ate the slime of the Portuguese man-o-war,
E vivio ai taku woe, na kililiti ki lunga tu e ayioayio moana,	Plunged my paddle, pulled up, and raised an ocean water spout,
Kakalo ki te yolo o na ngutu, ki te akapula a te lui-ave;	Could look at the swish of ocean depths, at the rising of the lui-ave fish; (9)
Taki ona takatakai wanaga, yala i te watu te wangamoana,	Of how a school of wanga fish came a wangamoana loosened the sinker,
E maka taku tope wua alake, veve ko te newu tata i te wao--	But I threw down my hook to the fish, jealous spirits pulled away the line--
Kavea ona wakatapatapa wano koa mate!	I made an incantation and the fish went to the surface, dead!
Lolominga:	Addendum: (10)

8. Waletoa is the open space on the lagoon frontage of Ngake village where fishermen landed their catches to be counted after a fishing contest.

9. This fish is mentioned in this context because it lives in the deepest waters and is only occasionally seen by those who spend most of their time deep sea fishing.

10. The remaining lines of this chant may or may not be sung with the main part of the chant. They are regarded as an optional addition probably added by the man for whom the chant was composed to make sure that all his skills and exploits were exhaustively recorded.

539 Koa likowia e te kawilo, e wua, e tili, e takitaki,	Fish were caught by the hook that I, skilled, threw, then pulled in,
Koa yao ia likoliko, yao i te wua a Yeki ma.	Hooks excellent for catching, excelling those made by the fishing fleet of Yeki (11) and others.
Liakina aku kotia lave te leke, ke yulu piki	Display my cutting of the shank-knob that the hook fastens tight
I te kalokalo o te ave, te ipo o Totoloa,	In the upper jaw of the ave fish, sweetheart of the god Totoloa, (12)
Wuwuli i lunga e te mayui a Te Alangaoa,	But turned on the top of the water by the favorite son of the god Te Alongaoa.
E tili, makake ko te vayi tonga o Tangaloa;	He threw and cast his line in the southern spaces of Tangaloa's ocean;
Toaki makave to papa kokowi ika,	Open wide the rocks that shelter fish,
Lulu ai na atua wawine leowia e Te Alatapu ma.	Though the lazy men gather at this fishing ground it is guarded by Te Alatapu and other gods.
Yau te yaunga o te vale moana, te ika e aku ulakinatu,	Smell of ocean slime came with the fish brought by me,
E avake na puke i toku wale, ko taku pakupaku ika malie;	The catch served in my house, my left-over bait fish was delicious;
Kai tuwonu toku waoa, kayiva te kili ma te piopio	My crew ate greedily, passing over the kili and piopio, fish usually eaten,
Na livaia au e te malau, te wowonga no na tupuna,	I was surrounded by malau, best eating fish; Ah, good fortune from my ancestors,
Wotu mai Ngake e!	Making my fame known in Ngake!

11. Yeki is a man remembered only for his great skill as a maker of fishhooks.

12. For the connection between this god and fishing, see story page 28.

Chant for a Fishing Contest (1)

539 Akaolia, tuki ki te vaka,	Paddle in rhythm, beat the canoe sides. (2)
E ta te lalau, koa tuolo,	Sing the chant, moving back and forward,
Ni wua lakau paea io, tilina i te va i ayanga,	The canoes, like driftwood, thrown up onto the reef,
Taupuke ki ai ko te tiniu,	Caught, held there by the helping women,
Wuliwuli ia na tino, koa kanapanapa,	Who turn to the men's bodies, glistening, shining,
Koa lata koe ko te kainga atawai!	You are submissive, o man, to the lineage generous to its sweethearts!
Moe au mai loto o toku wale,	I sleep inside my house,
E miti taku miti ki te awiawi,	Dreaming my dreams in the evening,
Moe wakamiti totongi ma te matoyia,	Sleeping, dreaming of enormous fish of the deep ocean.
Tu, kauia o kaveinga;	I rise to con over the stars;
E wenake Te Manu ma Te Toloa molunga o na Takitutolu,	Dorvus and Delphinus have risen above Cassiopeia,
Koa kaleka mo na towunga.	Exact is the time for starting.
E utu te vai, tuku ki lunga o mulivaka,	Fetch the water, place it in the canoe's stern,
E yayaki kia Te Matakiate, akayiku ai Tumulivaka,	Pray to the god Te Matakiate, petition Tumulivaka,
Taulia ki te manu mai mua	Count off the crew for the lifting bars
Pe koa towu mo te waoa,	To see whether there are enough,
Tutu ki te yiki, e ikliki atu to ki tai,	Stand at the carrying poles, carry the canoe place it in the water,
Na wakatato ko te mulivaka, tautapa kia Te Alongaoa;	The canoe captain beats his thighs, praying to Te Alongaoa the god:

1. This chant is called a lalau. It is sung at the feast following the conclusion of an intervillage fishing contest.

2. The first six lines describe the evening return of the fishing contest fleet to Ngake village. The women help to draw the canoes through the shallow lagoon channels to the beach. In the excitement of victory it was formerly common for sexual license to occur at this time.

539	"Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
	Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
	Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
	Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
	Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
	Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
	Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
	Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
	Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
	Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
	Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
	Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
	Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
	Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226]

3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

539 Chant of the Wrestling Ring (1)

Apo, apo i lunga a,	Lift, lift him on high,
E akaui tuki pui a--	Throw him down flat--
Mawela tu tulivae.	He sprawls on his knees.
E tui kaokao, lolomi,	Take him by his malo, press down,
Taka ki te tua,	Swing him on his back,
Yapai, maka ngutu maka vae	Lift and throw mouth to the ground, legs to the ground
Lapuia e te vave o Ngake,	Blown down by the strength of Ngake,
Na vivio i loto o te malae.	Standing firm in the middle of the ground.
Mawaki te launiu-	Broken is the coconut leaf--
Pangulungulu te leo.	Rumbling low are the many voices
Akaangawia to nawa a!	Face your challenger to us!
Mai lala, yaeyae!	The challenger from leeward! (2) Ah, torn to pieces!

The third tila chant from the Tamanu cycle (1)

Ko te titi o Pana, e mea mawakiwaki--	The kilts of Pana's women (2) are easily opened--
Ka lolomi ki te papa	Pressed to the ground,
Ya newutiai au	Thrown by me
Numi, numinumia lua ia lulu	Rolled over and over by the rival villagers,
Wawati na lima ma na vae,	Broken their hands and feet,
Wakaakaia, ngalepe na ngutu ma na mata,	Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes,

1. The four following chants are tila, sung to celebrate a village victory in a wrestling contest. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 369, category 116--analyst].

2. That is, from the leeward village of Yato.

1. This short wrestling chant is properly a member of the Tamanu cycle of chants. It is inserted in this context to show how easily the Pukapukan slips over from triumphs in one activity to those in the realm of sex.

2. The women of Ngake village.

539 Wakataula wuake i lunga	Look from above, o two villages
Tau mea e winako ai koe--	On the strength you boasted of--
Yau, yaula ke aku avatu koe la lunga	Come, come now, that I may take you
Ko te tele o toku tino tangata	On the journey of my human body
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai,	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai!	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping embracing!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Ta taku tila,	Shout my chant,
Aka to tawa,	Kick to your side,
Wuwuli ki mua,	Turn toward the front,
Wuwuli ki muli.	Turn toward the back.
Wakatato ki te payu,	Beat the drum with fast rhythm,
Wawao ko te kakai.	The people jump high in their dancing.
Tangi te launiu ngatatatata,	Coconut leaf decorations rustle,
Newutia te pawola, koa leka.	Loud is the beating of hand against hand and thigh, fine is the sound.
Wuli tawa te kainga nunui,	The great body of dancers turns sideways,
Na wakatatawa na malatea,	Side by side, as numerous as a school of malatea fish,
E na! Motu ki mua, i a!	There! We have broken to the front with our victory, i a!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Taku unu tika mai te yulu, na matiti to i Tongaleleva,	My chant is a dart of the south-west wind, (1) flying through the air, falling in Tongaleleva,

1. According to the Pukapukan idea, gods controlling the winds are thought of as fighting among themselves, hurling darts or spears at each other. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--136 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Koa yao loa na vave o Te Yiva ma te Yake,	Defeating the champions of Yiva and Yake, (2)
E wuwuli ia pau na vaka, kopikopia,	Capsizing the canoes, crushing them to pieces.
E kokoti ai taku lakau, koa ave, koa tomoemoe,	I cut my log for a canoe, the wood fits well, lies straight,
E vaka a wu taku mea nei	My canoe is a woman's sexual organs
Pe Wue na ye mai lalo.	Confused by its beauty am I as Wue, bewildered by the many islands of the west. (3)
E kokoti ai tona atu mua o vavae ai tona atu loto	Cut off his first row of dancers, separated his middle row
Koa yayaka a!	Dance, dance together!
Motuyia na titi, tala e, tala e, tala na malo makatia--	Torn off are the men's leafy wreaths, untied and discarded their malo--(4)
Ka amo te payu, ka wakalele!	We will raise the sound of the drum, beat it well!
Ka nenewu tutuli na talinga,	Beat it till the ears are deafened,
Opotia ke lulu ki te nawa.	Sound the wooden gong till the village gathers.
Ka wakangaolo ko te atu mua, tiakina ke tupeke kiai,	The front row dances forward, waits there to raise their arms,
Opotia loa ke pukupuku, ke manatua ke tane--	Gather till the group of dancers in full, if you desire men--
Na mavete te unu, ke liakina, i a!	The chant is finished--the chanters display themselves, i a!

2. The names of these legendary lands are metaphorical substitutes for the names of Ngake's two opposing villages, Yato and Loto.

3. A reference to the extensive voyages in the eastern and western seas of Wue the great Pukapukan chiefly navigator (see account pp. 73-75).

4. For a note on the general license that often prevailed after sporting triumphs see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 289, category 116--analyst].

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524 6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index
●539 radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out
[533] (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau,
Te potia ua, te potia ua,
Ua lele, ua lele,
Poloiti polo lau mea mea
Aleuei, alusi, pa na, pa na
E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,
} Meaning obscure

Motu la Manuyiki laua — Severed are they,
ma Lakawanga. — Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.

524 6. Repeat 2 and 3.
7. Left index finger proximally picks up right index palmar string.
8. Drop right index loop and, gently stretching right hand out, wiggle the rat (dropped loop) (Figure 44) along towards the left hand to the rhythm of the chant:

[539]

Te kiole e, ata ngingi,	O rat, good at crying "Ngingi",
E totolo koe i te taupoto,	You crawl on the roof's ridge,
E leio koe ki te tala lewu,	You jump down to the gable end,
Koa patua koe e te tangata,	You are killed by the people,
Koa tu to paepae watu.	They erect your gravestones.

Te-la-palepale (The-setting-sun)
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Index fingers proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back index proximal ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back index distal ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to index distal radials, proximally draw back index proximal radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 45).

Moamoa (name of a coral organism).
1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Indices proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs, proximal to proximal index strings, draw back from ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximal to distal index strings, draw back from ulnar side distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers distal to distal index strings proximally draw back proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Turn palms out. (Figure 46).

Te-wua-ya-valu (The-fleet-of-eight).
1. With right hand, loop string across palm and back of left hand ulnar to thumb, then wind hanging dorsal string 6 times around left hand and fingers, each succeeding loop distal to the former. Place final dorsal string of 6th loop between left ring and little fingers, and hold thus.
2. With right hand, pick up end of hanging dorsal

524 Te-ko-lemu-yengiyengi (The-yellow-anus).

1. Position 1.
2. Indices proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Thumbs, distal to index radials, proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
4. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 54.)

[539] Work thumbs and fingers in and out to the rhythm of the chant:

Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Titiko i tua, titiko i tai,	Defecates at the back beach, defecates at lagoon beach,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e.	The yellow anus.

Tava (meaning unknown). Played by two people.

First player:

1. Opening A.
2. Drop little fingers.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back from ulnar side proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Stretch right hand forward, bring left hand inward to body, turn both palms up and stretch figure. (Figure 55.)

Second player takes up figure by process called tui (to sew).

8. At end of figure held by first player's right hand, insert little fingers distally into two outer triangles (held by first player's thumb and middle finger).
9. Pass thumbs distally into and through next outer triangles and proximally up out of next outer triangles.
10. Insert little fingers into two outer radial loops held by first player's left thumb and middle finger.

First player removes all his fingers. Figure is Tava. (Figure 56.)

First player proximally inserts thumb and index of each hand into each of two outer loops of figure held by other players's thumb and index of right hand, second player dropping his hold on those two loops while taking hold proximally of each of the other two loops with thumb and index of each hand. (Figure 57.)

Together the players count: tai tava (one tava), lua tava, tolu tava, and on up through 10 tava, both players with indices

524 distally drawing back central "diamond" outer strings, releasing thumbs, and thus reproducing the same figure, Tava, for each count. Then with their hands players raise and lower the figure to the rhythm of the chant:

[539]

Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola	Has twenty thatch sheets
Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola.	Has twenty thatch sheets

The figure is then laid on a flat surface and opened out to give the figure which resulted in movement 7, by picking up distally the distal of the two sets of loops on the dextral side of the figure and carrying these to the left. The next player now repeats movements 8 to 10, the sewing process, and the game is repeated indefinitely.

Taku-pu-lele-lua (My-hole-becomes-two).

1. Opening A.
2. Ring fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
3. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb, distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
5. Left index finger proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Right index finger proximally removes right thumb loop.
7. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
8. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
9. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
10. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
11. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
12. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
13. Ring fingers distally into oblongs formed by ring finger radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
14. Drop little fingers and thumbs. This is the first "hole". (Figure 58.)
15. Drop indices for the second hole. (Figure 59.)

Te-pu-a-loto (a canoe name).

1. Double the string and loop it over thumbs.
2. Indices distally draw back thumb radials.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).
787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:
775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e.....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyam was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the cyclonic wave, Tuyam disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Nim, and saw there the dead body of Tuyam, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Koteum, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9 E-5 (1934-35)1953 Pukapukans

776 The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa..their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]

The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See I: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.
The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayako. Wekake loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te lelaka o laua leo. Wo loa ia te wenua ia ki a Tuyimate. Eiiki mai loa ki te

539 konga e wakalelekai lua tamawine ia. Tuku loa ki lalo i a Tuyimate. Ko la lunga lua tamawine ia. Koa wakalakalakai i lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. "Tuyimate, e, koi kakalo ake ki lunga." Kakalo atu la i a Tuyimate ki lunga. Makulu loa lua tamawine ia ki lalo. Pau te mate.

Po loa te po. Wo loa lua mauli ki Tonga ki te konga e iai lua o laua kainga tane, ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wiwiti loa ki lunga o te papanga o te wale. Wetangi ai laua, na mauli: "I a maua na pau te mamate." Kakole la lua o laua kainga. "Tukuatai? na pau; tukuatau, na pau a wuwu?" Otiake. Watu loa lua o laua kainga, ia, pelu na malo, liko na lakau, yuaki te vaka, wiwiti loa la ki lunga. Woe loa laua ki Yayake. Ya wakawiwi wua la latou taumua ma Tokaipole ma Taupeloa.

Oko laua ki Yayake, mumula loa laua i Na Tua Wuewue. Otiake, wo ki na yau. Teia na yau, ko te yau o Poike, ko te yau o Niutao, ko te yau o Tane, ko te yau o Tapungaya. Taumua loa ki te yau o Poike; wakawiwiake ma Poike, patu i a Poike, mate. Patu ma te tangata pau. Wo ki te yau o Niutao, wakawiwi ake ma Niutao, patu ake i a Niutao, mate. Mumuluake ma tona yau, pau. Wo ki te yau o Tane, wakawiwi ake ma Tane, patu ake i a Tane, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Wo ki te yau o Tapungaye, wakawiwi ake ma Tapungaye, patu ake i a Tapungaye, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Mumulu atu la i te wenua katoatoa.

Longowia loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Lomamai loa te tokalua. Wakawiwi ake latou wakawou. Talatala loa i a Tokaipelo ma Taupeloa. "E ye mana, ya wakawiwi matou i Tonga. Ka tele tatou."

Tele loa. Wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua, wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua. Yau loa la te tini e iai i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Pukapuka nei. Oko mai la te va i Tonga, koiai te motu, ko Ko. Tau loa latou i Te Aumaloa. Talatala i a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole. "Wakapili taua ki te wenua nei. E wenua ngutu kino i a Yayake. E talatalai e te vaia ia te ngutu o Yayake. Ka wakatawa taua ke tawanga." Wo loa laua ki te muliwenua ki lalo, koia oki, ko Matawea tona ingoa.

Nono ai la te tini ia i Te Aumaloa. Wakatupu angaanga loa latou. Teia a latou angaanga na wakatupu: ko te keli ni, ko te kapo vai, ma te poki niu.

Wanau ai loa Te Vave ma to i Te Aumaloa, e tamatane. Teia tona tupunga, na lele la lunga pe te mamu. Ka ni ona pakayau. Teia tona tu: ke lele la lunga, ka wano ki te moana puke tananga wonu, puke inao atu, puke inao kakai, aumai la ki te tini o te wui Yayake, kai ai latou. Teia a latou toe

539 angaanga, e wai likoliko ma te yami.

Tupu ai loa te kaitangi o te tai wawine, ko Kumawawine tona ingoa. Wano loa ki Matautu, uwi ai tona ulu ki te ketekete. Kakau loa la tai ki Matawea. Tala loa ki a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Teia tona wakamayeinga, "I a kolua, onoono wua ma te tamavale. E kowea, e tai vave na tupu, e vave ko lele la lunga. Tela ona toe tu, ko wano ki te moana tango womu, aumai atu, aumai kakai." Iiili atu i a Tokaipole, "Koia?"

Tu loa i a Tokaipole, tango loa te yuvelovelo, velo loa ki te langi ke kitea mai e Taupeloa ya i te moana, ya wangota. Kakalo mai la i a Taupeloa, koa kanapa te yuvelovelo a Tokaipole. Mea loa ki tona waoa, "Ewea la te mea a toku tangata ia, e velo ai tana yuvelovelo ia? Ka wo tatou ki ngauta. Koiai pa te mea na tupu." Lomamai loa latou ki ngauta, ko no i a Kumawawine.

Iiili atu te tokalua, "E pewea te tu o te vave ia? E penei pe te ngongo nei te tiketike?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole, e tiketike atu." Kakalo atu la, "E penei pe te kaka ia?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole." Oncono atu la ki te kaka ia ko lele loa la lunga. Mea loa la te wawine, "Eke, e pe na." Tango loa i a Tokaipole i te yuvelovelo, velo loa, ke oko ki te kaka ia. Otiake, patu loa laua i te wawine, ia, mate. Teia te mea na patu ai laua i te wawine ia, kae wano wakawou tala i a laua muna.

Nono ai la laua. Oko ki te toe ayo, wo loa laua ulu ta laua tionga e mate ai Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ta laua tionga. Teia te tionga: E ama. Kali loa laua ke tai ayo kinokino, tukituki watitili, lapalapa uila, uaua. Otiake. Wo loa laua tatao i te tini o wui Yayake, koa wakatu wakalelei. Lolomi loa laua mai Te Ala o Matiku. Oko atu ki te Ivi i Mawuke. Watia loa te ama iai e te tai tangata vave. Ya tangi ai ma te tamaiti, "Tioa mai taku yami." Kakole pe, e wakailo tukipo. Tu ai loa ki lunga te vave ia na watia i te ama, "Wo! Yayake, te tukipo." Alai loa te tangata.

Wo atu la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ena. Lele loa la lunga. Tulituli ai loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Wuliwuli la Te Vave ia, ka lele ki na wenua. Wakanikulia mai loa e na mana a Tana. Lele loa la Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, la te ayanga. Tulituli la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa la lalo. Yokatu a laua yuvelovelo, e ye oko ki lunga, ko la lalo wua. Oko atu ki te kunga i te alai o Palaoa. Iiili loa i a Palaoa ki a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole, "Yau i te kokoa, ko lele teia tangata la lunga." Talatalatu i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa, "Tenei to ola." Lele loa i a Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, oko ki tai o te ava, ka

539 lele ki tokalau. Velo atu la te yuvelevelo a Taupeloa, tautoua loa ko te ponaponavae. To loa Te Vave ma wanau i Te Aumalua ki lalo.

Lulu mai la te tangata. Talatala loa, "Ewea te mea ya lele ai te tangata nei? Koi vayia io." Vavayi atu la, e mangavalu te watu manava. Tapai loa ma tona ingoa, i a Watu-manava-nui. Tapai oki ma te ingoa o te konga ma te ai, ko "Te Wulumanu a te Tokalua." Kave loa i a Watu-manava-nui tanu i te kava. Oti ai.

The Fight in Waletoa. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 389-90, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te tala o te Taua i Waletoa. E wakapomonga ma te aliki ma te kau wowolo, ma te wui tane o te wenua nei, takatoa. Eia ta latou talatalanga;ka wakatai te wenua, ka lulu tai. Na te vaia o Tuliayanga na wakapomo ai te talatalanga nei.

Wo loa te wui tane takatoa talatala i Matano. Pono loa te talatala. E tokavalu te tane o Ngalu e kiai ma wo ki te wakapomonga ia: e tokalua te aliki, ko Welmo no Matanga, ko Tawaia no Muliwutu, ko Titoko, Teutaka, Aveave, Kawau, Takatakai, Taonge. E kiai latou ma popolo ke wakatai te wenua. Ya mea latou ke nomo i ma lulu e nei e nomo ai nei.

Kali loa te wui tane ke womamai te kau ia. Na oti te tataki te kupenga o Te Laupapa e te wui tane i tai o Waletoa. E kupenga wakamoemoe i na ngakau o te wui tane, ke awe tutupu ni manako tauyulayula i te wakaponenga. Kali ai te wui tane ke womamai te kau tokavalu e ngangalo ia. Koa mea wua te wui tane i te mea koa ye womamai te kau ia. Omoono mai la te wui tane mai Matano. Koa matalako mai lunga o Waletoa. Mea loa te wui tane, te la pe kua lelo ki tai o Waletoa. Kakalo atu la te kau tokavalu ia, ma takina te kupenga o Te Laupapa, te atua o Muliwutu. Lelo atu loa i a Titoko, e tane Muliwutu. Yayae loa i te kupenga. Kakalo mai la te wui tane mai Matano ki te kupenga wakamoemoe o Te Laupapa na yae ia e te kau ia.

Mea loa te toe kau tane, "Awa matua, tukuna wua pula. Ke tuki wuai na vave, kai wengatu loa e tangata." Omoono atu la ki te tane povi ia ko lelo atu mai Wauia, ka wano ki te wakaponenga ia. Ko Moane te ingoa o te tane ia: e aliki no Matanga. Ke omoono mai la ki Waletoa ki te kupenga o Te Laupapa na yaea o te kau tokavalu ia. Ili loa i a Moane ma te putu atu i te kau ia. Tola tana putunga: "Na kai pula tautape, walukine wenua pei; na yaeyae loa i te kupenga moemoe o Te Laupapa nei." Ma te yulayulo atu ki tawa, tango

539 loa ma te watu maene, kamu loa i te kau ia. Ke onoono mai la te wui tane na lulu i Matano, kakole la te toe kau wui tane, "Wai! Koai te la ngakau mate? Te la te atua yuki." Kakalo atu ki a Titoko, koa aka mai. Take loa i te papaulu. To i a Moene ki lalo. Mate loa.

Ke kakalo mai la te wui tane na to i a Moene ki lalo, mimia mai loa ma te wetangi o na ngutu, "Te atua yuki." Panenu angaoti Te Wátu.

Apo lakau mai loa te wui tane, welele mai loa. Ko lio te kau tokavalu nei i te malae i Waletoa. Wakatau kamu atu loa ki te lakau. Kamuloa te wui tane, ka yiva wua. Ko te tokavalu ia la, kae o latou tangata loa ke mate. Matataku loa te toe kau o te wui tane, potopoto na ao o te toe kau. Wekake te toe kau ki lunga o na wale nanai. Ko te tokavalu nei la, kae o latou tangata ke mataku. Te la la ya pau te pakia, ya wakaleleilia e to latou atua o latou konga ya pakia ya newutia e te wui tane.

Lele mai la i a Tawaia, te toe o te tokavalu, la lalo o te wale ia. Wakalongo atu la i a Lunananga mai lunga o te wale, no Tawaia te leo ia. Wao loa mai lunga o te wale i a Lunanga [sic] vavayi loa i te ulu o Tawaia ki te kaio; matule te ulu. Ko Tawaia e taina no Lunanga. Eia te mea na vavayi i a Lunanga i a Tawaia; e kiai i a Tawaia ma ya tala i to latou manako ia ki a latou ma te toe kau o Ngake.

Wuli aka oki Te Laupapa, te atua o Tawaia ma, kokopi i te ulu ya matule o Tawaia, - lelei. Lele oki i a Tawaia wakalele i te wui tane, ke oti le te vayianga o te ulu o Tawaia ia. Wakatau newu atu loa te wui tane latou latou wua. Te wuwuli atu loa ki te kau tokavalu ia, vayi wua loa ko te tautonu. Kamuloa te toto ula ki lunga! Kamuloa te kau ya mamate tali ngangalo i te toto o te tangata. Kamuloa oki te wui tane malamalaiti tali pau toe tokolewu wua. Yau la te kau tokavalu ia, kae o latou tangata na panakia.

Ke oti la te taua, nomo ai la latou i na toe ayo i muli mai. Wakapalangia loa te keke o Titoko no tana yayaanga i te kupanga o to latou atua, ko Te Laupapa.

Tuiva [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 395-399, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko Tuiva e tama na Taonge, te toe o te tokavalu o Ngake. E Matanga toma Po. I te vaia la muli mai o te pule pae. E vaia onge aliki. Na mate i a Tuliayanga.

Ko Takitini, e tane Lote no te po i Tua, ya wakaunga e Tuiva ke loowia te mata i Utupoa, no te kau e wo ki ayanga, e

539 ulakanga mai ki Ko. E vaia yongeyonge. E kiai na tu lelei te wenua. Ko tokalewu oki te tane o te wenua; na pau i te pule pae.

Wo loa na tama a Tuiva tulituli i ayanga. Onoono mai la i a Takitini koa lomamai mai ayanga. Lele atu loa i a Takitini, topetope i na papaulu, tutuli ake ke wo ki wale. Kakole la i a Takitini, "Na mata o na toyeyeu." Womamai loa te kauliki ia, tale ki a Tuiva. E kiai ya mea i a Tuiva, E taina oki nona i a Takitini. Kona oki na tukuna ke leowia te mata i Utupoa ia. E ngutu tamaliki oki.

Oko loa ki te toe ayo, tutuli oki e Tuiva ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou e nono wua? Kowea tatou, koa wiakakaia nei. Tiai, e ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Wo oki te kauliki ia ki ayanga. Kitea mai oki e Takitini. Wengatu oki i a Takitini. Vayi yokayoka i na lauate ki tana lakau. E kiai la na yoka tika; ya wakamataku wua ke awe wo wakawou. Wetangi mai oki te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, "I a matou ya vayi loa e Takitini, yokake i o matou ate ki tana lakau." E kiai oki i a Tuiva ya wakalongo ki na talanga a na tama ia. Ya manatu oki pe (?) ana manatunga mua.

Oko ake oki ki te toe ayo. Tutuli oki i ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou na nono wuai wakawiakakai? Na ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Kakole la te kauliki ia, "E ye papa lava matou. I a matou koa kili kino i a Takitini." Kakole la i a Tuiva, "Tiai i a Takitini ka mea wuai i a kotou? Awa ni wakamatakunga wua i a kotou." Kakole ana tama ia, "E kole lava, ko vayi tika loa i a matou, ngalepelepe."

Oko ake ki te toe ayo. Wo loa te kauliki ia; onoono mai oki i a Takitini, koa matala tu, ka wo ki ayanga, wo atu ki Ko. Lele mai loa i a Takitini ki te kauliki ia. Iliili loa kiai, "Kawo kotou ki wea? E na topakakava ia; na mata o na kakaia." Kakole te kauliki ia ki a Takitini. "E kole la, matou ko Tuiva na unga mai ke yi a matou mea." Kakole la i a Takitini, "Kowea i a Tuiva? E motu koia no kotou, e kai wuai kotou. Niaiko kotou. Awe totoko kotou. Ka vayia kotou ngalepelepe." Topetope ake e Takitini i na papaulu, tutuli mai ake ke womamai ki wale.

Wai loa ta latou tinenga wakawotu. Womamai loa latou, wai mai ma te talatala. Oko mai ki Te Walatapepe. Kakole ia te toe tamaiti o latou ia, "Wakawaialala la koe, e Wakitula. Ko koe e minai i a Tuiva. Wakawati te lima ma o vae, ke oko tatou ki te konga o tai i a Tuiva, tangi loa koe wakatautio." Oti ake latou te talatala, lulu loa latou i na lima ma vae ma te tino o Wakitula ki te kili vavai; ke tapa la ai konga na kamutia o Takitini ki tana lakau, ke wano i a Tuiva patu i a Takitini. Otiake te lulu i a Wakitula, amo mai loa latou. Ke

539 pili mai la latou ki te konga e no ai i a Tuiva, tangi loa i a Wakitula, kaka ma te leo ki lunga, "Awei, toku lima na wati ia ma toku kaokao na pu ia, ma toku vae na wati ia. I te tinga! Amo kotou wakalelei; awe luluwia."

Ke wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva no Wakitula te leo. Kakalo a tu oki lua ona mata, ko tautau te lima, ko lulu na lima ma na vae. Kameloa i a Tuiva tete to ma te palo. Tu loa ki lunga, tango loa ma te lakau ma te tao. E kiai na ilifili ki te kauliki ia. Manatu loa i a Tuiva ko Takitini na patua, no na talanga a te kauliki ia i na toe ayu. Mea wua mai te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, koa lele ma te lakau, "Tau mea ya wakaungai koe i a matou kai tela." Lele atu loa i a Tuiva. Ko no i a Takitini i te va o Utupoa ma Te Motu o Te Tali. Kakalo mai la i a Takitini ki a Tuiva, koa lele atu ma te tao. E kiai ya iloa e Takitini te mea na lele atu ai i a Tuiva ia. Yaula pe no te tionga wakatomua wua a te kauliki na mea ki a Tuiva. Onoono atu i a Takitini ki te tao a Tuiva koa yoka mai mai lunga ona. Wakaeke lao e Takitini ki tana lakau. Takayala te yokanga a Tuiva ia, e kovi wua i a Takitini. Lele loa i a Takitini.

Tulituli mai loa e Tuiva la te ngayu o Te Kalele. Wao loa i a Takitini la lunga o te ngayu. To la te toe konga. Yoka mai loa e Tuiva mai muli ki tana tao, makeke i te kaokao o te tua. Tango ake oki i a Takitini i te tao. Unu aka, maka ki a Tuiva. Lele loa i a Takitini ko Watumoana, ya no i Te Newu. Ulu loa ko te alcalo. Lele mai loa i a Tuiva, wakaanga loa ma te tao ka yoka mai lunga. Kakole la i a Watumoana, "Ewea tau mea? Na mea wua i koe? Koa oti wua. Na oko mai oki ki aku nei. I a koe kaa ye wakaete mai i aku." Kakole la i a Tuiva ki a Watumoana, "Kalaake koe, koi kalaake, kalei la e kiai na wakaete mai i aku maku kokovi." Yoka loa i a Tuiva i a Takitini, makeke. Mate loa i a Takitini.

Tapi la Takitini na wuwuli ki a Tuiva. Kai, e ye mailonga pe koai te tangata o laua ka tukino, e kovi i a Takitini maloyi ma te wua. No tana patunga wua i a Te Ki ma Kaleva i Uta, wakavaleliai loa te manaka. Yau oki i a Tuiva na ye wuwuli ai oki ki na moanga a Watumoana. Ya aaa iloa e vave i a Takitini, no iai na wuwuki ai koa i a Tuiva; na ye mai ete ai.

Oti ai, wengatu atu la i a Tuiva ki tana waie ki ana kokoti ia, ko lelei pe; ni ngutu wua pe no latou. E meinai, "Te ngutu takia mate e te tomaliki."

Oti ake te mate i a Takitini, wanu loa i a Watumoana ki te kau o Yato, ka wo latou to i a Tuiva. Ko Watumoana, e tane Matanga no te wakavae i Angialula. Kia na ingoa o te kau o Yato; ko Uikale, ko Vakeua, ko Vakauli, ko Puyaka, ko Te Kele, ma Watumoana, tane Ngake. Talatala loa latou i te

539 awiawi; teia ta latou talatala, ka wa latou pata i te wui tane o te wenua nei ke pae; ma latou te tuia o Pukapuka. Teia te toe talatala a latou, ka taunua latou ki a Tuiva, kona te tane vave i te vaia ia. Ka wakamali atu ai ki te wui tane. Otiake latou te talatala i te awiawi ia. Wo loa latou tapena, pepalu ma o latou malo, wawalu ma latou lakua te kauvae pala, ma na toe meatu a latou.

Wengatu atu la i a Uikele ki te kua wale ma Matautu. E wawine i a Matautu na Uikele. Eake loa ki lunga, tapenai i ana mea. Ko moe i a Matautu i lalo. Te loa te kauvae pala ko na aloalo o Matautu. Kakole la i a Matautu, "Ei wea au mea e mea na? Ni po no te hakai?" E kiai i a Uikele ma wawa mai. Mayala wua loa i a Matautu i leto o tona manako, "Ewea la te mea a te kau nei?" Oti ake na mea a Uikele i a te mea, leio loa ki lalo, wano loa ki te lunga e wakaluhu ai latou. Ko Uikele ke teka wuatu ki talanga, ka Matautu oki ki tatea o te laua wale. Teia te mea na wakamayalai i a Matautu, "Ka iwo mo te kau nei to i te kau wui tane." E kainga wakama oki nona i a Tuiva. Yau oki i a Katinga, te wawine a Tuiva, e taina tika nona.

Wano loa i a Matautu ki Matala, ya no i ai i a Tuiva i te vaia ia. E kiai na wakapili ki te wale, ya tu wua mai tatua. Ya tilitili watu wua mai ki tawa o te wale. Ko mamae ia Tuiva ma Katinga ko te lowi talunga o te tangata. Ko Tuiva e kovi moe alaala, ko te moe o te wave. Wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva ki na watu e ngatata ia. Wakaala loa i a Katinga, "Koi tu atu ake koe pe ni wea na mea e ngatata ia." Tu atu loa i a Katinga onoono, "Kakole." Yau oki i a Katinga ki leto o te kua wale. Kakole i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "Kakole pe." Wakalongo atu oki. koa tilitili mai na watu. Mea oki i a Tuiva, "Kowea oki e ngatata ia. Tu atu ake." Tu oki i a Katinga onoono. Kakole oki i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "Kowea! Kakole." Mea oki i a Tuiva, "Koi yaale atu ki mua na!"

Ko te angaanga a Matautu, e wakapukeyako ki mulli ko na mea o tu mai i a Tuiva, no te mea e kainga wakama. Onoono atu i a Matautu. ko Katinga. Wakakite loa kiai. Mea loa i a Matautu ki a Katinga, "Koi maatu ake ki te kua wui tane na, i ana ka toe e te kau o Yata."

Yau loa i a Katinga, tala ki a Tuiva, "Kowea! i a kua ka toa e te kau o Yata." Wakalongo atu i a Tuiva. E kiai na wakakolokolo. Tu loa yapae i te mua. Pupulu loa ana te mulu. Lelo loa ki tona taina, ko Kilika. Wengatu ki ki a Kilika, ka wakalelaka te loa; ka kapakapa ahunga ana tona wale lupa. Kakole la i a Tuiva, "Yao ka wakalelaka te loa, te mata e wunala mai nei. Kowea tana ka tau e te kua o Yata."

Wakalongo atu oki i a Kilika ki te mamae a Tuiva ia. Tu oki

539 i a Kilika ki lunga, mea loa ki tona wale lopa ia ke womamai tawia a laua lakau tana. Tutu loa tona wale lopa ia, pepelu i o latou malo. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki te toe tokalua o latou ia ke wo ma ana yaeke i te po. ke tai o latou oyo, ke kinaki ai ta latou tata na waia e Katinga i te po ia. Wo loa ki na yi, e tai puto ki te tae i te taiva ma na vete ma na toe ika. Womamai loa, aumai ki a Katinga, tao ake i te po ia.

Ko tapena latou i o latou lakau. Momoyo ake a latou mea ia, kai loa to latou oyo ia. Koa vaelua te po. Koa vave ki ao. Wo loa te kau, ulu i te kau o Yato ia.

Ko te tokaono o Yato: na oti ake te tapena a latou lakau taua. Wo loa yeleyele i te wui unu o te wui atua ki te launiu. ke matala ta latou wonga ia. Wo loa ki a Te Mangamanga, ma Talitonganuku, ma Taua, ma Mataliki ma na toe atua. Wo oki apoapo lakau i te wui wale lakau i te wui po ma na lakau atu i na toe konga.

Otiake te tapenapena a latou mea ia, wo loa latou ka taumua ki a Tuiva. Womamai loa la lunga o Te Motu o Valua. Womamai atu la ki Te Motu o Kaikole. Ko moe ai te tane ia, ko Tuanunui. Patu loa e latou, mate. Womamai loa latou ki te motu i Matala, ki a Tuiva. Ola loa wakawou te tane na latou patua; wakaolangia e te wui atua. E ye tikalia e mate; e tangata ma latou.

Oko mai loa ki te wale o Tuiva. Ati loa latou i te wale. Na oti latou te talatala. Ke oko latou ki te wale o Tuiva, wawao loa latou mai lunga, yoka loa, patu ma na lakau mai lunga. Tapa la i a Tuiva ko i loto, "Ti! " e kole pe, na oko. Ko ulu oki i a latou. Kakole la latou, "Kai teia ola, angaoti. Na wano ki wea? Mamai ke ūluna! " Womamai loa, ulu ki Ngake, ki a Kilika ma tona wale lopa. Ulu mai la, na ngangalo. Mea loa latou, "Na ngangalo oki. Koai na tala?"

Wo loa ulu i a Tuiva ma Kilika. Ulu loa ki te mata ki Ngake, ulu atu, ko ngangalo. Yau oki i a Tuiva ma Kilika, ko ulu oki i a latou ki Yato. Koa wo latou onoono i te wui wale atua. Koa wo atu latou. Koa oti i te yele i ta latou launiu. Koa momotu latou i te launiu a te tokavalu. E kiai oki na kitea. Tuapo mai oki e te ulu la te vao. Koa vavaao loa.

Yau oki te kau o Yato na tuapo oki la Wale. E kiai na wiwi te kau i te po ia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki te mata i o Ngake. Oko oki te kau o Yato ia ki Walepia. E kiai oki na kitea. Koa vave loa ki ao. Koa kitea te kili o te tangata. Ninilho mai oki latou e te tuapo. Oko mai loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki tai o Paepae. Oko mai oki te kau o Yato ki tai o Kailia. Waimtau lakalo loa te kau. Kitea atu e Tuiva ma Kilika mai Paepae. Kite mai oki e te kau o Yato mai Kailia.

539 Wakatau welele loa te kau. Welele loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Wumalolo. Aka loa i a Tuiva, makeke lua vae ki te papa, oko te kelekele ki na kaulilikinga. Aka oki i a Kilika makeke. Telala, e kiai na tu lelei, e to ye tau. Koa pili mai loa te kau o Yato. Koa wakaanga e te velo mai na koko. Mea loa i a Kilika ki a Tuiva, "Tuiva e, taku tu ko ye tau. I aku kai pakia. E kino la taua ke welele ki te Wunui? E ngali taua e vaeolo." Wakaaloa loa i a Tuiva i tona taina ia, kae pakia mate. Welele loa lua tokalua la lunga o Waula. Yinga loa to laua toe tawi lakau, ko Yakilia te ingoa. Yoka loa mai lunga e te tokaono o Yato. Wakaeke loa e te toe o latou ki tana lakau, ko Uikele. Teia te mea na wakaolai e Uikele, e tuanga tau noma, i a Yakilia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Te Wunui. Aka loa i a Kilika makeke. Aka oki i a Tuiva, e kiai na tau. E malulu te palapala.

Na wakailo wua taumua i a Kilika, ke onoono i a Puyaka, awe patua: e kovi kona ko wakamana na tala taumumua, ma te wui wakamailonga ika, ma te wui tupuanga wenua, ma na toe meatu. Ko te mea ia na ye pau ai te kau o Yato ia. Teia te toe: tapi na wakawu laua ki te konga na akai i a Tuiva, awa e lipoamata loa te kau i te pakapakaelonga. Ko te mea la kave aka loa ki Te Wunui, olai loa te toe kau.

Oko atu loa te kau o Yato kiai. Wakatau velo loa ki te koko ma te koyo. Taumua loa i a Tuiva ko Watumoana, nana te maloyi ia; mate. Ko Puyaka, ko Vakaua, ko Te Kele, no Kilika. Ko Watumoana, ko Uikele, ko Vakauli, no Tuiva. Wakatau kamu loa te kau ki te lakau. Ke onoono atu la i a Tuiva ki te lakau a Kilika, ko tuku tawa. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki a Kilika, "Ti awa tau lakau, koa tuku tawai; tuku tonu." Tuku tonu loa te lakau a Kilika. Wakalele oki i a Tuiva ia ki a Vakauli; mate. Tokalua te matenga.

E kiai na kitea te lelemainga o te koyo o Uikele, e Tuiva. Alai atu, na yoka i te kauanga pu. Patu atu te kaio, tautonu loa ko te mulimuli o te koyo. Wati te mata i loto o te kauanga o Tuiva. Ongotia loa i a Tuiva. Wakayinga loa, wuli pulou mai lunga o Vakauli, o tana tangata na mate. Kati ai mai lunga. Nana iloa wua, ka mate i ana. Eia i a Vakaua, koa tuwuli mai lunga o Tuiva. Ka vavayi ki tana kaio. E mea la na alaia e te tinia ya mangunga loa mai lunga o Tuiva. No iai na kamunga kino ai o Vakaua. Yaula i a Kilika na palupalu i tona lae na pakia, i te vai i Taumalanga, lulu ake ki te kili welo. Kaka mai loa te leo o Tuiva ki a Kilika. "Kilika e, mate loa au." Aka mai loa i a Kilika, ko liolio i a Vakaua mai lunga o Tuiva. Take loa o Kilika i te ponapona vae, to io oki ki lalo ko te pepetake. Mate loa i a Vakaua. Tokatolu ai te mamatenga.

Yaula i a Uikele ya la tatea wua. Welele ta toe tokatolu: ko

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339 Ulkele, ko Te Kele, ma Puyaka. Wo loa tanu i a latou. Tanu loa la lalo o latou matutua na mamate taumua. Yaula i a Tuiva ma Kilika, kave loa e te tiniu ma o lau tawi lakau vavau i o laua konga ya pakia ke lelei. Lelei ake la. Wo loa ulu i te kau na ola. Ke wo atu la na pau te tanu.

Wakakite loa i a Tuiva ki te wenua takatoa, "Wakalongo mai la kotou e te wenua. Ko Kilika kona e wakayaelea te muli wenua, ke no au ki te loto wenua ma te mata wenua nei leowia, ke awe tutupu ni manako kikino." Ka wakatu te tangata o te wenua, na oko te tokawolo o te wui tane i te vaia o Tuiva ki te tinomano ma tino welau. Wakatu oki tana tupele, totolo te tangata; koa tupele. E nei na oko mai ai ki te malama nei, kae e toe tamaki na wakatupu.

Fire [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p.97, category 116--analyst.]

Ko te atua, ko Ngaliyeyeu, na aumai ki tona wata, ki a Te Ule. Kae awi i te wenua nei. Ko Ngaliyeyeu na aumai ki a Te Ule. Kitea loa i te awi. I te vaia ia, ka ni awi loa a te wui wata o te wui atua. I te vaia mua ya tutu mai a latou awi i te awi a Te Ule. Lili loa te atua o Te Ule, ko Ngaliyeyeu. Mea loa kiai, "Tamate tau awi, kae lomamai na wata o te wui atua ava awi i kinei tunu ai a latou ika. Tuku wua ke kai mata a latou mea. Ke onge awi tunu ai, kae ola latou. Talapaya loa, tapa na latou te awi." Tamate loa i a Te Ule i tana awi. Neneva wua te wui wata. Wo atu ki a Te Ule ulu awi, "Te Ule e, ko wea te awi?" Mea mai loa i a Te Ule, "Kae awi." Kai mata wua loa te wui wata o te wui atua. Ko Te Ule, maua mai tana ika, tutu ake tana awi, mumula; tunu ake tana ika, momoyo; tamate te awi. Pela wua lai.

Teia te tionga na maua i te awi a te atua a Te Ule; e lakau, o puapua. Vayayi loa te puapua. Ta loa wakakauliliki te toe. Kia te ingoa o te mea kauliliki, e kaunati. Ko te toe vayanga o te lakau, ko tuku ki lalo. Vavalu loa te konga la lunga o te kili o te lakau. Tuku loa te kaunati mai lunga o te konga la, ko te ikanga tana ingoa. Ika loa la. E lua tu o te ika, patumate te toe, wakaati te toe. Oko mai ki te toe vaia, tala i a Te Ule i te tionga e maua i te awi.

Seers [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 341-342, category 116--analyst.]

1. Ki Tamau o tane Muliwutu. Ko te wotunga, e tangata yivayiva. Teia te wui mea ka kitea; Te ika taulia, ke patupatu

539 tona lima ki te lima i te ika tauila. Patupatu ai ia. Kitea mai te wui penupenu atua. Teia te penupenu, te talo, te nimn, te malo, te lakau, te tiale.

Ko Tamau e weta no Te Lagapa. Me yau mai Wale ki ko nei, onoono atu ko tike te lenga, na momoyn. Tangn, kai. Te taiva, te vete, te manini, --te wui ika katoatoa na mumoyn, na tunu e tona atua ia. Ko tona mana ia o tona yilanga.

Teia na toe, ko te lomilomi make: E lima watl, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E wae watl, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E mata kamutia, mea wuatn, lelei. E manava tinga, patupatu wuatu, lelei. Kae wai lakau e wai inu. E lima wua. Oti ai.

2. Ko Walieu. E Tane Loto ia Walieu. Ko Ngaliyeyeu tona atua. Ko tona mana e awi. E ye tamate a te awi. E mumula wua peia. Ke mate te awi, ngalo te mana. Ka lulu mai te tangata maki ki tona wale. Ka takutaku ai i te atua. Kamulua te wui maki lelei. Teia te wui maki: te tangata uluwia e te aitu, ka lelei. Te tangata maki kinokino ina, ka lelei. Te tangata maki ao potopoto, ka lelei. Te wui maki, katoatoa, ka lelei. Pe la katoa ki te wui ika liki, te malauila, te eye, te wuti kava, te wo, te kaloma, te atule pai: Me patu ai, makulu te manini tauila. Eia: ko tona yivayiwa. Oti ai.

The story of Wua and Velo [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 350, category 116--analyst.]

Ko Wua ma Velo, ni lua wai wakamailunga i lunga o te langi. Teia a latou wakamailunga. Kao wenake mai te kau mata nunui e kakao i te wave aa, koa talitala te kakai, "Te nei, koa wenake te kau mata o Wua ma Velo." E wakamailunga no te malolo ma te wui uluaki ika o mataliki. E wualai te tavatava, te ulua, te wona, ma te kau ika o mataliki. E wekake ai te wui uluaki ika e wakawtwi ai te wui tausaga wona i te manua.

Wua and Velo are two gods who make signs on the sky. These are their signs. When the group of very large stars rise in the morning, the people say, "Here, the group of stars of Wua and Velo are rising." It is a sign of the malolo and the several first-born fish of mataliki. These come in to the reef the tavatava the ulua, the wona, and the group of fish of mataliki. There climb up the various first-born (first to come) fish that have met the many turtle pairs in the sea. This is something of which the group of large stars of Wua and Velo is a sign.

539 E mea ko wakamailunga ki te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E wuai ma te talao, te wui ika, e wua to latou mai te katakata, te wapuku, te walua, te eve, te unaliki, te loi. Ko na mea ia, e longo nui ai te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E onoono ai oki te kau e wangota ki te moana.

(The fish) are with roe--the talao, all the fish are with roe, the katakata, ...and so forth. Those are the things which make very famous the group of large stars of Wua and Velo.

E kakao ai ma te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua: mai te kaveu, te tupa, te kaipea, te kalama, te manu a Taua, ma te unga kukula, te unga uli, ma te unga vae yila, e te unga wuluwulu atua. Ko na mea ia, e wakamailungai na mata o Wua ma Velo. E nei e takoto mai ai ki te vaia o te taitangata wou nei, ke a latou iloloa te wakamailunga o na mata o Wua ma Velo ia. Pau ai loa te tala o Wua ma Velo.

There appear also the various creatures on top of the land, such as the kaveu, the tupa, the kaipea, the manu a Taua, and the unga kukula, the unga uli, the unga vae Yila, and the unga wuluwulu atua. Of these things the stars of Wua and Velo are signs. They have come down to the time of the present generation, that they may know the signs of the stars of Wua and Velo. The story of Wua and Velo is finished.

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TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS

OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

In the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, 114
C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to
the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than 177
seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of [115]
the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye 539
watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The
rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about 173
him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the
land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name 773
was Uye. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-papa. Their son was named Te-mari-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiato.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pere, and the other Tauge-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Averua or Kotiporo, another Te Awua (p pronounced like w) or Pona-uri, and the third Taka-nani or Uro-kaua. In those days the kumara, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The kumara plant flourishes now but has [177 341]
no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the new patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niue,

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongarova). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-uiui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yauora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-ruru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

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E TUATUA TEIA NA URA, E TANGATA BUKABUKA AIA.

E Tuatua Taito.

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Ko Bukabuka e kana ia ki raro i te moana. Kua noo tetai atua ko Tamaya, kua tiaki aia i te toka. Kua manako ana aia e, e mea puapinga kore. Kua ngaa mai te toka e kua aere mai te tangata ki runga ko Uyo tona ingoa. Kua akara aia e kare e turanga, e kua anga aia i te enua e pini ua aka. Nona i katiri mai ei te tangata. Ko tana vaine no Tonga mai, e ko Te Vao-pupu te ingoa o tana vaine ra. Teea ta raua tamaiti tamaroa ko Tumuri-vaka; e ta raua tamaine ko Te-Matakiate.

No Tonga mai nga tangata toa i te tuatau taito, ko Tokaipore tetai, ko Tauperoa tetai. Kua noo raua, e kua mate raua ki teianei enua; e na raua i kokoti i nga oire. Ko Avarua te ingoa o tetai oire koia oki ko Ko tiporo. Ko Teavea tetai oire koia oki ko Panauri. Ko Takauani tetai, koia oki ko Urekava.

Kua tupu ana te kumara, te tou, e te pia ki Bukabuka i te tuatau taito. I teia tuatau kare te kumara e kiko; ka tupu te tou ki roto i te au repo taro; e kare e pia i teia tuatau nei.

Kua aere ana ratou ki te au enua e manganui i te tuatau taito. Kua aere ana ratou ki te itinga o te ra, e te opunga o te ra, kare ki apatokarau, e ki apatonga. Kua kite ratou ia Manihiki e Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) Samoa e Niue, e tetai au enua atu. Kua tae ana tetai toa ma tona vaka tangata ki tetai pa enua ko Maungauiui te ingoa. E arakai tai retopu i tetai enua e tetai enua, e te tu tangata e papaa, mai te Tinito te tu. Ko Te Kumatanau te enua openga ki te pae opunga, e ko Yikivari te enua openga ki te pae itinga. E au manu enua tei mira, e manu mamaata, e ngolo te ingoa o taua manu ra. Ko tetai toa Bukabuka kua tae aia ki tetai enua ko Vetuna te ingoa. Kua timata ana te tangata i te ta i aia; i reira kua kave ana aia i ngā matua noa ki ita i te maunga; e kia kite te tangata i tona matua, kua epu aia i te ngolo, e kua aere atura aia i taua manu ra; matakite ahera taua enua tangata i aia. Tera te ingoa taito o Bukabuka ko Bukaroa.

Tera te ratou ingoa taito no Tahiti ma tona pa enua e Rarotonga ma tona pa enua ko Yalake. Ko Rarotonga, e maunga ia no Yalake. Kua pakapaka tapo ariki takurua, ko Turipunoa te ingoa o tetai ariki, e ko Tuyimata te ingoa o tetai ariki. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga, kua topa ko; e no reira i tauteuia ko Rarotonga, no te mea no runga mai.

I te tuatau taito ra, e enua maata e Nukuroa (Bukabuka) e kua maata rua te tangata. Kua pou te enua o te tangata ata i tetai dakuwi

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mata. E meangiti ua te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo, no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraia e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere aia e kua taatua aia kia rave i te pou akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa aia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua ziri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te deluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Raru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Teraio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te á ia o te kopu tangata.

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Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki Te reo Rarotonga, e te reo Beritane.

Bukabuka.	*Rarotonga.*	*English.*
Tuatua	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Taua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katua	Ngauru	Ten
Akaromatua	Akaporapora	Beloved
Tarake	Paro	Pray
Manatua	Varoua	Jealousy
Riri pokurakura	Biri otooto	Fierce anger
Wanuri	Mangungu	Thunder
Ranti	Rangi matia	Fine (as a fine day)
Tainamua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tainamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kitaga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kitaga Tane	Tungane	Real Brother
Wharenatua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Wharenatua = the abode of the god.
Inakata	Ko te tamaine ia a te teina	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Tahai	To trail
Lei vanan	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kura	Karakara rava	Very black
Kana	Tuatua	White
Makaralaralu	Tuatua rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura malo	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoringa	Ngati, na Ngati tangata	A tribe
Puriperi	Katiri	*A line of descent.

*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side

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[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will be seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

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October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

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* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

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the son of Tamaej, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea. 993

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one. 539● 173

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads; and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

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my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings, each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *sikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *sikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 relationships, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities.
171 Dual lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and easily kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The intension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a
[551] mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; at all other times, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

Table 7. Kinship Terms

Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal
2	Tupuna tane (great uncle) Tupuna wawine (great aunt)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (spouse's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (uncle) Matua wawine (aunt)	Matua tane (father) Matua wawine (mother)	Matua ngavai tane (father-in-law) Matua ngavai wawine (mother-in-law)
0	Cousins of same sex as speaker, taina; cousins of opposite sex to speaker, hainga wainana or wale atua	Siblings of same sex as speaker, taina; siblings of opposite sex to speaker, tua tane (w. s.), tua wawine (m. s.), hainga (m. or w. s.)	Taokete tane (brother-in-law), taokete wawine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tua tangata
—1	Tamatane (nephew), tamawawine (niece)	Tamatane (son), tamawawine (daughter)	Umanga tane (son-in-law), umanga wawine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives at this level generally, hanga tangata, as, tua hanga tane, brothers of son- and daughter-in-law.
—2	Malopuna tane (great nephew) Malopuna wawine (great niece)	Malopuna tane (grandson), malopuna wawine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, as, wawine na taku malopuna tane, wife of my male grandchild.

601 One important characteristic of the Pukapukan system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother *taina nana*. By the use of the terms nana

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*ulaki*),
612 the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *wuele* food division. If the *ulaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tuumomayunga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *wuele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *wuele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoà*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*wuiwi*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[75] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*wuie lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*wuie tamaiwine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Moa (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apauna (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however ambiguous, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives
854 most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given
853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the
854 child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first
[857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humorodly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (a). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there
[1152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *tautoni* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

12; Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
285 (*tukapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely
554 dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would
461 militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 Some experts possess a trade mark (*mukamalongo*) which they carve
531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Pungo-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*inu lai mukamalongo*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 The canoe crew is known collectively as *uuna vaka*. Specialized names
793 for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*vaia*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*daukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uuna*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatani*. They are

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[322/552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

412
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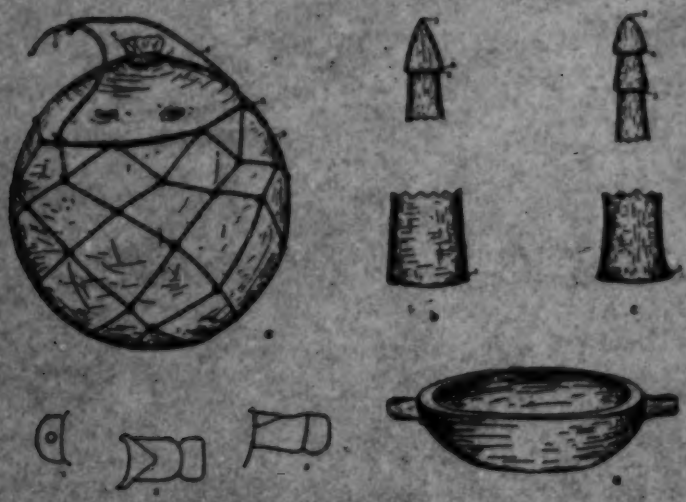

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*wowowai*) (Cl030): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord enclosing shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; *b*, cork (*wowowo*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (Cl030): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¼ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¼ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1½ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*yoe*) of *ngangie* wood (Cl031): weight 3¼ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1¼ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (5) of second truncated cone 1¼ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant legs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left leg, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¼ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ¼ inch in diameter, runs through leg, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right leg of same bowl; leg, 1¼ inches wide and 1½ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kumete*) of *pupua* wood (Cl139): greatest diameter 14¼ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4¼ inches; legs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

[831]

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerulangi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tona and Tuna, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiva and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone rest, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Maugrenier's statement (*27*, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wato-mamaro-ami, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were usually destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *ate*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person sought just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
574 and by the naming of the child:

612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *pashi* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, particularly rice of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uluski*),
612 the *pusiki* feast is followed several days later by the *wasele* food division. If the *uluski* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tamamatyanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *wasele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *wasele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*usoa*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[15] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*wasele lafo*) or a girl a girl's house (*wasele tamamaiva*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least in the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any content whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Mini Moa (derived from Mr. Moore, a missionary), Mini Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Agasua (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however unknown, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food chores and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

577 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
[431] They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They
653 name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
881 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

577 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practice of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to constitute, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, giving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are supposed to block tradition. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are supposed to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent exhortations, that the child is convenanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in snuggling off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lima (y.m), the adopted child of Mere and Lehua, comes back to Mere's house from working
159 in the bush with Lehua, eats some food, throws off his bamboo and then starts to walk down the
182

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

462 162 626 577

One jealous woman is reported to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own taro foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortune and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 294 756

The heavy work of taro bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private taro beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

757 787

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of taro preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to potter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 534

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tagata matua*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men so frequently as it is during the colder season; taro beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the taro than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
931 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *malova*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*taipai na malova*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *apainanga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their taro and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
551 make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
334 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
584 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded
461 slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chanticles, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata matautu* or *tangata tao waka*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
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531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puha*) of each canoe he builds.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

251 according to the quality of *takaaka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takaaka* nuts.

242 192 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yokali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 181 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 807 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo*, or *takaolli te niu*. Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 537 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

245 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*hoyo*) is next set up.

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Payments

437 431 476 574 551 [322]

Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo,[1] and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *uuhoyina te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*uuhoaelinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *uuhoyinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uua*, one anchor line of *uunuit*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one *uunuit malo* and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[392]

The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, five *mauu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *mauu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pana* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *mauu*, each woman five *mauu*, each child one *mauu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 574 431 621 627

To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1. [i.e, to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 *Triloma* shellfish (*payuo*) are eaten raw or mixed with coconut cream and baked
251 in leaves in the oven. Persons especially fond of them collect large quantities which they preserve for future use or for periods of want by stringing them on coconut midrib fibers (*kaleta*), 30 to 40 *payuo* on each string. The strung *payuo* are baked for a day or overnight and then hung from house eaves to dry in the sun for about 10 days. Thereafter they are placed in baskets and stored until wanted.

252 Wild birds are not preserved in any way. They are grilled and eaten immediately
262 after they are caught. A bird is plucked at the beach and the feathers allowed to drift anywhere. Head and claws are left attached to the body and the bird is not gutted or cleaned in any way. A length of green coconut midrib, thrust down the throat of the bird and into its stomach, is used to hold the bird over the flames and embers of a fire made of *ngaipu* coconut shells until it is suitably grilled. All the bones are picked clean; the internal organs with the small fish and seaweed in the stomach bag and intestines are considered especially tasty morsels.

262 The pig (*puaka*) and the chicken (*moa*) were introduced after white
231 contact. The pig, brought by early missionaries, is eaten today only at feast
252 times or in food divisions to pay workers for services.

A pig is led down to the beach and allowed to wallow in the sea to clean its skin before it is killed by choking. A stout stick is placed across the throat of the animal lying on its back with its legs held or tied. Men stand on each end of the stick until the animal is dead. The dead beast is singed (*mumula*) with flaming coconut leaves and the skin scraped (*tafuula*) with a coconut shell. It is washed (*palupalu*) again in the sea so that the skin is clean (*mahitahita*). The animal is then placed on a bed of coconut leaves laid on the ground. The stomach is opened up, the internal organs (*ngahau*), heart and liver, are removed and washed in the sea. The blood is caught in coconut cups and baked in them (*toto momoyo*, cooked blood). The intestines are grilled on hot stones; the liver and heart are wrapped in banana leaves and oven-baked. The whole pig is baked in an oven for 4 or 5 hours, according to the size of the animal,
[554] and then butchered and shared among the participants in the feast. The head (*ulu*), reserved for the chief, is cut off first; then in order the fore legs (*lima*), hind legs (*tuu*), ribs (*ini hayakaya*), back (*tua ini*), and finally the hind quarter (*mafimafi*) are butchered. All these portions, together with the heart and liver, are again subdivided into the required number of smaller portions (*pona*). Save for the special portion for the chief, there is no reference in this division to rank or status.

[177] Hens and roosters were introduced by a captain of a trading schooner
231 whom the Pukapukans called Wuluwulu (Hairy-one) when he visited Puka-
262 puka some time after the mission was well started in Samoa but before it was established in Pukapuka.

Chicken eggs play no important part in the diet today. It is probable that they
431 were formerly left in the nests to hatch. At the present time eggs are used as gifts to visitors. We saw only one Pukapukan eating an egg, a child eating a hard-boiled egg.
252 A great deal of trouble is taken over the raising of chickens, but at the present time they are rarely eaten. No household has enough chickens to have a chicken dinner very often. Only once, during the Christmas feasting, was a native family seen eating a chicken for a meal. A woman or a child chases the chicken to be killed, then hits the bird on the head until dead. Women or girls pluck the feathers, which are thrown into the sea. The body is singed, the head cut off, and the internal organs removed. The heart and liver are washed and baked on hot stones; the body is wrapped in banana leaves and baked in the oven. A live chicken, taro, and nuts are the usual gift feast sent to honor a friend. Only chickens found strangled in the trees or killed by the women's committee when found in the taro beds are regularly eaten by their owners.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulungo loukoua*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulungo lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

Wooden back rests (*toko*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former times. Made of *nukunuku* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uenu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*nanu*) become vicious:

These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*uelevale*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*uelevale tuaale*, C8193) is made of midribs (*tua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*lito*) about ½ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the *lito* plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*uakapona*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*uulinuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*uelevale uolo*) for sweeping the ground outside the houses is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 177 517 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewlangi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 23) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayalu and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

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The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ka, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wata-masava-mai, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

324 133 177

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupola. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

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House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*yulo*) was marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the foot; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*wola*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the foot; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a simple headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are undressed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to 2 feet wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 3 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

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Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or peculiarities of the deceased:

[826]

Veti, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *hanjaja* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *punga* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that skulls of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, Te Apa, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,*B*). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*tao*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pau made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*uatu taukinokino*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

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A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Tanpalou, on the boundary between Yato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

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613 193 554

lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practical abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

[787 156]

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Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kahai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 188 187

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wakatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
757 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An ex-
ample of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *mole maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tauunga** *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was tl chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

* The Polynesian word *tauunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective meaning skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae pewa*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yala* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*mulama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when the man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *ava* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tahataka mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

224 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeeua*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to
[762] defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[554] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

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173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *hiole* (rat) or *hipua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Maliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Maliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 484 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful 177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one 554 paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through 167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether 829 physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

173 484 I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is
554 honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize
521 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to
152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel-
885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues
517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be
831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

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285 Lito makakakalu: brittle plaiting material, easily snapped with slight strain.
Panga punipuni: closely plaited mat.
Panga taupupu: uneven rough plaiting.
Panga matalatala: loosely plaited mat.
Yiyisu: even, straight plaiting secured through uniform tension.

In the commencement stages of plaiting, the worker uses her toes to keep elements steady until she has established a firm working edge. The finished portion of large mats is folded under as the work progresses or else kept flat under heavy stone weights (*autu maunga*) so that the working edge may be brought within reach of the hands. Some workers prefer to lay fine plaiting on a smooth board (*papa* or *palapala*). Straight edges, either right or left, are difficult to produce, and a woman's reputation as a plaiter is based on her ability to make them. Of the good plaiter, it is said that she has skilled hands (*lima pateka*), busy hands (*lima tateka*), or quick hands (*lima tovili*). These terms are used in chants by the man who wishes to comment on the plaiting skill of his mistress.

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285 The plaiting of large mats is an arduous task. By continuous work a woman can plait a mat 6 feet by 4 feet in about 30 hours.

531 Design is obtained by using alternate elements of *lito* pandanus and *lou-uku pakapaka* pandanus, or by the use of overlaid or through and through elements of red dyed pandanus. The Pukapukan plaiter makes little use of contrasting check and twilled plaiting to make pleasing designs in pandanus work, save in the building-up of a few blocked geometrical designs. The method of preparing red dye and of dyeing (*pani ke kukula*) material for designs is as follows:

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The worker scrapes from the roots of the *nonu* plant the dirt, rootlets, and dark brown outer bark. She places a coconut-leaf mat (*loualoua*) on the ground, covers it with *puapua* leaves, and scrapes the roots a second time to remove the dark yellow bark, which falls onto the leaves. Hot ashes from a fire of coconut butts are added to the bark scrapings and the whole well mixed together with the hands. The mixture is placed in a wringer (*tauunga*) of coconut husk fiber and the liquid wrung out into a wooden bowl. The wrung-out bark mixture (*ota*) is placed aside. Strips of *laukie* pandanus are now passed through the liquid, then rolled on the hand and placed back into the liquid. *Puka* leaves are packed on top of the rolls of pandanus and the wrung-out bark is placed on the leaves. The whole is set aside for 24 hours. The bowl is then opened, each roll of material is passed through the hands to smooth the dye on the strip, and placed back in the bowl. Sea water is poured on the wrung-out bark material which is pressed (*lomi*) and mixed with the water. It is then wrung out for a second time and the rolls resteeped for a second 24 hours. The rolls are finally removed from the dye, smoothed with the hands, placed unrolled on a coconut leaf mat (*palapala*) and allowed to dry in the shade. When dry, the material is ready for use.

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Old Pukapukan designs (*hove*) are shown in figure 14. A group of old women recognized only these designs as definitely old. The Pukapukan worker, however, shows great skill in adapting or inventing new designs. A sampler of designs (C8208) contains 32. The names of some of the newer

[591] 593 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kauv* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared 422 pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts 226 or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed the *ye* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of the *ye* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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264 578 Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *haitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *haitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aunai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *haitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totolon" (Go to the nut tree of Totolon). This refers to the god Totolon's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

558 555 Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of 626 the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through 476 ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being 181 allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each 552 person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this 434 does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

433 The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when 182 other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
931 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui no maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

342 There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
331 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
664 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable,
461 and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mauutu* or *tangata tau uuiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*wakatane*, *wakamomoe*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving

[578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

358 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *vaa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *vaa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *vaa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Vaa* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

713 The origin of the *vaa* was discussed with informants on several different

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has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *taka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

173 177 484

The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tape* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484

The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayako. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

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Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taro. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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173 Taluawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawani, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the canoe and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

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621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
524 The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tukunga tuu*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletoa, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
562 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*wale polenga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te uinga pule*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

262 In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lausi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
644 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

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226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ike*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala. . ." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*. . .); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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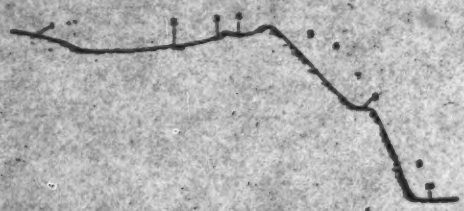

FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *motu*; 2, lagoon, *ala*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tamatama*; 4, reef shelf, *ulula akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayunga*; 5, surface water, *hitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *waiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *puangaputa*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yela-angangata* (also called *motu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, *akula*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupele*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*tangunga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangunga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
641 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
> 561 a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, automatic that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te takalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te takalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaluaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ya* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kulipupui (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kouatoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kauliki (children).
Taumalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwtangalou: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matuaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *uenine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tanganga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *amonga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*alibi uolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *uola*. The uola was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
693 The superior chief of the island was *te alibi uolo o Te Uiu-o-te-uetu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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565 643 613 645 [561] 793

te uai aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupola*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

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The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today.. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwatu	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tui	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipule	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamaunga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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phrase *koa punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

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The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

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The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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561 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general
881 domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

881 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, talo, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *mulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

884 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

561 Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next
226 graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
[884] boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau mutea* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tanganga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tanganga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau wokayuwi*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitau*) for each sex. The *wale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotawu* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *nuku wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lubipoko*):

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167 173 609 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaku* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Ta'a, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.) [563 597]

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 609 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship (*poyi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakau* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Ya'ongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipuka. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngawaliwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island. [92]

The Regency

173 643 561 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for age groups, see pp. 19-21.]

839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practices of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They referred principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal taputu, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict taputu that formerly held between a man and his sister-in-avoidance (females only). The taputu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this taputu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 209–62). This taputu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generation several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taputu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes none disapproval among the old.

[7] Eleanor and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Mss., [illegible])

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621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pu i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pu i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pu i te tukunga waw*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lawi alo ki loi*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lawi tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lawi* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lawi* by the outer beach."

The stone from high walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletua, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
562 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*uale paleuga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*tuba*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Nina at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 The monthly guard change (*te singa pale*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

262 In Loto a division of drinking and eating nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Nina and Uta. The change of guard in Nina on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*kasi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

644

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tatu yue*. The bowman is known as *hauya*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*hauhau ki uwa*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309)
782 and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a
562 new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest
775 commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting
793 a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*lauga*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
101 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanea* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pune*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga e nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *maelunga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*lulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
646 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupola*. These
522 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
> a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal line-
> 561 age or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period,
> which is then called *te takalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All
> other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata*
> and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au
> i te takalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakatulu-
> aki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occa-
> sionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then
> the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *meina* 30 (tapu moons) becomes the *tai*
> *tangata* of the preceding *meina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month
> period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata*
> periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai ta-*
> *ngata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical pur-
> poses. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age
> grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kulepapai (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Koamoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kaaliki (children).
Tamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalos: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Mulivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupola: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e mahasmasma te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in
562 such a canoe was greatly desired:

When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Muliwuta lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late
597 chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hokoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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776 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of
114 minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiho*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in
613 the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island.
562 He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Taua nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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Physical Characteristics

144 563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women 142 is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

Motor Habits

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit [164] is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moe*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more 192 than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
591 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[323] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka* adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another.
597 X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into
764 which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
177 household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the garden. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
[563] Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
577

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*pavi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakono* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *piliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngouulinuli* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

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778 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

346 [361]

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*piongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 613 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 341 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[171] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,B).

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Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi uale* and *uai alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

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the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*yale*) was marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the feet; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*wale*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the feet; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a simple headstone and a footstone. Burials of these unidentified people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are unhewn coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to 2 feet wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 3 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

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Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or peculiarities of the deceased:

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Vui, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *haupapa* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *pungo* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that deeds of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, Te Aga, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,B). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*toa*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pua made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*ooto toakitokito*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it were formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

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A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Taupeka, on the boundary between Tuo and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wawine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of taio from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangonga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *omunga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki uvolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *uvola*. The *uvola* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki uvolo o Te Ulu-o-te-uatu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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565 643 613 645 [561] 793

te uni aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupale*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

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The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Motuvaka	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	Tuai	One aliki uola (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangatipuala	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamanaga	One langatila
	Yagi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki uola*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Maliwetu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yakongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

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Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*omonga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

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Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

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The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *wakayamoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

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In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Uhu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Uhu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takekenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-waka. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Puka-
puka word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping
101 of father, mother, and children. *Wasea* refers to a man's or a woman's family of
children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *fana*, not
including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikaanga*, the precise meaning
of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikaanga* is also applied to the estab-
lishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof.
When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "ka tangata o te
yikaanga a nano i te *aganuaale* o Mea" (the people of the *yikaanga* residing in the pri-
vate house of So-and-so). The word *aganuaale* refers to one of the several separate
household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikaanga*. Analysis
of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in
each *aganuaale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic
consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic func-
tions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *kaili*, *mavinga*, or
pelipeli. *Kaili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's
maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organi-
zation a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato
villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest
member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the house-
hold grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house
canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were re-
ferred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*kala*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions.
Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the
food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where
does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau
i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because
the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate
through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further ques-
tion is, "Ko ai ko tauna?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its
blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tend-
● 571 encies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalised releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the tradi-
578 tional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilising the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
514 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
527 Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
262 return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
613 that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupuie*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *laukere* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaga* group of fishermen (p. 88) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*maraga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*turu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ike ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *tkeika*, and to make fire thus is *ranta ami*.

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live 159
with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that 159
I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 145
16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many 159
girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married 572
before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with 836
special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many 159
meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like 836
this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, "Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, "No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *varenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaiwai maire* (still larger corms), *alapoko* (very big corms), and *puaia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonongna", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by
571 the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the
household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the
431 house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group.
Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later
431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give
[574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 The word *tamapoko* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for
195 instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tamapoko* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

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Payments

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
431 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
476 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
554 talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo,[1] and by acquiring more pigs which are
[322] fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *unkayinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*unkamalinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *unkayinunga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uso*, one anchor line of *sennit*, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one *sennit* male and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 3 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manu*, each woman five *manu*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*papa imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5
574 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000
431 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these
621 foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof
527 that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst]

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lowaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
527 of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lawi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lowaya*, as *lowaya kawa* (crabs), *lowaya manu* (birds). A *lowaya* after a tapu period ensures
262 that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lowaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[821] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lowaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngahunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 56, 76).

4. *Wahanelinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngahunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *nanaunga*.

5. *Kowhaw*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malawa*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old
[623] man's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wanle, *tamangunga*, and *pauki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *mulikawa*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *payia wale* and *lalahunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *kaulawa*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Iwa kai o te wua* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
574 trolled by the lineage.

527 Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 *Lawaiangi* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *kapolinga* (land shells), feasts
613 of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fish food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pionga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have tai-

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
574 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its
527 Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the
262 return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food
613 that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is com-
plete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural
fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously
impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popou*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *lauhere* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangapa* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aunga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tuna*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ana*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iho ana*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ikanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikolka*, and to make fire thus is *mate ana*.

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TALO DISHES

262 521 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tou*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[521] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto, takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mowu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukitaki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*koi*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yawi*, sometimes given as *awi*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Luku*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*uwuwo hi loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*luku*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
266 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipāpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *taumamaya*, *yamuyamu*, *lamulamu* apply to eating, wheth-
574 er by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
431 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open
576 ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*tabapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*unkaleulava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yolonga* units. Village membership
616 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Infor-
597 mants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nilo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
621 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the
575 village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
612 elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.
524 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however,
616 between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organiza-
114 tion for contests.

Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
178 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama kokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama kokoti* is adopted before birth:

597 When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the
843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama kokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference.
613 The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group
[842] that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.
597

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama kokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama kokoti*, the feeding child (*tama mangai*)
597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *uto*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 [553] The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts and by the naming of the child:

574 612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *puki* feast. This is a small division of talo and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uluaki*), the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *uaele* food division. If the *uluaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to at a mere *tamamayanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uaele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uaele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uaiea*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uaele lapa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uaele tamamaine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mor (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apaunu (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however misdirected, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

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584 unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

585 431 [574] The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*uuikinua*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *wakamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *uuua loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *mauu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wakawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wakawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wakawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wakawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*wakaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *nix wakovale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wokalelei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae penu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*molamu*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *ava* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

226 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taló dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest. [554]

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *homai*, and *wenga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared taro, 533 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

186 Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men 226 are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In an- 577 other exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and 461 also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *hakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*meingonga panga*). 255 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yei. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
827 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

613 884 288 When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *haitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *haitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *haitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *haitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *haitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 591 575 In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 575 A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama waka'maema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
834 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*waiatiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac-
578 companied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
869 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
201 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
576 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Tosolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
261 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipiji* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *hoi*, *taumamaya*, *yamayama*, *lamulama* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
574 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
1131 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*uhalaualava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yongia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief
644 had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly
[615] feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his sub-
613 ordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, body-guard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those
576 of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *nakakouvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue
793 of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might
643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly
645 lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was
[171] the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born
613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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164 walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uuhuiuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

164 605 839 1254 602 It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uuhaatunga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

164 [594] As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uutonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or taro, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

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521 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
152 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with
children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
578 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due
to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which
626 is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his
wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without
permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers,
reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness,
from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such
a person is said to be *manatu poto* or *ngakau kiso*. He is condemned for his anger
because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
576 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arro-
gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalaka-*
867 *peka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which
have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or
626 unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that
wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete
with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another
is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the
resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no
uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with
property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who
lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yumulu-*
wala tuvina. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business,
causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakawya*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
person is a *tongata kahionga;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of
261 food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be
shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given
626 to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a
household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyawpu;* one who is
generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person
158 who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and
takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning
826 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *lama;* a crippled person has a *lama;* a bald-
626 headed man has a *lama* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to
a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or
my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
152 or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or
making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uai veia* (to make
enemies); to have favorites, *uai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering
156 not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uai veia* (one who does not make enemies),
or *e ye tuliauli* (one who does not select people).

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177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
771 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
672 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
602 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
191 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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625 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or [653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongalongo mai kolua,* e to tana' kolu ki te vananga a te pale ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tana ke wakatokatoka wua i te moua. Ke pukea moua i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamaulu kolua wakalolei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotoma* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 * Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *tatou*. The former is used in all public pronouncements.

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462 162 626 577

One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 244 709

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

857 887

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 554

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata mawa*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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643 the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vananga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tolatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 613] The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
571 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yuuvaga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kanoi*, and *manga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, 533 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing 186 appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men 226 are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women 577 was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and 461 also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*mainganga panga*). 285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

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579 by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and,
776 in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this
regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he
whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Wale-
577 toa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end
of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or
609 when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throw-
ing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *haleva manu* (*haleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (ques-
721 tion). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them,
this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign
that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more
leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite
sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava
Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

701 A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign ves-
609 sels or canoes:

726 The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata hanu*
(advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and
i Tua, united as the *uoi tuina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga,
Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli hanu* (home division). The captain of
the advance canoe of the *mata hanu* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question).
As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was
arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privi-
lege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack
the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the
advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to
give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard
the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced land-
[202 ing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes
to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and
264 came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself
726 set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first
sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish
609 which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their
malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the
protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups
paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for
resistance.

712 No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans.
In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied
701 by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the
same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in
the story of Tuiva.

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
677 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
653 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They
851 name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practice of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to envision, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, giving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent scoldings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in wandering off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lion (7:6), the adopted child of Mere and Lelem, comes back to Mere's house from working
159 in the bush with Lelem, eats some food, throws off his loincloth and then starts to walk down the
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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*mātstiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokaho" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown
156 by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
869 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of To Malo and Totolon (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe hi wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are notoriously given to the habit of leaning against
186 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

731 latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913.
132 Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

731 In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the
161 imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the popula-
[608] tion was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the
821 control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a
627 season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it
996 holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

821 The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are asso-
621 ciated with the villages as follows:

996 Ngake: Kaiola, Mauuka, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mullonga, Kao, and Pua.
Loto: Walaulau.
Yato: Tuloulau iki, Tuloulau matua, Wakatia, Pulapa, Yato, Lalei.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nion and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tana's punishment, an affection of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki iaio te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamuave" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might taunt, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

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At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tana in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

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A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

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The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
673 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
844 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*wi tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
735 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children,
768 blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
072 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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476 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of
621 representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the
609 three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its
621 own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe
476 building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent
[578] outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several
626 ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy
476 in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 Te pivaf' elo, malo piplia, — Pig smelling, malo stinking,
626 E kisi ya wano la tua — (He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
461 Tuku la ki te wakayaya — (He has) placed himself in sacredness
Kae mea loa e so ai. — No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

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226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*vaiaupa matile*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*takau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kawikawi*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 30 talo puddings (*maoru*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malolelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. 202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*taubole*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines 776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *mahoanapale*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Tonaka and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the 178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already 523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one 764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 [195] cally as *mati tuluma* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tuluma* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *taungaloa*. *Wutonga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in 431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of taio to the gods Matalomea and 782 Matalolau, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *wakatapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolise a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 290).

431 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yonui*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yuyun nunui*. [578] To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atunui*, the mean or stingy person, *kakionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437 Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today 439 to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe sumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatau*, *makaumaua*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join

[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

156 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uma* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *kainanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uma* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uma* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *uma* was discussed with informants on several different

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uwa*, the *uwa* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uwa*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
[582] sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
171 so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests,
613 and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *uakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
226 to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
578 Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
244 intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

618 period, organization was in terms of either *tuna* or *yelonga* units. Village membership
611 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
297 village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest
621 he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
576 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malosa*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yelonga*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.
574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
616 for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
198 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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561 646 623 888

The *lopa*, *tane*, and *nowine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tanganga* fishing group.

887 646

All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *anonga* (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

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There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578

It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

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The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wolo*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wola*. The *wola* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 643 613

Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wolo o Te Ulu-o-te-motu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

627 Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the people who lived about this pool were called *manatu ulo* (red bellies). If one wishes
[578] to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manatu ulo*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Wuina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*maka muna*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

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578/837 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

177 671 685 625 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 573 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

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[611 613 541] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *kave* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child [842] of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a 543 more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

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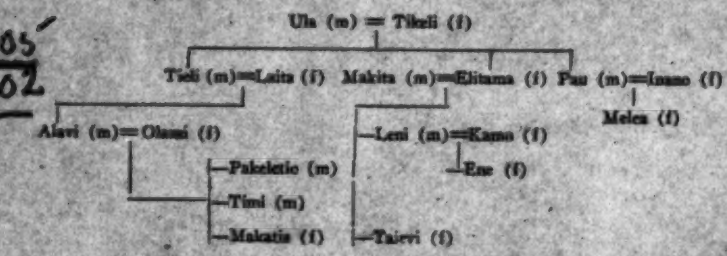

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wakama*. Meles is a *hainga wakama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wakama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wakama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

605 Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga wakama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wakama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a

584 boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by

602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to,

765 embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wakenewine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are

881 considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the

867 time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things

597 being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Elia and Lotoa (p. 239):

> Lotoa is some years older than Elia. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Elia's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Elia retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

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521 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
152 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with
children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
578 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due
to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which
626 is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his
wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without
permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers,
reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness,
from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such
a person is said to be *manovu pete* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger
because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
152 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arro-
576 gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalaka-*
peka. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which
867 have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or
626 unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that
wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete
with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another
is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the
resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no
uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with
property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who
lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yuvulu-*
vulu tutuna. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business,
causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *nguta wakuuya*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
person is a *tangata hakionga;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of
261 food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be
626 shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yas;* a person who is given
to begging or wheedling food is *nanou;* a person who makes a point of eating at a
household other than his own is *kai you;* one who steals food is *toyuyu;* one who is
generous at giving away food is *haikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
158 stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person
who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and
826 takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning
626 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-
headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to
a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or
152 my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or
making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uui veia* (to make
enemies); to have favorites, *uui mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering
156 not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uui veia* (one who does not make enemies),
or *e ye uilinali* (one who does not select people).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reinforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tuvu*, strong men): *uma vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *uma vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papahi*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*turuki*) each other; C men push-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uulo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebaama, or in the armory house (*uulo lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uulo uukapuuoo* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aumaga po*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on sacrificial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who,

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[*] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [*] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wala* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
778 the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and
643 petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal char-
661 acter, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust
578 or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was
579 food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangapa*, brought back turtle and
643 other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Taua to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery
131 from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records
643 speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was
578 again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: 1

173 Tuiva was a child of Taonga, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage.
639 This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 266 578 154 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[92] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[187] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

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EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full 156 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether 181 in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling
578] are common emotions.

152 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tend-
571 encies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the tradi-
578 tional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilising the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

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when sung by the people of one village on one of these occasions of socialized release, I give the following translation of one of the briefest wrestling chants (but not one of the most brutally violent!): 154 578

> The kilts of Pana's women are easily opened—
> Pressed to the ground,
> Thrown by me
> Rolled over and over are the rival villages.
> Broken their hands and feet,
> Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes.
> Look from above, O two villages,
> On the strength you boasted of—
> Smashed it is and pressed to the ground—
> Come, come now, that I may take you
> On the journey of my human body,
> Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
> Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping, embracing.

On the surface this may not seem to the reader to be particularly insulting. The import, however, is clear. The chant is sung by the people of Ngake village, whose other name is Pana. The implication of the first line is that although the women of this village are very hospitable (the kilt of coconut leaf was the only dress formerly worn by the women), nevertheless so defeated are the men of the other two villages that they have not the strength to take advantage of their opportunities—and no Pukapukan likes to realize this fact. Successive lines comment on the magnitude of the defeat inflicted on the two villages. The statements are extremely hyberbolic because Pukapukan wrestling is, on the whole, a very mild sport. Victory in a contest comes when a rival has both feet lifted from the ground, or touches the ground with any part of the anatomy other than the feet. The chanters, nevertheless, gain much satisfaction from exaggerated boasting. They are living for the moment in a world of make-believe, and the greater the fantasy the greater the success of the catharsis. The last four lines recur to the motif of sex: in fantasy, the Ngake men have taken the women of the other two villages away from their lovers, away to the two legendary lands of Niue and Yiva. There they may cohabit with the women free from possible interference from their beaten, weak and disorganized rivals. Thus in such a simple chant as the one adduced, the Pukapukan can work off bottled emotion and receive therefrom the satisfactions of the most delightful fantasy.

154 The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are
● 578 specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can do justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually
[156] gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts:

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved. 154

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living. 578 154 182

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group. 171

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is 121

519 by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and,
776 in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this
regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he
whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Wale-
519 toa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end
of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or
609 when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throw-
ing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (ques-
721 tion). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them,
this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign
that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more
leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite
sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava
Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

701 A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign ves-
609 sels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kaua*
726 (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and
i Tua, united as the *uai toina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga,
Yamanuga and Yayi, were together the *muli kaua* (home division). The captain of
the advance canoe of the *mata kaua* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question).
As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was
arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privi-
lege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack
the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the
advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to
give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard
[202] the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced land-
ing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes
to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and
264 came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself
set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first
726 sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish
which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their
malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the
609 protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups
paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for
resistance.

712 No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans.
In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied
701 by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the
same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in
the story of Tuiva.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 643 661 578 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal character, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 579 643 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangaga*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tana to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngaia, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
761 permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over
533 the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *alea* dirge:

539 Moe ma te totu e,
Tutou tatangi ki motu e,
Na muuli kape i mata e, kape ma na vae.

Tino yaulelia, ye vava, yaele wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kukai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia kotou i te kotou tangata,
Wall wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wai mulivaka,
Koa ngalo koe, e ule kaina i te pou te,

Te yiku tala wawall ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatehteka ia hio
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E tolu wavale, e tolu taina,
Aku wakaulnia mai koe ko te wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Nauuisi koe ye Welei,
Ko ye tua na waitunga o tangata o te atu
Yamoa.
Koa yao koa to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tungoungoa wakamanava
Wakamailunga i te kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leka kotou.
E aku taina, ko vave alu au ye Uyo,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Mukeke ake, nenevo.
Koe teka mo to winangale e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house.
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
? Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[29]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[30]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[31]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the
579 people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing,
643 the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came
669 across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailoa. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[29] A character in a popular story.
[30] A reference to the swift passage of Te Palo between Samoa and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[31] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawunga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Ketawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were crushed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
7 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of
639 the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watunoana was
593 quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *lili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tuiao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[354] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwaru, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splashing up the water were blamed by the people to shoals of

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539 further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakatkyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakatkyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakatkyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
627 was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran
along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck
down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other
children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
579 the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

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writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangango* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangango* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *koitau wakayoni*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

> Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale koitau*) for each sex. The *wale koitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*pulpui to wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotoao* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *wahu wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *koitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *koitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*koitau lukipoko*):

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Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

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Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *uia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uia ino*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
F32 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
834 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently
584 a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an inter-
431 mediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *halele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *voa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

595 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively
587 encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *nunuia kai uale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*aiuui*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only.
621 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-
out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver-
632 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wahalume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapa* gifts of food, orna-
ments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both
585 groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalame*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakasauga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a
836 girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotanga* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular
584 presents of fish, mats, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

613 616 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uasle* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

776 771 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Pancau Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *wetau* and coconut trees were linked with the Lala, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wala*, "house eating" or *kai hiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
582 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would
684 punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish
776 a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
613 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules
616 of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
171 explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
226 (each called for this purpose *uakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
578 Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
344 intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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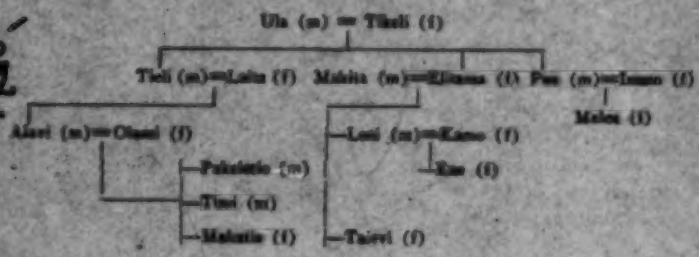

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikili, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sisters. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga* teokoma. Melen is a *hainga* teokoma of Alavi and Lani; Taivi is *hainga* teokoma to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hamen, Pakaletio and Tini are *wale atua* to Ene; Mahatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga* teokoma to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga teokoma may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga* teokoma may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili ainua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama uwhoemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
122 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterise such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dres by various lovers after she realises her cultural position. She will live
582 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau tostos*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakosu* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognised spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
584 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *haiele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *mahatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *koi wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakowa*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[11]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Motonga	Mulivetu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamatunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Mulivetu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamatunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[11] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which were within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

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Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	Keinanga												
Wua Lulu	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wua Kati	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

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recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *kainanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*uale etua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai uale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

839 married husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young man.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practices of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of mentfic, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

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121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They refused principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

[6] There are naturally occasional deviations who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case Histories* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 137–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal taps, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict taps that formerly held between a man and his sister-in-avoidance (females only). The taps was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The disentangling of this taps and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–62). This taps is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations casual marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taps to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Eleanor and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1938).

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ.11 Pukapuka CZ.11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [573] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(siotu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children [548] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [565] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

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To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama hoheti* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama hoheti* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama hoheti* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yami*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*uni tutahi*). It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a secret elopement to a distant *motu* here, where the couple remained hidden from the marriage of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

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In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*uma*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama hoheti* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama hoheti* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's natural mother that some of the *tama hoheti's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine koi wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atoussi*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakokume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakawalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakasonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for

584 the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by

602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When

765 the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wahatane* and *wahapawine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are

881 considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the

867 time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*koheti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a

597 *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *koheti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotoa (p. 259):

> Lotoa is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

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581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
832 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakou taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
584 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

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584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakovas*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

585 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine hai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 822 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wahakuma*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wahatapu* gifts of food, orna- ments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wahaaonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

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584 unwilling, the girl is then taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*woikinua*) and by the presentation
585 of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *wakamaloma*, either at the boy's or the girl's
431 house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts
[574] which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *wawa loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapa*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *mawu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wakawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wakawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wakawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wakawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*wakaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

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to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the 159
bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." 836
He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, "I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. "Are you just infants?" they said. "Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested 150
that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. 834
I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

159 584 836 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had intercourse every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 593 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

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The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*wakaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[586] 152 831 Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 836 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*wia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *wia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *veia ina*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *wia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *wia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

137 586 If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puhi tuvane*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and so punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the 137 operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island. This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-586 day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as 177 long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce (*mahu*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned: where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly, 586 separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal 177 divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*e uenaa mahu tane*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

586 Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is no easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Disposition of Children

582 No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

764 Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*ejaejo*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of textile enclosure called *ie* by sewing four pandanus mats (*hie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a male waist, if a male—a short pandanus mats only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yaas* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *tiki ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before if it is obvious that death is imminent.

[763]

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[11]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[11] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship
588 of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakasongo*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a 836 girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

584 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [834] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

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605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Molingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotea visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uale*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense tapu that exists between *uale atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the tapu *uale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filariid infection of the two *uale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Potuia who married his *uale atua*, Weston, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filariid infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uale atua*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[171]

The attraction of *uale atua* for each other is mentioned among those in the old love
602 songs (*tupu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
539 consummated affection of one *uale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations
835 for the *uale atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from *tupu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matariki koe, ko Tuke au,
Ta matua ma koe pukiu.

Wati mai, e ahu mate atua
E ahuahu, e kapu mate;
Ko vakawa ahu matuaga;
Tuki mite pupu po ki pamu e ko ramaki ia.

You are Matariki (the Pleiades), I am Tuke (Orion)
(We lived) like two brothers together for do (those stars)
Turn to me, oh my *uale atua*
(you are) sacred, you are the tapu place
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I am dead) my spirit (shade) like the beginning (blessing) of the Night whale.

The second chant runs:

Ko vakavaiaoni ahi ai au,
Ko vaka tapu i te ahuahu.

Vakavaiaoni matua ai au
Koe vaiao i ahu kai kaimanga,
Ko ahu kai vakaoa kia koe;
E kai ai taku ahu matuaga,
Ko tuaki au ma mai au,
Ko ahu ai au ma te vaiaoni,
Ko tuai fau ka vakaia,
Ko tuaki fau ka mate atua?

I had fixed my desire (on my *uale atua*),
The tapu place (herself to me) and made fast my desire.
Dead is my heart (with shame),
I go to my shameful food,
With my heart for you;
Unmentionable is the desire of my heart,
(I am) dragged back (by it) as where you sit,
I return mate (this place) by the *uale atua*,
You turn to me that we may talk,
I take our secret understandings: we shall have intercourse, (shall we)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *wale atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai uulenga* (incest).

No reference to *wale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *wale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *wale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
588 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the mar-
177 riage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal cere-
monial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te nuhatitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te nuhaliktinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mamo* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
753 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach
833 and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalisation as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *hiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalela* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *voa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

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413 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
423 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamu* trees, and graves of
245 ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
423 the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections
423 or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[591] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaiva* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uma*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iko ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iko ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mai tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by [888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mile* of the

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatau, makamaniu*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join

[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-hoaring, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island com-

626 munity. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *heinonga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

615 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Member-

773 ship is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 591 621

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 731 173

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[523] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

848

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

[851]

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

613 597 764

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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(a)

Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Fa	M	G	Ad Ch	Son's Wife	Son's Wife's Da	Son's Wife's Ad Ch	Son's Ch	Fr's Da	Fr's Ch	Ad Son's Wife	Ad Son's Ch	Fr's M	Fr's F	Fr's Br
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
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Table 5. Household Composition (b)

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592
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16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Fa Br's Wife	Fa Br's Wife's Illeg Ch	Fa Br's Ch	Fa Br's Son's Wife	Fa Sis	Fa Son's D	Fa Br's Dy Hus	Fa Mo's Sis	Fa Mo Br's Ch	Fa Mo Br's Ch	Fa Mo Br's Dy Hus	Fa Mo Br's Ad Ch	Fa Mo M	Fa Fa Sis	Fa Ad Br's Son	Fa Ad Br's Son's Ch	Fa Ad M	Fa Dy Wife's Sis
														+	+		
							+										

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(c)

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34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
Mr Thr Wife's Bro's Hus	Mr Thr Wife's Bro's Ch	Mr's Ch	Mr's Ch's Ch	Mr's M	Mr's Mr's Hus	Mr's Sis	Mr's Sis's Ch	Mr's Br's Ch	Mr's Br's Bro's Wife	Mr's Br's Bro's Ch	Mr's Br's Wife	Mr's Mr's Sis	Mr's Mr's Sis's Hus	Mr's Mr's Sis's Ch	Mr's Fa Br's Ch	Mr's Ad Br	Mr's Ad Br's Wife
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592 ments. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for
557 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoption

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572 occurred, both of leaving children (*tama nungai*) and of children coming out of
597 (*tama kohoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household.
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In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kohoti* and 10 *tama nungai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a
[612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to
612 function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wongai*, to feed). The adopting
parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually
613 involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wongai*, the child as *tama wongai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless
261 couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 346 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a gener-
162 ation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama*
kokoti. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wongai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wongai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the
843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference.
613 The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provisions for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting
[842] parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for
597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[571] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wangai*)
597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he
591 receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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613 884 788

When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881

Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 591 575

In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 575

A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wokacmaema, tama yele,* or *mayni*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

592 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite
593 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[8]

[8] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, 1937), pp. 152–53.

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku papune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawowine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*to*) controls a section of land (*kauo*) of indeterminate

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[314] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *hanu* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na hanu i te tuna lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auna. Four divisions (*na hanu i te tuna ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wale-kalala, Te Welo, Te Pungua.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
421 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among
individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

Each section (*hanu*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
423 *yikunga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
613 eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
692 lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency
is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or
remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections
on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds
or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
673 day. A tapu (*lawi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
849 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
723 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
775 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
268 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
892 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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423 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
592 to control the house for themselves.
597

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon grouping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of tools, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, malo, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Loto; modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-vaite. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
192 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping
101 of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pane*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yihuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yihuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te *yihuanga* e nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yihuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yihuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *matenga*, or *pokipoki*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*isiu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
551 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
627 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (see *tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592 The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

621 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 218) is sponsored in Loto by
602 her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
592 who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *wile* of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

578 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

177 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
685' from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing
625' talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

(a)

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592
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Household	1 P	2 M	3 C	4 M Ch	5 Sam's Wife	6 Sam's Wife's Sis	7 Sam's Wife's Bro's Ch	8 Sam's Ch	9 Pr Bro	10 Pr Ch	11 M Sam's Wife	12 M Sam's Ch	13 Pr M	14 Pr F	15 Pr Sis
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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592
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Table 5. Household Composition (b)

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
F's Br's Wife	F's Br's Wife's Illeg Ch	F's Br's Ch	F's Br's Son's Wife	F's Sis	F's Sis's D	F's Sis's D's Hus	F's M's Sis	F's M's Sis's Ch	F's M's Br's Ch	F's M's Br's D's Hus	F's M's Br's Ad Ch	F's M's M	F's F's Sis	F's Ad F's Son	F's Ad F's Son's Ch	F's Ad M	F's Dec Wife's Sis
														+	+		
							+										

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

(c)

591/592/162

34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
Fa Da Wife's Sis Hus	Fa Da Wife's Sis Ch	Mr Ch	Mr's Br's Ch	Mr M	Mr's Br's Hus	Mr Sis	Mr's Sis's Ch	Mr's Br's Ch	Mr's Br's Son's Wife	Mr's Br's Son's Ch	Mr's Br's Wife	Mr Mr's Sis	Mr's Mr's Br's Hus	Mr's Mr's Sis's Ch	Mr's Fa Br's Ch	Mr's Mo Br	Mr's Mo Br's Wife
						+											
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592 ments. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 5 to 8 persons account for
597 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoptions

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592 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama nungai*) and of children "cut off"
597 (*tama kokoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

162 In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kokoti* and 10 *tama nungai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a
[612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*koboti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*uungai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua koboti*, the child *tama koboti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua uungai*, the child as *tama uungai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for talo beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *koboti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama koboti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama uungai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama uungai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama koboti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama koboti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

5 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ex. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans

854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

592 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite
593 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[8]

[8] In Pukapukan, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (have a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's nursing. Besides its early sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage stands to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 152–53.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

152 fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
146 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
159 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later becoms a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[611 613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

547 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

[842]

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

867 578 543

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakaemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was
593 quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
571 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[554] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[3] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
853 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut
846 cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[3] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

6;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

572 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly
543 defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[3]

[3] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experience of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229-33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 152-73.

6. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[823] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

809 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

8Beaglehole and Beaglehole--10 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

572 Humor.

Loito, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wan i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

527 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mata (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

526 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kohoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki langa ki te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tare [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 115
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
● 593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584- asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
[837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [834] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*lumo*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[11]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[11] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

121 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *uuuine kai uulu*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atuuai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *uukakuna*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *uukatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*uukamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*uukamanga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a 831 girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotanga* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, mats, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this [illegible]. Willing or

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423 she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough
592 to control the house for themselves.
597

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of vessels, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, nets, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lotu, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te
192 Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
101 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pana*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yihuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yihuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yihuanga.e nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yihuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yihuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *mactinga*, or *poligali*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*iuka*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

857 When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
599 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tua*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tua*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngaki's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tua* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
621 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mai tuanga tua*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so
592 must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

621 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5-5, 248) is sponsored in Loto by
602 her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngaki by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who
592 also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tua* of that man in Ngaki. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tua* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngaki with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngaki, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the
621 same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
623 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mile* of the

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
591 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[323] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

264 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama te taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama te taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's
613 father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
577 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage cemetery into
764 which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the
177 father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yelongo* units. Village membership
614 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Infor-
797 mants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
621 born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nilo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
578 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
612 elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yelongo*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.
574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
616 for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (1931, p. 297), speaking of Vaitupian social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapukan also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
198 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e tuhaumarua te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

562 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Moliwera lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late
597 chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hoketi*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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613 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male
643 child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by
the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yesa*) around the man's neck. After the
597 chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they
disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament
[776 (*yesa*) round the neck of the successor and the *tuumanea* ornament (a string of pearl-
782] shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

613 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated
643 by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly
title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.
173 The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional
founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation.
773 From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakanyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakanyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should prepare a test; if Yakanyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakanyika chose Kai, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kai took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hape* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kai struck them in rapid succession, shouting with the every leaf before it touched the ground.

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592 ments. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority
591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for
557 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoptions

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592 occurred, both of feeding children (*toma mangai*) and of children "cut off"
597 (*toma kokoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:
162

In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *toma kokoti* and 10 *toma mangai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a
[612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*uungai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua uungai*, the child as *tama uungai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama uungai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama uungai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meas-

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597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama kokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama kokoti* is adopted before birth:

597 When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the
843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama kokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and
613 with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group
[842] that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be respon-
597 sible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[931] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, canoes, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama kokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama kokoti*, the feeding child (*tama uongai*)
597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to have

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597 the feeding relationship into a permanent *kokoti* relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a renaming of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

597 An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a
848 woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his *tama kokoti*. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

597 A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to *kokoti* and *nuagai* children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationships is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

Two men, Lepuama and Tiela, are cross cousins. Lepuama adopted as *tama kokoti* the son of Tiela. Tiela in turn decided to adopt from Lepuama. He contracted for Lepuama's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiela's sorrow, Lepuama's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

597 The exchange is termed *yoani* (gift), *yoani mai* (to receive in exchange),
431 or *yoani atu* (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a sentimental tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned tale beds—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called *yoani*. The practice of

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giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

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Adopting Parent	Child: Kokoti	Child: Wangai
Paternal		
1. Father's brother	4	-
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	-
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	-
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	-
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	-
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	-
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	-
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	-
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	-
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	3	-
15. Father's mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	2	-
Father's adopted paternal relatives:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	-
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	-
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	-
Maternal		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	-
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	-
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	-
Mother's paternal relatives:		
23. Mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	11	-
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	-
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	-
Mother's maternal relatives:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	-
Mother's adopted maternal relatives:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	-
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	-	1
Totals	77	14

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The census records three examples of adoption of *tuno kokoti*, the adopting parent then giving the child (*hove ta tuno*) to another paternal lineage not the parents' own.

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597/613 To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama kokoti* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama kokoti* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama kokoti* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yawi*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*uni tutaki*). It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a unique elopement to a distant sand bay, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

[583]

597/613/611 In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*uma*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama kokoti* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama kokoti* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama kokoti's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother requires the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

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[611 613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

547 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

[842]

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice titbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 543 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralise on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterising avoidance

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605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

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605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wahetane* and *wahevavine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus leave little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

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605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

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605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotea (p. 259):

Lotea is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotea to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotea's husband,

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko,
[563 but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
597] Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matahoua* basis (p. 374), went out in
177 canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92] below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngaueliwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

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152 fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
165 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
159 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tamaana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practice of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to envision, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by putting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lion (7-yr), the adopted child of Mere and Lehua, comes back to Mere's house from working
169 in the bush with Lehua, eats some food, throws off his lap-lap and then starts to walk down the
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579 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
157 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
152 runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house
on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from
her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy
[839] and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and mas-
turbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow
Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is
perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted
mother's house.

579 The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
857 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
157 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a
favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unwilling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mata" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

577/154 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859/169 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864/831/513 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864/521/844/831 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but voluntaryed accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on passing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior is recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--10 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

[illegible] Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

[illegible] Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wutau wood, and are about 29 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kohoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

622 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

779 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [582] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and 1/5
capable. She was one of our best informants, and her
honesty is unquestioned.

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto 159
village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were
both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently [165]
but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I
was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also [597]
adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently
with this couple from the time when my adopted mother
weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were
not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the
fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real
parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they
treated me differently from my adopted parents. They
seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some 159
way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now 593
very definitely how they treated me but I must have been 597
gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other
children commented to me on the way I was going to my
blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy
to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity
for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be
with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly
kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me
whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one
who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly.
This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not
so concerned for their children and let them get on with their
companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and 159
continued so until the death of my adopted mother which 593
occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the
death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like
other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time.
After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-
parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my
mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[611/613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

597 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *lava* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

[842]

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

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KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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relationships, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities. Dual lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and easily kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The intension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; at all other times, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

[551]

Table 7. Kinship Terms

Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal
2	Tupuna tane (great uncle) Tupuna wawine (great aunt)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (spouse's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (uncle) Matua wawine (aunt)	Matua tane (father) Matua wawine (mother)	Matua angawai tane (father-in-law) Matua angawai wawine (mother-in-law)
0	Cousins of same sex as speaker, taina; cousins of opposite sex to speaker, kainga wainana or wafe atua	Siblings of same sex as speaker, taina; siblings of opposite sex to speaker, tua tane (w. s.), tua wawine (m. s.), kainga (m. or w. s.)	Tuakana tane (brother-in-law), tuakana wawine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tao tangata
—1	Tamatane (nephew), tamawawine (niece)	Tamatane (son), tamawawine (daughter)	Umonga tane (son-in-law), umonga wawine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives at this level generally, kanga tangata, as, tua kanga tane, brothers of tane and daughter-in-law.
—2	Mahopuna tane (great nephew) Mahopuna wawine (great niece)	Mahopuna tane (grandson), mahopuna wawine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, ali wawine na taku mahopuna tane, wife of my male grandchild.

601

One important characteristic of the Pukapukan system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother *taina tane*. By the use of the terms tane

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 (before, first), *loto* (middle), *muli* (behind, after) it is possible sufficiently to indicate seniority differences according to the Pukapukan pattern. The word *tuntua* is occasionally applied by an older brother or sister to a younger sibling of the same or opposite sex. There are no special terms other than the descriptive words just given indicating seniority in cross sex reference; thus a younger brother calls an older sister *tua wawine mua*. Today, with [177] the breakdown of the native system, Rarotongan kinship terms indicating seniority are commonly used. Sex differences on the zero stratum are indicated by the use of the terms *taina* between siblings of the same sex, *tua tane* or *tua wawine* between siblings of the opposite sex. Some informants tend to apply the term *kainga* (to be distinguished from the term *kainga wakama*, which indicates cousins of opposite sex) to siblings of opposite sex. In this sense the term is constantly used in folk stories, but one at least of our best informants did not agree with this use of the term, and others changed their opinion several times during the course of temporally separate discussions about the matter. Sex differences for other terms are indicated by the words *tane* and *wawine* for male and female respectively.

Descriptive terms are used to indicate remote relationships on each stratum if exactness of reference is required. Affinal relatives generally, at the zero and minus one stratum, are called *tao tangata* and *konga tangata* respectively. These words refer to close relatives by marriage connection, not by blood. A child of an unmarried mother is a *tama to taku*; spouse's child by another man or woman is *tama tau tokalua*. Conversely, blood mother or father's mate is *matua tau tokalua*. Blood parents are *matua wawa* as opposed to adoptive parents, *matua lave*.

The eldest child, male or female, in a family is called the *uluaki*. *Ngaloto* is applied to the second child in a family of three or four children; to the second and third children in a family of five children; to the second, third, and fourth children in a family of six children. *Taina* is used for the next to last child in a family of more than three children. *Wakamuli* is the last child in any family. *Aukimua* is the heir apparent in the chiefly family, the boy either chosen by the father or generally reckoned to be the child likely to succeed to the title. *Angavale* (grandchild) is a term with more affectionate feeling tone than the colorless word *makopuna*.

In spite of the strong matriliny in Pukapukan society, there is no special term for mother's brother, nor any indication of special obligations or privileges between mother's brother and sister's child, corresponding to the *tamana* or *vasu* relationships of Samoa and Fiji. The word *ilamutu*, however, has meaning for the Pukapukan:

It is now an archaic word, found only in old chants, and not in current usage. A man's adopted child (*tama hekoti*) of either sex who is the blood child of a female blood relative of his own generation—that is, of his older or younger blood sister, or of his

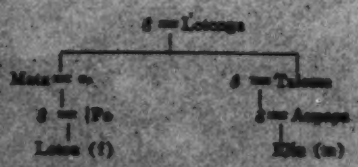
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu;* the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the
603 term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The
114 word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to
778 anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

606 Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as
602 *koinga wakana* or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance.
[777] But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *koinga wakana*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *koinga wakana* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *koinga wakana* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *koinga wakana* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



> Mata and Taloma are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elia, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

1: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935
601, 602, 611

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, inco
been filed in category 116: for kinship terminology, rule of
tionships, see pp. 16-18.]

rect or duplication has only
escent and avoidance rela-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
205 of copra. For some time a Burns Philip trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
771 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
672 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
602 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
191 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[129] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga*
tau. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless
continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom
the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is
closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A
man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*,
even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share
262 of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's
sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from
the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*wai tuanga tau*). The food
621 share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so
must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592 The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children
to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this
exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by
her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who
592 also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant rela-
tive of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a
tuanga tau of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of
residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in
Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household,
the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum
share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two vil-
lages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties
with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman
makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her
old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the
same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by
change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing
food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and con-
test teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affili-
ation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the
village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the
village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the
village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mito* of the

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Village	Patrilineal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwatu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	I Tua	One aliki woko, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yakongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the subchiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*ouanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

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Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

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The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *tukayomoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old mats and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

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In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takienga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

[133]

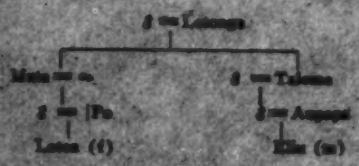
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child *my ilamutu;* the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 605 114 728 /Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakova* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakova* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakova*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakova* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakova*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakova*.

605 602 [m] Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hainga wakana* or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga wakana*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga wakana* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common blood of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga wakana* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *hainga wakana* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Taloma are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elia, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

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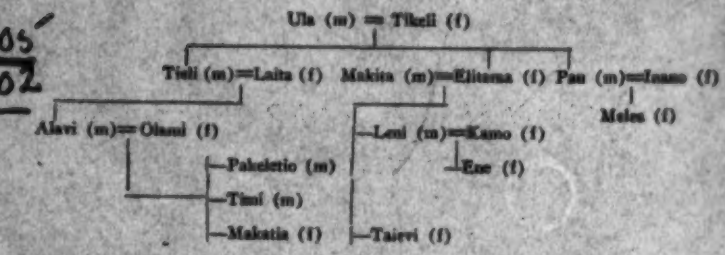

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wahama*. Meles is a *hainga wahama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wahama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wahama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga wahama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wahama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the taps at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

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605 The taps between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wahinetane*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship taps. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship taps that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the taps have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-taps relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest taps is established.

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605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he comes to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

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605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotea (p. 299):

Lotea is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotea to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Vati, Lotea's husband,

i:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Ella, and Malingi, Ella's wife, visits with Vai. Neither Ella nor Lotea visits for opposite hours, even when he knows the *ende atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *ende atua* are involved in a case. Neither *ende atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *ende atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense taupo that exists between *ende atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the taupo *ende atua* become so absorbed as to commencing an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the
753 couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was fatal infection of the two *ende atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of illness today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *ende atua* found in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pukalo who married his *ende atua*, Wanua, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren, all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from fatal infection. One old man, a good Christian, solemnly assured me that his illness was due to the fact that his first wife, was his *ende atua*, when he married in an access of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old taupo were superstitious. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

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The attraction of *ende atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
602 chants (*hupe*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a beautiful or in a sentimental selection of one *ende atua* for another. When asked for explanations
539 for the *ende atua* taupo, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupe*. The contradiction is obvious and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

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Ko. Hinaulia koe, ko Tuku au	You are [illegible] (my Friend), I am Tuku (Gulan)
Te ende ma koe galeo	(Or, [illegible]) the two [illegible] together [illegible]
Mali ana, e taku [illegible]	There to me, oh my *ende atua*
E [illegible], e taku [illegible]	[illegible]
Ko [illegible] ana [illegible]	(Or, [illegible]) my heart has [illegible]
Kati [illegible] ko te [illegible] ma.	(When I am [illegible]) my [illegible] like the [illegible] of the [illegible]

The second short verse:

E [illegible] [illegible]	I [illegible] my [illegible] (my *ende atua*),
E [illegible] / ko [illegible]	The [illegible] upon ([illegible] to me) and [illegible] my [illegible]
E [illegible] *ende* [illegible] au	[illegible] to my [illegible] (my *ende atua*),
Ko [illegible] ana [illegible] [illegible]	I go to my [illegible] [illegible]
E [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	With my [illegible] for [illegible]
E [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] in the [illegible] of my heart,
E [illegible] ana ko te [illegible]	(I am) [illegible] [illegible] (Or it) to where you [illegible]
Ko [illegible] ko te [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] (this place) by the *ende atua*
Kati [illegible] koe ko [illegible]	[illegible] to me, that we [illegible]
Mamali ana [illegible] [illegible] ko te [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tape is clear from the man's remark in this
about that his love for his *ende ature* is *kai hanonga* (food of shameful abnormality)
835 and, further, *kai ensinga* (incest).

No reference to *ende ature* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

The kinship tapes are best preserved today among the older people.
182 Among the younger generations, several *ende ature* have married:

602 In one *ende* marriage, the husband had to wink his protesting relatives by being
588 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *ende ature* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tape, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of sympathetic friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal correspondence is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te mahelikinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mahelikinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te mana ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mana*) in both the male and female (*mana* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "*tang*"). The male secretion enters the female *mana*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *mana*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
833 pressed to indicate the locus of the *mana* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mana* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mana* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, that the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Fuu, a native medicine man. His theory is that the *mana* of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

164 walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*unhu'aya*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

164 605 839 154 602 It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uahe-ennga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for bottled-up emotions.

164 As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*unlonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[13] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. [574] Each visitor also brings a gift of mats or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[13] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on expansive inhalation.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
539 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was
593 quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island
602 for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[162] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made.
177 Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *hili langi* or *la hupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutae*
[354] because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwatu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people scuttled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yakwalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splashing up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
601, 602, 611

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for kinship terminology, rule of descent and avoidance relationships, see pp. 16-18.]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu*; the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

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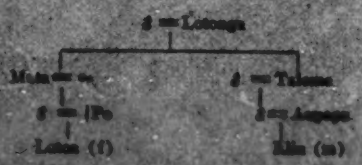
605 Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as
602 *hainga wakana* or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of
[77] relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga wakana*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga wakana* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga wakana* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *hainga wakana* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Takana are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elia, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

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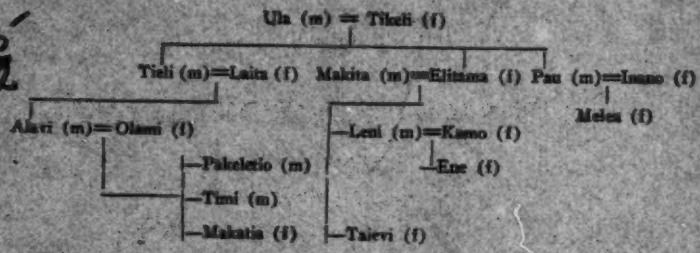

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wakama*. Meles is a *hainga wakama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wakama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wakama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga wakama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wakama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

[578] In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a 584 boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by 602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension 760 by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 200.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become 881 sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wahinemaine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are 867 considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*kokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a 597 *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *kokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Elia and Loton (p. 259):

Loton is some years older than Elia. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Loton to cross the road one day to the rear of Elia's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Elia retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Loton's husband,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Molingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *wale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *wale atua* are involved in a case. Neither *wale atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *wale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense *tapu* that exists between *wale atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the *tapu* *wale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcast by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *wale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *wale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pukuia who married his *wale atua*, Woetau, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly
[171] assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *wale atua*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with no idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

The attraction of *wale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
602 chants (*hupu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
539 consummated affection of one *wale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *wale atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from
835 *hupu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matariki koe, ko Toka wa	You are Matariki (the Pleiades), I am Toka (Orion)
Ko rawa ma koe pukoa	(We Bad) like two hounds together (as do these stars)
Waili mai, e taku wale atua	Turn to me, oh my *wale atua*
E tinakova, e hungu tatiga	You are sacred, you are the tapu place
Ko wakawaro aku matatiki	(For which) my heart has longed;
Tuki mai pana ga ia pana e ia tamaia ia.	(When I see you) my pulse pounds like the trumpeting (blowing) of the Night whale.

The second chant runs:

Ko wakawaroa aku ai ma	I had dared my desires (on my wale atua),
Ko ruku tanga i te ai ruku	The desires opposed (herself to me) and satisfied my desires,
Wakawaroa aku ai ma	Dried is my heart (with shame),
Koe ngaro (ngaro) ngaro	Gone to my shameful food,
Ko ngaro lui wakaga kia hoa	With my lover for you;
E kini ra taku tuku matatiki	Unmentionable is the desire of my heart,
Ko tuaki ou ne mai au,	(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
Ko pili ou ne ia ngatanga,	I return tear (this place) by the main road
Waili mai koe ia ngatanga	You turn to me (but we may talk)
Waili mai koe ngaro: wakaga ma ia ma?	I hide our secret understanding: we shall have intercourse, shall we?

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

164 walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*wale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*wakatuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

164 605 839 154 602 It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *wakaeunga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

164 As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*matonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] [574] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A liberal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalations.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 erred husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of words, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They referred principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *Histories* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 235-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man
582 and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 299-64). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Eleanor and Ernest Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms.,

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[Information on a form of adoption, a partial or feeding adoption, that assumes some characteristics of an artificial kin relationship will be found in category 597.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
[60] ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm
191 and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that
777 time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
163] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tiose, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
642 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London
794 Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Puka puka—analyst]

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*uaiatiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac-
578 companied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture.
864 Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
201 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
576 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in
832 detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolon (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano kua ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
257 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of
621 representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the
609 three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its
621 own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe
476 building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals
[578] composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several
626 ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy
476 in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 Te pivaʼ ale, mako pipiko, — Pig sculling, mako sculling,
626 E kiai ya wano la tau — (He) has not gone to the fish (beach to defecate)
461 Tuku la ki ve wakayaya — (He has) placed himself in secretiveness
Kiae mea kea e so ai. — No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uwlo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *eumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uelo* bark (*uuti uelo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamannin sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awusawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uelo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uelo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tun and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *eumanga pakayau hetauu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *uuti uelo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tun was associated with the goddess Taun. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupengo po*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taun had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taun donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taun had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki hekeo*. It was associated with Te Aunu Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
764 to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
609 people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
622 interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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to be *mata hiohioi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata hiohioi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *mahalahapiko;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *mahalahapiko*. This word is distinguished from the words *uitoki*, *uiuoki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *uitoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *uitoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *mahamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *mahamitamita:* On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yemulumulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu tuhauya*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata hohinogo;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yohoyoho;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *mimai;* a person who is greedy for food is *hopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai yae;* one who steals food is *hoyoyoyu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *hohai mato*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *vaiefibo*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupuyaya*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *hanu:* a crippled person has a *hanu;* a bald-headed man has a *hanu* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *tokia vaia* (my enemy or my hated person), *tokia maia* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, tokia vaia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uai vaia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uai maia*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ya uai vaia* (one who does not make enemies), *or e ya uaikoki* (one who does not select people).

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196 181 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it [182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but beads of *welo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

609 182 [118] With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a 193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without 181 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *ao* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uvlo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of summit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of summit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*uvle lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uvle mokayumoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*uvanga ye*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tana, who

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by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kalusa and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tana. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waleto (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *haleva mosa* (*haleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *wata hawa* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uei tuiua* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli hawa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *wata hawa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka*
173 tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
609 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present
[563 Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
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That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*pasyi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakaua* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92 below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngaualiwali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief
561 to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvesting that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

571 The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-to-waka. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
192 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping
101 of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *fanu*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yiluanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yiluanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yiluanga a nono I te ngutuwale o Man" (the people of the *yiluanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yiluanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *hatili*, *matiaga*, or *pelipali*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the kin were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*kale*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions.
562 Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Man i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Man" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko tauna?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

591 When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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613 because the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

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773 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all
616 land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

616 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were
773 Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it
613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this
773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was
616 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages
616 (*kainanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*kainanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *polenge* units. Village membership is the rule for taxes organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nelo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and then helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

612 621 618 574

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*moleme*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*polenge*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

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It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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Kennedy (1931:297), speaking of Vaitupian social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
644 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
522 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
> 561 a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wonau au i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meina ataata* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *meina ya* (tape moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *meina ataata*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kotiguami (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kainucomoc (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kamuneto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kamiki (children).
Tamaloaga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or bib): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalao: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loga and tamawawine.
Tuna and tuvine: married men and women, adults with families.
Malivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama hoketi* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama hoketi* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama hoketi* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yami*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*mei tutuki*). It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a [583] union elopement to a distant sand key, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

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In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*tuai*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama hoketi* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama hoketi* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama hoketi's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

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[611/613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

597 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama hakoti* or *tama tuangai*, and *matua hakoti* or *laua* or *matua tuangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama hakoti* is considered to be the child [842] of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by putting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 543 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human beings or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for kinship terminology, rule of descent and avoidance relationships, see pp. 16-18.]

618 period, organization was in terms of either mata or pokopo units. Village membership
616 is the rule for mata organization today, so that Lotu village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
597 village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (nofo) in Yato. In an inter-village contest
621 he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and then helping to defeat the
578 village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the
226 man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
612 elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malaia*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*pokopo*) principle.
621 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was
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Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of
574 maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserve and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
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597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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178 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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592 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama manga*) and of children "cut off"
597 (*tama hakoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

162 In these 30 households there is a total of 48 *tama hakoti* and 10 *tama manga*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 3 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 30 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a
[612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

571 572 612 shown, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should not be underestimated whether the society is patrilineal or matrilineal; second, from the fact that the people who create a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interactions of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of concrete material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (kakai, to eat) and partial or feeding adoption (tamaki, to feed). The adopting parents are matua kakai, the child tama kakai. Complete adoption usually 647 involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding 613 parents are known as matua tamaki, the child as tama tamaki. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal 613 motive is the desire of a childless man to endure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless 261 couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for tuo beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, by mutual arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected (in the household census):

597 Of the total of 328 persons of all ages included in the census, 20 (2.9 percent) 162 have at some time been adopted by the kakai adoption. Of any persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the household, 44 (10.5 percent) are tama kakai. Of the remaining 288 persons, 19 (7.2 percent) are tama tamaki living with their feeding parents. The percentage of tama tamaki in the total of any persons of 591 the generation below mother and father is 6.6%. Of the 42 who are completely adopted (tama kakai) in this generation level, 28 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the tama kakai is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meno-

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to make any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate ate, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the leaves of an old mat, [illegible] in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground, where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its head to its mother. It was wiped with salted rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
and by the naming of the child:

574 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's
612 parents prepare food, first for the *pauki* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
594 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uhuki*),
612 the *punti* feast is followed several days later by the *uuele* food division. If the *uhuki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *taumamayanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uuele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uuele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uaiva*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[75] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uuele lopo*) or a girl a girl's house (*uuele tamamaiva*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mon (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apauna (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however ridiculous, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

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821 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *mauake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
787 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by
324 thunder (*matitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments
[847] for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree or when a meteor (*mata wai kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*waawa*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te wale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the
821 south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawawine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
423 (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
311 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[944] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *hanas* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*ne hanas i te tanu lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiuna, Te Wele-i-te-kikiki, Te Aunu. Four divisions (*ne hanas i te tanu ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipuia *po*. Their names are: Te Uta, Wele-kakaia, Te Wenu, Te Puapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Nina in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
428 the section. Coconut trees of the first type demand in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

433 Each section (*hanas*) is further subdivided into homestead lots owned
613 by lineage. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
692 marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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613 The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead
423 lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukana* trees, and graves of
245 ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

428 At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend
613 in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A
178 man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

312 In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of
423 the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

613 No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections
423 or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuki* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuki* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal
[591] lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaye* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uma*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
673 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
245 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
578 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
844 talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
731 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
423 to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Urupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
725 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children,
768 blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
892 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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574 to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christ-
621 mas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish
262 pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa,
731 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*lai*). This
527 was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

431 The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth
574 throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the character-
264 istic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name,
527 *inu hai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast.
The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu hai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

431 To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and un-
264 cooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu hai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy.
574 On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the
476 division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

527 Named Pukapukan feasts are:

431 1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induc-
574 tion of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such
621 as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three
613 villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

527 2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lavi*) on village
food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*,
262 as *lavaya kawu* (crabs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures
that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers.
If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last
for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village
men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be
[621] made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or
second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as
a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other
food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakanaliunga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *manotanga*.

5. *Kavehave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other
[623] inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wale, *taunayanga*, and *puki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *waikinua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia wale* and *hakakunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *laulinua*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Inua hai o te wau* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
574 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

527 Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Laumatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *matala*
262 *ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *linpolinga* (land shells), feasts
613 of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fish food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *yionga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have inti-

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431 mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to
514 the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households;
527 when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve
262 stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A
613 little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food
[572] exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupale*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *taukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaaga* group of fishermen (p. 261) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aunaga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and
252 coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*hinahi*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iko ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoiko*, and to make fire thus is *mata ami*.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*vahamanea* or *mea vahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*tahoue*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
796 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
643 garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malokitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumulangi, was made of nested two-ply twisted
7 78 sennit and called *epa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting
776 the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *malo* fiber (*epa malo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa taaliki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *le hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828] whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorised person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata hewa* or *taumata aliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Filato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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286 294 19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

292 293 178 776 787 The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

292 293 302 776 613 The headdress of priests of Muliwuta was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Lauapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulow*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau hotaua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupunga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes. 609 778

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki heheo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaon. The long hair was oiled and braided

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle
292 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the
793 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Mamgatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of
776 which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this
613 turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*tausmata*), necklace (*yei*), or
302 waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist
832 as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake
293 make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 The *titi muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split
294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

778 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early mission-
172 ary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make
291 walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a
central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Poly-
228 nesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice
Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative
346 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure
adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted
[361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others,
each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred man standing inside
the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at
once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularise these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*piongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pae-*
613 *pae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the
foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one founda-
341 tion are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted;
on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[177] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Chris-
tian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly
565 to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners
764 (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki uale* and *uai aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*mahutonu, mahutonuia*), a young man or woman may change (*uilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers

884 and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join

[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *uilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

156 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *heinaunga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *uua* was discussed with informants on several different

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[124] occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *wae*:

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Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taku kiki ma mo kunga ia ma, ma ma Tumulivaka, ma ma Matalihi ma tama ia. Koa matutu i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau iaia ma tama a Punga Momoto: ko te manga, ko te tawola, ko te wai ika gau. Yau ma toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kavea, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wai tupua o kunga o te wenua. Ko ma tama ia a kua ko te wai ika o te wenua, ko te wai tupua a kunga o te wenua. Kua nano latou i kunga o te wenua, mua latou i ma yunga kikina.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Matalihi. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili ina te ruma, ko Matalihi. Lupa ina ki te ruka mai kunga o te kangi. Mimia loa ma tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia ina latou. Mimia loa ma toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, mamai; mai te tawola, te manga, te kakai, te gau, te wonu,—te wai ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo; mai te kikiotawaki, te atoloua, te tiwiwi, te yuma, te kamamai, te tua kakoti,—ko te wai ika i loto o te alo. Yau ma toe yuma a kua, uka ki kalo o te wenua, mai te kaigau, te unga, te kavea, te kiola, ko te wai tupua i kunga o te wenua. Ko ma toe tama a kua, welele atu ki ma kunga manano i ma toe pa wenua, mamai: welele iakunga o te ulawenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolunga,—te wai manu e welele ia kunga. Wanau ai te wanga o te manga, e tangata i kunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wae o latou, ko te wae o Te Manga. Pein oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tana tino o te tawola ia, ma wanu ki te moana, tapu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama ma wanau i kunga o te wenua, tapai loa tana ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wai Tawola.

The god Matalihi became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Kuwetua*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kikiotawaki*, the *atoloua*, the *tiwiwi*, the *yuma*, the *kamamai*, the *tua kakoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaigau* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *wae* was given, the *wae* of Te Manga (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wai Tawola (the branch of the whales).

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* The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

539 Ko te tapuanga o te Wim Lulu: Ko te ana ko te vavine ko Iolo ana ko te vavine, e tapu ana ai te tangata. Wheneai ai Iolo, tapu ai tangata. E vaea ko te ai Pukapuka. Fa ki ohi ne tuma a Punga Momoto: e vaea ohi te ana ko tapu ana ai. Tapu ko te vaea, ko te Wim Lulu.

Wheneai ai ne tuma a Te Mauga, e te tangata i haga o te vaeaea nei: ko Te Lulu, e tamavine ne Te Mauga; ko Yelou, ko te ko tamavine a Te Mauga; e ko ana ne Te Mauga. Wahenaga i a Lulu ko vaeaga, tapu ana. Pelu ohi i a Yelou.

Ko Te Tuvale, ko vaeaei tamaiki Te Tuvale; Ko Te Yelu, ko te ko tuma a Te Tuvale; ko Te Mauga o Te Mauna, ko te ko tuma a Te Tuvale. E ko ne tuma a Te Tuvale, ko Te Yelu ne Te Mauna. Pua ai ne tamaiki a Punga Momoto ne vaeaea o te vaeaea.

Ko ne tamaiki a Punga Momoto ne ana ki ngatea: Ko Te Kuli, ko Pukapuka te ko, ko Mokuna te ko, ko Te Lawala te ko. Ko te ko tuma a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te ko, Kaukaua. Ko te vaeaea i Kiole, vaeaea nei ai te tangata; pelu ohi te vaeaea a Kaukaua, pelu ohi te vaeaea a Pukapuka, pelu ohi te vaeaea a Mokuna, pelu ohi te vaeaea a Te Lawala. Kua vaeaea a kaua tamaiki vaeia ki haga o te vaeaea. Kua vaeia te tangata ki haga o te vaeaea.

As to the growth of the Wim Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called ana. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a ana also which grew from them. The ana grew, the Wim Lulu. (This included both the ana of Te Mauga and the branch of the Tuvale.)

The children of Te Mauga, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lulu was a daughter of Te Mauga; Yelou, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mauga. Lulu produced her offspring; they grew. Yelou did the same.

As to Te Tuvale, Te Tuvale had children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tuvale. The branch of Te Mauna (the Bird) was another child of Te Tuvale. There were two children of Te Tuvale, Te Yelu and Te Mauna. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the ana.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who did inland, (that is) the Kuli: Pukapuka was one, Mokuna another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat): another, Kaukaua. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kaukaua, of Pukapuka, also the children of Mokuna and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 Note: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mamiki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of these things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came down hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named their sphere after the fauna of their new environment, brackish and shoals, and these names

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613 because the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an
[539] important social group.

In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there
773 were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all
616 land creatures; hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uilá, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua
773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it
613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this
773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was
616 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*kiinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups.
616 Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*kiinanga*, *momo*, or *nanga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Loloa c. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	d. Pukapuka e. Malemu f. Lawala g. Walawale
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Mango—Keinanga	h. Kava i. Lokie j. Yeitae
	4. Wua Tawola—Keinanga	k. Yalo l. Yelu m. Manu

Informants tended to visualize the matter in terms of a tree with spreading branches and limbs (fig. 53). The names of the sub-lineages as given in this figure represent a final decision by informants. Other lists, procured at an earlier period of field work, differ a little in the given names. A second list of lineages and sub-lineages, probably for a later date when some sub-lineages had died out or were displaced by other named groups, is given below. The first list is probably the classic list; the second is the grouping as some understand it today.

Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	c. Malemu d. Lawala e. Pukapuka
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Lulu—Keinanga	f. Mango g. Kava h. Lokie i. Yeitae j. Lakawanga
	4. Wua Layo or Yalo—Keinanga	k. Yelu l. Tawola m. Manu

An analysis of the lineage membership of 160 adults showed 89 members of the Wua Lulu, 69 of the Wua Kati, 1 of Layo, and 1 member of Yalo.

The individual who first gave his membership as Wua Layo, Keinanga Tawola, later gave his affiliation as Wua Lulu, Keinanga Kava. Sixteen who said they belong to Keinanga Lakawanga gave Lulu as their major maternal grouping; one member of Keinanga Lakawanga gave Yalo as his major maternal grouping; this last is either a mistake or else Wua Lulu is to be understood as moiety Lulu, which is more likely. The three persons who gave their grouping as Uila, Keinanga Kiole, are brothers and a sister; a third brother said he was a member of Wua Kati, Keinanga Kati. Kati was given as the major maternal grouping of 16 other members of the Keinanga Kiole; here again Kati must have the sense of moiety. The point to note, however, is that the large majority, 155 out of 160, gave as their *wua* either Lulu or Kati, thus giving the very definite impression that these two groupings are still functioning in Pukapukan society as effective moiety groupings of the maternal lineages.

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Each of the 160 adults professed membership in one of 12 different sub-lineages (this excepting the person who gave a double identification, first, Layo, Tawola; then Lulu, Kava). The active sub-lineages in the moiety Lulu are: Mango, Lakawanga, Yelu, Kava, Yeitae, Lokie; those in the moiety Kati: Kiole, Pukapuka, Kenakena, Lawala, Kati. The relative numerical strength of the sub-lineages is: Kava (L) 36; Yelu (L) 24; Kati (K) 20; Kiole (K) 18; Lakawanga (L) 18; Pukapuka (K) 12; Kenakena (K) 11; Mango (L) 7; Lawala (K) 5; Yeitae (L) 4; Lokie (L) 4. The relative numerical strength of these sub-lineages might possibly be altered by adding in figures from Loto village, but, because there seems to be an equality in the village distributions of the sub-lineages, the relative strengths would not differ materially from the serial order given above.

Twenty individuals gave their affiliation as Keinanga Kati, Wua Kati, either because they did not know their sub-lineage and gave only their moiety, an unlikely matter, or else because some individuals claim descent through a major maternal lineage directly and not through any sub-lineage. When the smaller groups were formed by the breaking away of lineages, some individuals remained members of the original *wua* grouping, so that the four *wua* must be considered both as groupings of smaller sub-lineages and also as single lineages in their own right. This single *wua* descent is noted for both Kati and Mango in the above list of membership strength. No examples are on record for Tawola or Lulu, but doubtless they do occur also.

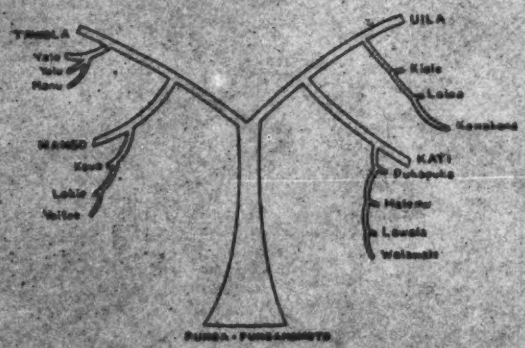

FIGURE 33.—Branching of maternal sub-lineages (*kekenanga*), from informant's drawing. Main trunk of tree represents total population; main branches four main groupings of maternal lineages (*wua*); remaining smaller branches, individual sub-lineages.

The *wua* membership of the 38 heads of households in Ngahe village was noted; 16 belong to the Lulu division, 20 to the Kati division. This shows a reasonable amount of moiety equality, and seems to indicate in fact that there is no tendency to either moiety or lineage localization. This is presumably explained by the rule of patrilocal marital residence.

The internal organization of each maternal lineage is simple. The head (*mahotanile* or *mahalulu*) of the lineage is the oldest man or woman in the

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613/616 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uaele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

[770 771] No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Pateuu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uriou* and coconut trees were linked with the Luiu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai uale*, "house eating" or *kai*
684 *hiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
776 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
616 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
171 explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
226 (each called for this purpose *toshatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
598 a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group, which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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PATERNAL LINEAGES

613/764 There are seven principal paternal lineages in Pukapuka. Each lineage is a *po*. The word *koinga* is used synonymously with *po*, but informants thought this usage modern. The term *po* is also applied to the burial ground associated with each paternal group. Other meanings of *po* are "night" and the "Underworld". When a man talks of his *po*, he means his paternal lineage and the piece of ground where he will be buried. The importance of the burial ground as giving a symbolic locus of reference for the varied functions of the lineage is shown by the fact that when asking the paternal lineage membership of a person one does not say: "What is his *po*?" but, "Where will he be buried?" (*Ka tanu i wea?*) The answer always provides the name of the burial ground. On the other hand, in narrative the name of the *po* is always used as an adjective to indicate paternal descent affiliation, as, "Ko Pakula, e tane Matanga" (Pakula was a man of Matanga *po*).

Membership in a paternal lineage is by birth or adoption. An individual is buried in the cemetery of his sociological father. A woman is buried in the cemetery of her father; her children, male and female, are buried in the cemetery of her husband. Each of the paternal lineages is divided into a number of smaller paternal sub-lineages called *wakavae*. Each major cemetery of the lineage is divided into a corresponding number of sections, also called *wakavae*. Hence a man and his children belong to a *po* but also to a *wakavae*. The *wakavae* may be regarded as a paternal sub-lineage, the *po* as a grouping of paternal sub-lineages into what is here termed a lineage. A final list of Pukapukan lineages and their sub-lineages is as follows:

613

Villages	Paternal Lineage (Po)	Paternal Sub-lineage (Wakavae)
Ngake	Muliwuta	Yalou, Aliki, Alia
	Matanga	Paku-i-tua, Te Manako, Waka-moe-ki-te-loto, Angialulu
Loto	Yangalipule or Tilotilowia	Wakavae-ki-mua, Yangalipoepone, Yamanaia
	i Tua	Wakavae Aliki, Wakavae-ki-muli, i Tua, Walanga-kuia
Yato	Yamanga	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-ki-muli
	Yayi	Tokelau, Matanga
	Yalongo	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-muli-vae, Walegia

Note: Various lists of the lineages and sub-lineages were collected during our stay. The above list represents the names procured toward the end of our visit, and is a clarification of earlier lists. As with the names of maternal lineages (*wua*) and sub-lineages (*koinanga*), there was a progressive clarification in the minds of informants as our investigation proceeded. Common, uninstructed opinion tends to confuse paternal lineage and sub-lineage, a natural tendency, perhaps, to promote one's sub-lineage to the status of a lineage. It is likely that the relative numerical strength of lineage and sub-lineage, and also their status, have fluctuated during the course of Pukapukan history owing to natural causes and to the predominance of certain personalities at certain times.

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613/771 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613/591/621 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613/731/173 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[323] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764/848 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taha*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

[851]

613/597/764/177 X is a *tama to taha*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. These siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 764 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some 613 cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the 177 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited 364 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch 182 the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langa-* 192 *tila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *mataiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uua* 618 unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), 621 depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

611 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yolonga* units. Village membership
614 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Infor-
797 mants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
621 born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nolo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest
he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
578 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the
village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the
man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way
he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the
present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the respon-
sibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was
divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of
maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among
the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands
produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of
reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however,
616 between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal
618 grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
597 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the
villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers
could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adop-
tion is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the
maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of
the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests
that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the
paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in
its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and
maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organiza-
114 tion for contests.

Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal line-
age in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
198 Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wowine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tungaga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *uwanga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

575 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
693 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wolo o Te Uru-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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525 643 613 645 [561] 793

te uui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

525 643 613 177

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Mulivuta	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yatigalipule	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamanaga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matuiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*matuiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[644]

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565 643 613

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Moliwutu	Two matalapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two matalapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One matalapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two matalapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants 643 believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were 602 approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*ouunga*) 565 of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of 643 the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

644 The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *nuheyunoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any 643 side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

643 In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. 644 It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which in- [133] cludes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te alibi* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *mahakawale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *is wale ya*
782 *o is mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *wele* berries, a headband of *wele* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki yokio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "UP", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*ana*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te wai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia[*] wai mali wania | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wewalo te wawa | Let the talo tubers grow big |
> | Kia tautangatanga | (Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (thus he may answer this request) |
> | Kia matala te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (fish) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ale te wawa | Until the land sinks |
> | Kawe ya te tangata | Carrying the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Kua tauyala wua hoe ki ana" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leoui* or *tauta*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
[302] choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as
643 *mahu*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*aukayami*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[*] Kia, an archaic particle used in preliminary requests to the god.

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613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e teakamaema te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

562 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Muliwuta lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue,
597 the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hokoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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613 643 597 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yuna*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yuna*) round the neck of the successor and the *tuumanea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief. 776 782

613 643 173 773 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakanyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakanyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakanyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakanyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hope* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, chopping each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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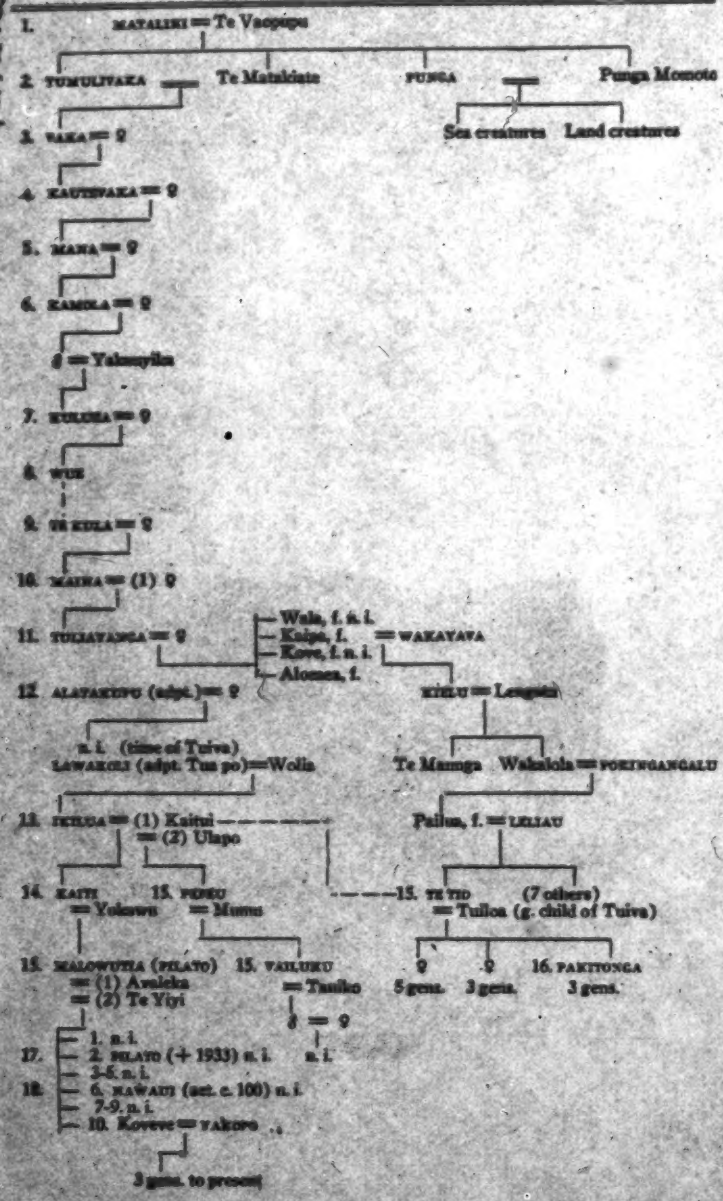
173
643
613

Table 4. Aliki Succession



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613 643 173 773

The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamaliki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wanguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, tapu-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wanguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wanguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

613 643 173

Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pana mua*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

[669]

When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

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613 yanga, but genealogies give name of his three wives as related to Taliayanga unless by
643 adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well.
When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time
to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candi-
173 date, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an
adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatikupu. Tuiva took the youth
Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs
of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and
considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation.
Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office, to
become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who
became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Taliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted
[622] son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Lotu. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yato*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Lotu.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Matalihi and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia,
[721] and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded infor-
613 mally by his brother, the present chief, Nawani, a man now about 100 years
643 old. Nawani insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawani's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
643 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.

Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were
692 given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*uuu*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people
[826] and for their vigorous old age, unmarked by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

A distribution (*laukava*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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613 643 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 642 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to 613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so 643 were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Taua, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the 711 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 646 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be summarized as follows:

631 643 645 [177] Village meetings (*wahapono hale*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*wahaponongo no te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wahaponongo a te wai aliki*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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643 the chief's executive (*urola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kove te vonenga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
613] chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

674 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
685 the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
682 (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*koboti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wangai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua koboti*, the child *tama koboti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wangai*, the child as *tama wangai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for tajo beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 248 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *koboti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama koboti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wangai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wangai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama koboti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama koboti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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597 591 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

597 When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the 843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a 613 *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. 844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting [842] parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for 597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At [431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child [574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wangai*) 597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He 591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child 862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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577 giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples
431 which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

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Adopting Parent	Child: Kokoti	Child: Wangai
Paternal		
1. Father's brother	4	–
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	–
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	–
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	–
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	–
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	–
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	–
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	–
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	–
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	3	–
15. Father's mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	2	–
Father's adopted paternal relatives:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	–
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	–
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	–
Maternal		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	–
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	–
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	–
Mother's paternal relatives:		
23. Mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	11	–
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	–
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	–
Mother's maternal relatives:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	–
Mother's adopted maternal relatives:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	–
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	–	1
Totals	77	14

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The census records three examples of adoption of *tama hokoti*, the adopting parent then giving the child (*hove te tama*) to another paternal lineage not the parents' own.

597 613 To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama kokoti* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama kokoti* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama kokoti* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yoni*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*usi tutahi*). It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a unique elopement to a distant sand key, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

[583]

597 613 611 In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*usu*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama kokoti* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama kokoti* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama kokoti's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

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[611/613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

547 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama hokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua hokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama hokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

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597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 543 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangangs* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangangs* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau tuhayoni*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale kaitau*) for each sex. The *uale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*pulpui te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau hetotau* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*tauta*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *waka uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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613 884 788 When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 591 575 In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 575 A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
832 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[1]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[1] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

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582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

[616] Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

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recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata koi wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*uale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*wakawai*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *tonir* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *puapua* wood called *te ami o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*alea*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*sui*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

776 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 613 562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Taua nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

776 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when
613 it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[175] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*po valu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*nakovue*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukavo* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

776 Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yama-
613 unga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a
226 talo swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

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Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

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Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

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Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

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Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

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Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

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Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 287 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [301] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

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776 shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
301 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie*
613 may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
[312] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad
776 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
822 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaehua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
192 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
193 ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
776 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
613 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *seow*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestral Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

776 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and
613 was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the
226 sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest,
793 the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wubotato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*payua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

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776 powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

776 Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons
821 for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu uwogota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te vayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

776 A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or
tikitiki. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a
775 fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of
776 the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when
613 Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villages, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-lolea-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-ha-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*uakomalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
828 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adven-
753 tures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their hus-
526 bands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te
773 Awuawu and Ngaliyeyen, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyen to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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778 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
782 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

778 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*auanga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kawa*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakavae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

778 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

778 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
793 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 613 361 A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale
			Vakayala
			Kui-mamila
	Muliwutu	Tumulivaka ma Muila	
		Te Vayi	
		Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakinte ma Malokitelangi ma Tumailangi	
		Te Alongaoa	
		Tulikale	
Loto			Kui
			Te Atua-ngutu-uli
			Poiva ma Taukava
			Wakakewiti
	i Tua	Matalikí ma Tamayel	
		Te Ulu-takapau	
		Tupele	
		Taua	
	Yangalipule	Kui	
Yato			i Te Unutulele
			i Lowia
			i Kailia
	Yamanga	Te Maungatu	
		Taumalanga	
	Yakango	Tawitonga	
		Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 114 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (NNN) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taua; this is a big block of *punga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

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778 that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of
114 secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

293 A priest was generally called a *uota*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata wai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*ta*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*wukayawinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

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Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*wukayawinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

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During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and slack through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*wukayawinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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[613] lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

193 After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring 554 priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

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196 Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by fre-
613 quent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance
188 by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wahatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a
187 lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

WARFARE

721 There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing
669 groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about
578 fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves,
579 and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level
762 of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

579 At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark
626 was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating
728 the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two
714 malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or
613 in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the
712 boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they
[765] were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery
579 during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home,
613 picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

609 Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the
679 priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*ewunga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting.
782 Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Taua, who,

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533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant
[613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance,

Te yikuanga i [illegible]	
Te yikuanga i [illegible]	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule
Te yikuanga i Te [illegible] o Nui	
Te yikuanga i Matanuku	two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.
Te yikuanga i tui o te pupu	
Te yikuanga i Te Au	three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.
Te yikuanga i Te Limutini	
Te yikuanga i Walepia	
Te yikuanga Ia [illegible]	the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.
Te yikuanga Ia tui	

1103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
[illegible] by the people of Ngake:
[illegible]

te ui [illegible]
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te [illegible]
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tuua
te ui i te alo o kaiyua
te ui o te vai [illegible]
te ui tua yulu
te ui o kumuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokalau.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Lotu:

Kuli welo
Malo pala
Lukuti inu
Lukti uu

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 621 244 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are communally owned by Loto:

Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 613 244 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:

Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Muliwutu

Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leiloa ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nangutu, belongs to wua Kati.

Wanua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

103 Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
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244
1. belongs to po Yamaunga
2. belongs to po Yayi
3. belongs to po Yalongo.

Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango

Ui Matanga, belongs to wakavae Matanga of Yato

Ui Motu Kotawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)

Te ui a Lelei, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui a Wale, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui Puatu, belongs to members of keinanga Kava livinging in Yato

Te ui a yaukava, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Pukapuka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu

Te ui muli olo te ui taulangi belong to wakavae Walepia

103 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds
244 on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te kulaanga tupele,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui muli avaiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui loimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Yoko	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Pulaola,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui longotuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui nomu tavake	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui tupanau	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui aniwa	belongs to Pania, Yato
Te ui talikai	belongs to Taiayeu, Ngake
Te ui mokelokele	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te Yoa	belongs to Matautu, Loto
Te ui ayi	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Kalelea	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui tokelau	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kuluea	belongs to Kuluea, Loto
Te ui o Te Layo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngake
Te ui vaitawe	belongs to Puia, Ngake
Te ui longolongo	belongs to Nalupe, Ngake

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[All information on unilinear kin groups will be found under lineages in category 613.]

[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kaiva* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *po* and the *uua*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *iha ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *iha ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving

[578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

152 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

358 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *keinonga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *tuae*:

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Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e loa tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lalei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau lôa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[6]

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te mia mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awungia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wonu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo; mai te bliotawaki, te atuloea, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauumui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawa, te kolili, te polopolonunga,—te wui manu o welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuanga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tama tama, e tangata. Ko toua tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai lka mo te moana. Ko taua tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa toua ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rutettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *bliotawaki*, the *atuloea*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauumui*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *uua* was given, the *uua* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

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[6] The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

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539 Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te uua ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai loa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe ia oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu loa te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called *uua*. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a *uua* also which grew from them. The *uua* grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the *uua* of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua nanga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wuanga, tupu mai. Pein oki i a Yeitae.

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau o te moana.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na tama ki ngasta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; pein oki te wanau a Kenakena, pein oki te wanau a Pukapuka, pein oki te wanau a Malemu, pein oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanim a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 279 539 616 Notz: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mataliki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their new transformed brothers and sisters and these names

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an
559 portant social group.

773 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there
616 were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua
773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it
613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this
773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was
616 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*heinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups.
616 Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*heinanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Lolua c. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	d. Pukapuka e. Malemu f. Lawala g. Walawale
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Mango—Keinanga	h. Kava i. Lokie j. Yeitae
	4. Wua Tawola—Keinanga	k. Yalo l. Yelu m. Manu

Informants tended to visualize the matter in terms of a tree with spreading branches and limbs (fig. 53). The names of the sub-lineages as given in this figure represent a final decision by informants. Other lists, procured at an earlier period of field work, differ a little in the given names. A second list of lineages and sub-lineages, probably for a later date when some sub-lineages had died out or were displaced by other named groups, is given below. The first list is probably the classic list; the second is the grouping as some understand it today.

Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	c. Malemu d. Lawala e. Pukapuka
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Lulu—Keinanga	f. Mango g. Kava h. Lokie i. Yeitae j. Lakawanga
	4. Wua Layo or Yalo—Keinanga	k. Yelu l. Tawola m. Manu

An analysis of the lineage membership of 160 adults showed 89 members of the Wua Lulu, 69 of the Wua Kati, 1 of Layo, and 1 member of Yalo.

The individual who first gave his membership as Wua Layo, Keinanga Tawola, later gave his affiliation as Wua Lulu, Keinanga Kava. Sixteen who said they belong to Keinanga Lakawanga gave Lulu as their major maternal grouping; one member of Keinanga Lakawanga gave Yalo as his major maternal grouping; this last is either a mistake or else Wua Lulu is to be understood as moiety Lulu, which is more likely. The three persons who gave their grouping as Uila, Keinanga Kiole, are brothers and a sister; a third brother said he was a member of Wua Kati, Keinanga Kati. Kati was given as the major maternal grouping of 16 other members of the Keinanga Kiole: here again Kati must have the sense of moiety. The point to note, however, is that the large majority, 155 out of 160, gave as their tuae either Lulu or Kati, thus giving the very definite impression that these two groupings are still functioning in Pukapukan society as effective moiety groupings of the maternal lineages.

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613
616

Each of the 160 adults professed membership in one of 12 different sub-lineages (this excepting the person who gave a double identification, first, Layo, Tawola; then Lulu, Kava). The active sub-lineages in the moiety Lulu are: Mango, Lakawanga, Yelu, Kava, Yeitse, Lokie; those in the moiety Kati: Kiole, Pukapuka, Kenakena, Lawala, Kati. The relative numerical strength of the sub-lineages is: Kava (L) 36; Yelu (L) 24; Kati (K) 20; Kiole (K) 18; Lakawanga (L) 18; Pukapuka (K) 12; Kenakena (K) 11; Mango (L) 7; Lawala (K) 5; Yeitse (L) 4; Lokie (L) 4. The relative numerical strength of these sub-lineages might possibly be altered by adding in figures from Loto village, but, because there seems to be an equality in the village distributions of the sub-lineages, the relative strengths would not differ materially from the serial order given above.

Twenty individuals gave their affiliation as Keinanga Kati, Wua Kati, either because they did not know their sub-lineage and gave only their moiety, an unlikely matter, or else because some individuals claim descent through a major maternal lineage directly and not through any sub-lineage. When the smaller groups were formed by the breaking away of lineages, some individuals remained members of the original *wua* grouping, so that the four *wua* must be considered both as groupings of smaller sub-lineages and also as single lineages in their own right. This single *wua* descent is noted for both Kati and Mango in the above list of membership strength. No examples are on record for Tawola or Lulu, but doubtless they do occur also.

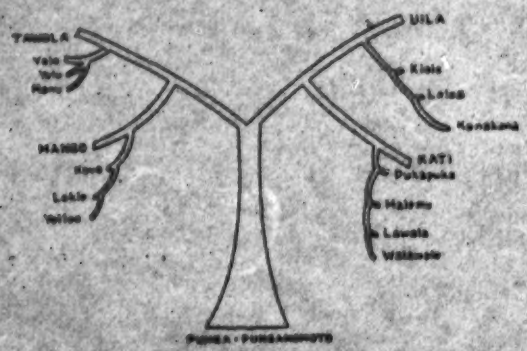

FIGURE 33.—Branching of maternal sub-lineages (*kekanga*), from informant's drawing. Main trunk of tree represents total population; main branches four main groupings of maternal lineages (*wua*); remaining smaller branches, individual sub-lineages.

The *wua* membership of the 38 heads of households in Ngales village was noted; 16 belong to the Lulu division, 20 to the Kati division. This shows a reasonable amount of moiety equality, and seems to indicate in fact that there is no tendency to either moiety or lineage localization. This is presumably explained by the rule of patrilocal marital residence.

The internal organization of each maternal lineage is simple. The head (*wakatauila* or *wakalulu*) of the lineage is the oldest man or woman in the

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613 611 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uaele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

[776 771] No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Paaum Te Wata, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *ventea* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 582 684 776 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*hai uale*, "house eating" or *hai kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 611 618 582 171 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uua*, the *uua* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uua*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
[582] lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
171 so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *waketai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
226 to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
578 Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
244 intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
696 retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
681 the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 764 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some 613 cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the 177 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has 364 seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited 186 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) 192 Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matoiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolungo* unit), maternal lineage (*uuo* 618 unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu hakai*), 621 depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolungo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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618 period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yalanga* units. Village membership
616 is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
797 village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
621 born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends
578 are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
226 remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malaua*),
621 the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yalanga*) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however,
616 between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal
618 grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the
597 villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
611 be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapukan also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
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582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

[616]

Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

541 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayai were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

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1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans
621, 423

[The communal ownership of and legal aspects of the reserve food lands have been classified in 621 and 423. For protection by village guards, see category 625. For cultivation and use of, see appropriate categories.]

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161 Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The
163 vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available.
165 These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

162 The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		Island Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adults	84	80	54	67	61	48	199	195
	164		121		109		394	
Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

[621] These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*tau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wuhatane* or *wuhawawine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	86	18	106	77	183
Female	88	16	104	61	165
					348

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

511 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
361 the atoll, Te Uta-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin
109 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (House). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
166 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
164 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.
361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1904. North of the village road running through Loto stretches
231 the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-
621

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361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
191 Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
487 through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ule	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (*titi*) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilinaaru	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Aveiua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipoto	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yaemana	—
Yato	Takamani	'Circle' ?
	Ulukawa	'Penis-of-summit' ?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nukuu-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nukuu-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Mataliki (mata ariki, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (mata iki, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

731 latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

731 In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kalua, Mauke, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mallunga, Ken, and Pua.
Loto: Waialua.
Yato: Tokelau fai, Tokelau matua, Waitatia, Palapa, Yala, Lalei.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nina and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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821
[621]
776

formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1.) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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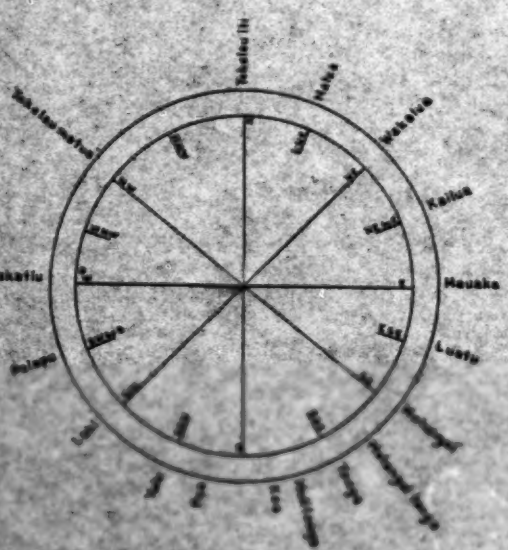

FIGURE 2.—Pukapukan winds and directions, named directions.

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The word for side or direction is *haokoa*. Hence a person says *haokoa tokelau* (northern direction), *haokoa tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *uno* is used. *E uno tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *uno* wind; thus a wind blowing

1Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
685 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliyanga and Alitalaupa, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutubi*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kalo*) of *ututea* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.
526
626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*ariki mata*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested
226 [illegible] [See p.15, category 11b ~ analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tana's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki laio te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrangglers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tuna in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Nina belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary
324 being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch/house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tulunga nua*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nina ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri alo ki loi*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating into beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organised guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older
887 men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Wakina, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 30 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

615 132 221 123 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fractious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 615 421 361 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralised in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato. 625

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae*; this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man trying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers *en masse*, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 221 245 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day in case that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pule pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadilloes. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matuliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitaua, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matuliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mali uyuyu*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata turuae*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *koteuu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavation with such
912 primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the
244 migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
773 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
425 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man
428 digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
172 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the
423 number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
621 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members;
244 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatans* and *wakawawins*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures
471 that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
692 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
511 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

421 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*to*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
268 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 [378] Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 626 461

Te pirai' ão, mako piplio,	Pig smelling, mako sticking,
E kini ya wano ki tua	(He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)
Tuka ki ki te wahayaya	(He has) placed himself in nakedness
Koe mea ina e ao ai.	No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vanenga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puka atu enuenu pe te poi[2]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E loa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[2] The closer are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pinai* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala, ali, patsietele, ulua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupuapua, tautoonu*; the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *wituniti, yoyala, palu uli, piopia, matasla, lali*, and *fapa*. The various rays are speared with a *tao*, to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lomalama ahau*),
572 three midribs for the *waiau* fishing torch (*lama waiau*). To make the reef fishing
416 torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, drill side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*wuliuhewuhe*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the drill side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *wuhapulapula*.

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *halowa, it, tuuwa, uwoliki, wayi, kuuo, uloulo, kotimu*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and scales (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi wuhapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding caesaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *po wutu iko* or *tawenga*; the method of using it, *tali tawenga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tao yaaka*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ala wuli ao*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

[621/422] Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

226 Three methods are employed to catch *kaveu*:

The first method is *tamalama kaveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*yokayoka kaveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *makapoa kaveu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *tuuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and 252 broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

223 Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were 237 used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the 422 time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards. 621 The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

223 All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from 223 the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast 262 which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka kai lakia*.

231 Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and 223 transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

223 1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*tuuala*) is termed *makayi mauu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

1. [See p.140, category III – analyst.]

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Payments

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

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When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakayinu te waka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakamalinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakayinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uno*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *nunu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *nunu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *fana* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *nunu*, each woman five *nunu*, each child one *nunu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

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To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/A. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu hai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu hai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu hai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tapele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered monotanga feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lawi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*, as *lavaya kavea* (crebe), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngaluenga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wahanalinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngaluenga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *manatanga*.

5. *Kawekave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wanle, taumayanga, and *paahi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *malkiama*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *payia wale* and *lulukanga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *laukava*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

Ima hai o te uma is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Laumatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingatinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fresh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pooga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have inti-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TALO DISHES

262 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to
621 household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday.
574 A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are
264 eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takotako* nuts, *ipūpi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mouu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In
262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukitaki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kui*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yami*, sometimes given as *ami*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lala*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*uuuuo hi loto a te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lala*) is baked in the *umu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw
when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo
puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice
of baked keys (*mahano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by
adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening
agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a
stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is
said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking
as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf
midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on
the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo
beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in
five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A
251 bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet
deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of
252 husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and
finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten
raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct
complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is
621 owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village
members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
245 adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *va*.
The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu
262 Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One
breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield
of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle,
shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though
visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea.
Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead,
292 and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle
793 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long
776 *uuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the
613 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or
302 another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or
832 waist decoration (*tiii*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for
293 decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *maka wala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lahau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pala puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maila* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*tiii*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 The *tiii maka wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young
294 leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plait strip of prepared pandanus (*hiro*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
192 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Puka-
101 pukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wasau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pusu*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te *yikuanga* e nono i te *ngutuwale* o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *mashuga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's
124 paternal and maternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*tuta*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism
857 of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from
591 the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
261 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes
621 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
592 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*uni tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
592 who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman
[888] makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *uilo* of the

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatane, makamatate*), a young man or woman may change (*wafo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a chief's food dues for one year.

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No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wafo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting tale beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of tale beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

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MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *ssua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *hoisaaga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *ssua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *ssua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to
613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wsua* means
616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal
124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Mem-
773 bership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *ssua* was discussed with informants on several different

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
591 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamanga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
175 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[523] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama te tuha*) of an unmarried mother is a member of his mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama te tuha*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another.
577 X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into
764 which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
177 household 45 of table 3, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. These siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by northern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Adventitiously, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

764 613 177 364 186

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*longatile*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*wai aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *longatile* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *wai aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *longatile* and the Rarotongan word *matoiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

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LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

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For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*wua* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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618 period, organization was in terms of either mata or yalenge units. Village membership
616 is the rule for team organization today, so that Lotu village contests with Ngaio and
613 with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Inter-
597 mata believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the
village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was
born in Ngaio, but who affiliates and resides (nofo) in Yato. In an inter-village contest
621 he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngaio friends
are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and then helping to defeat the
578 village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for
remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the
226 man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way
he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the
present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of
612 either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village
elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (mulomo),
621 the food divisions asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the respon-
sibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (yalenge) principle.
618 The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was
divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

574 Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of
maternal mata. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among
the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands
produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of
reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle
616 for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however,
between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal
618 lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal
597 grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control
611 land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the
villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to
be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers
could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adop-
tion is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the
maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage membership of
the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests
that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the
paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in
its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and
maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organiza-
114 tion for contests.

Kennedy (1931:297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially
171 with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite
611 evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal line-
618 age in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage.
Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinango* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship
588 of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai-wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

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Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

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Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

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Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

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Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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526 his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tuvu*, strong men): *mua tuka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto tuka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli tuka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua tuka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto tuka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli tuka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulanga*.

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The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

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Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

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The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 3 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

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826 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*waingonga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*waingonga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waleton to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533]

Swimming races (*waingonga haukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*waikayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527

Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *waingonga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *waingonga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *waingonga hakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lasi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[534]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae penu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

224 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *avu* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tabataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

224 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the talō dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest. [554]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pale*, *komoi*, and *wanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

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On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

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Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

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Mat-making Contests

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In former times women held mat-making contests (*waingaiga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 173 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 773 183 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

539 173 731 The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangahipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

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PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

731 168 261 621 166 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wahamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lani*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pulo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

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Civil War

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 "The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wolo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
778 the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the many men.

539 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of
669 the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngaya* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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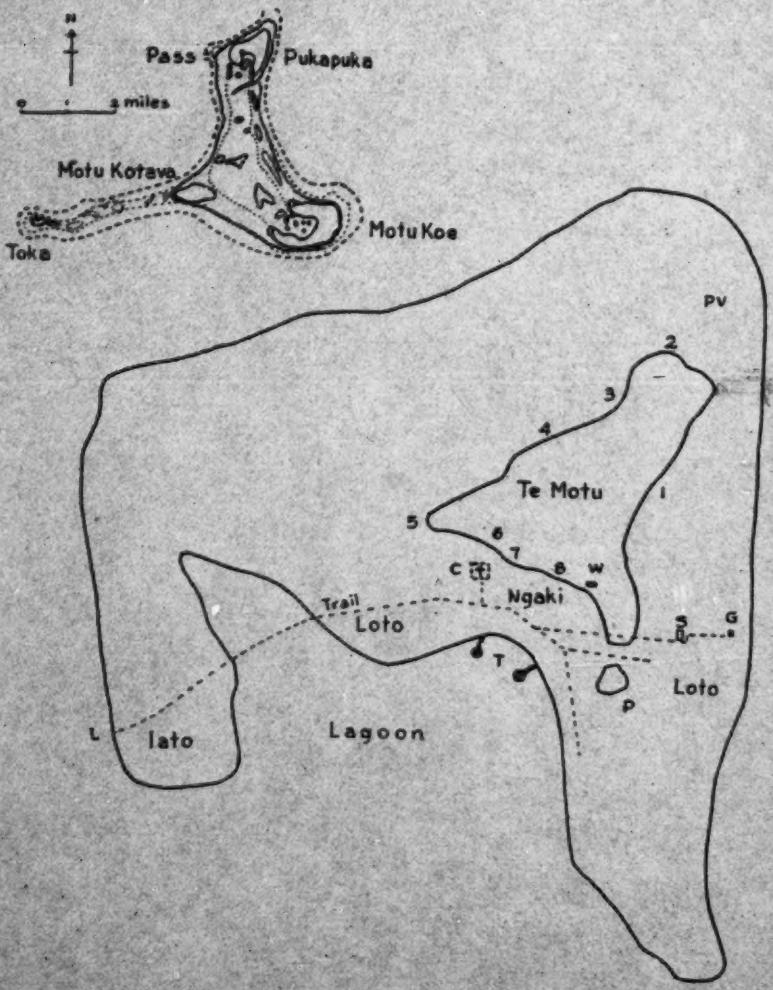

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

000 In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

241 When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away
361 from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives
221 on its own *motu*, where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvest-
● 621 ing that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for
[462] several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed
609] to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

000 Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows: 103 311 423

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach) 361
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu 621
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--108 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Múliwutu lineage.

[621] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

5-Beaglehole and Beaglehole--7 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

103	Te yikuanga i Yamanala	
113	Te yikuanga i Wangawai	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule
	Te yikuanga i Te Aonanga o Kui	
	Te yikuanga i Matanamu	two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.
	Te yikuanga i tai o te papa	
	Te yikuanga i Te Au	three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.
	Te yikuanga i Te Limatini	
	Te yikuanga i Walepia	
	Te yikuanga la ngauta	the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.
	Te yikuanga la tai	

103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
111 by the people of Nyake:
112

te ui aplaake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupale
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui wawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te [illegible]
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tawa
te ui i te ulu o kaiyua
te ui o te vai [illegible]
te ui tua yula
te ui o kawali
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokelua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Lotu:

Malo wulo
Malo pala
Lalotai iau
Lalai uu

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are
621 communally owned by Loto:
244 Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale
613 owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:
244 Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Maliwutu

Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leilua ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nanguta, belongs to wua Kati.

Wanna eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

844 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamapoi were gathered together and taken to a bath part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

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625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
489 households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*unbetane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the
203 matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wahlongolongo mai kotua ki te vanenge ko avatu ki to tuna lalu. Ka wo loa tuna ki te motu. Ko tuna mua ka nunui: E takiyoga te niu pepaku, e takiyogolugulu te niu. Yau na mua a te tinlu ka nunui: E takimatwelaa te vawa. E takiyogolugulu te tamalilil. Ko wo tuna ki te motu mai, e ya te kaven, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lalia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kuipua, e ya te ngga, e ya te wati, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wai mua ia e wakapatia i to tuna motu. Ka nono tuna i ai e wiku po, wonunui loa tuna. Oti ai.	Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 50 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. These are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:
623

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to set birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuiayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikiliua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatakuga. Tuiva took the youth Ikiliua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikiliua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikiliua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuiayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikiliua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikiliua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikiliua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yule*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

[622]

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Matalihi and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amicable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngalu are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

[721] 613 643

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643 the chiefs executive (*arola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kaw te vananga*) to the
several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o*
646 *te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala*
623 *no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to
discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve
boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of
the civil war (p. 389).

[622 The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
613] chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of
the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village
works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members.
Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs
were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any
rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and
island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the
modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for him-
self many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert
to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay
with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were
considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
the chief Tuliangaga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
(death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by
group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in
acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal
sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment
or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide
shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the
beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punish-
ment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threat-
ened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a
friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but
always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tuhenga waa*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tuo hi tuo*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong, ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernatural powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
776 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or
621 all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older
887 men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletoa, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
562 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
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241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that
203 oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongelongo mai kolua ki te vanaga ko avatu ki to tana lulu. Ka wo loa tana ki te motu. Ko tana nana ka numai: E takiyaua te niu pagaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na nana a te tinin ka numai: E takiusuawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo tana ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te tanga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui nana ia e wakayada i to tana motu. Ka nono tana i ai e wiku po, wonumai lua tana. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:
623

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

527 2. *Lovaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
262 formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village
food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lovaya*,
as *lovaya kawa* (crabs), *lovaya manu* (birds). A *lovaya* after a tapu period ensures
that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers.
If talo, uta, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lovaya* feasting may last
for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village
men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[621] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be
made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or
second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as
a governing factor in the *lovaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other
food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service
in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamalinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new
sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal
people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*,
though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *mamatanga*.

[623] 5. *Kavehaw*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malume*) or other
inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old
men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each house-
hold. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wasle, *tamaunga*, and *pwiki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *wailimma*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *pupu wale* and *laiahunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *laiheau*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Iuw hai o te* uma is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
574 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
527 trolled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 *Laumatanga* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malele*
613 *alai* (flying fish on the roof), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingalinga* (land shells), feasts
of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three vil-
lages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for
their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative
of the small amount of fresh food that this village could supply its guests. For these
feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special
delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts
from Ulu. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special
work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its
religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pinaga* (religious avenue).
When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all
joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake
group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food
and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have intel-

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[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
162 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
621 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*tuai tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592 The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
592 who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *tulu* of the

114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
646 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*alihi*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
561 a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te takalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te takalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ya* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kotingapuni (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kalamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kamuoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te lamiliki (children).
Tauaulonga and tautitinga (to put on a mido or lift): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalos: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loya and tamawawine.
Taua and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Malivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kaumatua.

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561 The *lopa*, *tone*, and *wawine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *malivaka* generally directed group activities
by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work.
[23 The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control
888 of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the
chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man
lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the
necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the
community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's
tangonga fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *ounga*
646 (*malae*) *no 'o tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to
the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now
occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each
day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and
the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from
year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele*
888 themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tone*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*alihi wolo*) by virtue of his
experience and age and was then called the *wola*. The *wola* was both the
793 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he
613 had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the
island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power
was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te alihi wolo o Te Utu-o-te-outu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various
642 lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so
643 were its gods prominent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Tuna, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide
776 favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*mahapono hale*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled inter-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*mahaponongo no te*
645 *tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*mahaponongo a te ara ahi*)
[177] discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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673 the chief's executive (*uele*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*here te vananga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki or te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tolotolo no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
[622 chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatile*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

Z: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
643, 623

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for governing groups, see p. 19.]

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621 the two reserves on Wale, Nina belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

324 The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Motala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tuhonga tuu*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nina ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri ulo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 312).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to taro cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*nuku pakenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Nina at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te wiqiti pale*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and eating nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Nina and Uta. The change of guard in Nina on January 9, 1938, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of taro foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 694 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the taro beds. They put tapus (*kaui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

625 is known by the way in which the food is distributed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
674 cook taro meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
203 with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*ennenge*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
[683] name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
firewood, until such visits are authorised by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practised during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wikinengenge ami kaiou,[1] e to tuaf kio kî to vanenge a te pako ko ennu kî a kaiou ia. I a kaiou, ave taku kaiou ! a kaiou tuaia ko vakaakaaka ana i te nuku. Ko pakou ennu i kaiou, e vapî ko, ngakengenge. Ko i ai ou ennui ia te vanenge ko kengo kaiou vakaga. Wikinengenge kaiou vakaakaki. Ko te vanenge ia ou ennui ai kî a kaiou. Tangi ai koe ia te nuku ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey that well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in ennuit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in his efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the re-
serve is increased, few Pukapukans are shown helping themselves to nuts in
secret.

628 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
241 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
487 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the catches scrupulously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *bonnes* leaves to use as fertilizer for
village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

185 [1] Note the use of the plural possessive of the first and second person plurals rather than the plural possessive forms, *kaiou*, *kaiou*. This form is used in all public pronouncements.

625 241 [189] pile about under the piles of fern and lock into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*vakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 241 203 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserve Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakatangakaga mai hakea hi te vaenga ko ovoia hi te tuna hifo. Ko ma lua tuna hi te motu. Ko tuna mua ka mamai: E takiyaua te talo pupuka, e takiyapuapuka te niu. Ma ka mua a te tiaki ka mamai: E takiatuakai te vaea. E takiyapuapuka te tamaiki. Ko ma tuna hi te motu mai, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngangu, e ya te kakia, e ya te kakia ka, e ya te kapu, e ya te kaipuri, e ya te ungu, e ya te vuri, e ya te ngangu. Ko te vuri mua ka e vakayaula i te tuna motu. Ko tuna tuna i ai e vaia ya, vaomamai ka tuna. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: so many nuts each, so drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: two tubers of talo each. For each child, so drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (unnamed) and the birds (unnamed), bananas, and *ngangu* wood will be taken. These are the things to be taken to our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the taro foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. 226 223 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

623 245 685 622 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amusement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that
521 my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taro from the reserve, informants never
123 set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotewa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotewa that they might visit Yato's reserve in canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotewa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fetishism crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
615 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of
421 the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
361 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralised in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wale-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wale-Matgeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters *only* but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, as they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man trespassing at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides apprehending law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
221 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale,
on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotewa. Other members went through the village each day
245 to see that everyone was accounted for. These missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuivu and Kapuin, and in the story of the *pale fue* (pp. 287, 325).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadilloes. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl. 1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ni lalu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ni lalu* in the reserve of Nitu. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tuneiveka, one of the god Matalili. Tuneiveka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auau, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auau to the pond, Te Vaimoe, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akaupe-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matalili with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te ouli* [illegible], so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tuneiveka and his sister, Te Matakiore, lived on the eastern side, *te mata* [illegible]. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *kotowa* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ni*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

bBeaglehole and Beaglehole E-2 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mots*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*mahatane* and *mahauwine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*hotihotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*ao*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
457 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
253 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

578 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

177 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies
685 fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
625 from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
618 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayai were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
685 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alata-
526 kupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tuiuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*koio*) of *ustus* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
226 the high chief (*ariki mole*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

7. [See pers, category III— analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[626/776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tana's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick.
423 Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other
621 had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki laio te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on
423 Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide
776 village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tana in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this
423 reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely
[548] from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

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The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

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Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

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The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata maiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

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Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 [578] Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 626 461

Te pivai' clo, malo piplio,	Pig smelling, malo stinking,
E kisi ya wano la tua	(He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
Tuku la ki te wakayaya	(He has) placed himself in sacredness
Kae mea loa e no ai.	No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

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Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vanaga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu ennemu pe te poi[9]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E kua yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

GENERAL FEATURES

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[9] The chants are similar, hence the use of the Tahitian *pioi* for pig (fresh meat) and *poi* for pudding (preserved meat).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kaleva*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukuuku or wakayke: to pay out a line.
Wawui: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tape or langa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakamatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoku or momono: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua uuvine* 626 (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te maunu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or 777 to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods 782 for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, 776 controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred 778 clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malokitelangi, near the western reef channel 226 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-782 hook. The gift (*nukatuica*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

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342 on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again
476 can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each
431 share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui ne maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time
[626 of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to
558] make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the
342 slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, per-
334 haps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that
412 the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is
342 conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time
654 when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded
461 slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

342 There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

322 There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general
463 descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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264 578 Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

556 888 Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of 626 the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through 476 ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never 181 enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each 552 person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this 434 does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

433 The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when 182 other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*[illegible]*, *mokomokoine*), a young man or woman may change (*wale*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and

613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving

[578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wale* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

156 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

558 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uma* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *heimange*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uma* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uma* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *wua* was discussed with informants on several different

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627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories
627 of Nuamua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuamua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuamua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuamua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuamua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manava ulu* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ulu*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Weina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*uaka muma*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purifi-
764 cation rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse,
of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The
underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the
mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retire-
ment until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the
passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a seme-
761 tery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a seme-
tery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are
mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut
lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If
one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is
legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones,
rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the seme-
tery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking
a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one
will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the
native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children
play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pan-
danus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the head-
stones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or
761 Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan
775 indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that
the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness
in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever
occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
626 interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names
but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for
instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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521 to be *mata hivitivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
152 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata hivitivi*. Such a person is furious with
578 children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
626 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
576 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wehelakapeka;* one who arro-
867 gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wehelaka-*
626 *peka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witeki*, *winaki*, and *matoman*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witeki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witeki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wehenitenite*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wehenitenite*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yuwiu-wiu tutuna*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngatu wakaya*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
261 person is a *tangata hakinge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of
626 food is said to *yakayaka;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *hopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanao;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai yae;* one who steals food is *tayayau;* one who is generous at giving away food is *heikai mali*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
158 stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person
826 who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapapa*, meaning
626 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *hanu:* a crippled person has a *hanu;* a bald-headed man has a *hanu* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku* wia (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
152 or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku wia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai wia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai wia* (one who does not make enemies),
156 or *e ye wilinili* (one who does not select people).

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule po (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uele* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only proveked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*uale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uale uaheyamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aumaga ju*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on sectarial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuan, who,

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[11] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [11] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *welo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 484 171 has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

[626 558]

173 177 [484] The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

173 484 The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Nine, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

173 Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taro. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 421 731 627

In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed *ui wenua*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolomui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 621 226

The barrier reef (*te oyanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matawea, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Utu, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Utu was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tubutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

476 431 784

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake announced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lani*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takupu* birds (tern).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

643 the chief's executive (*wola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vonanga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

622 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
783 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories
627 of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl-shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manava ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Wuina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*maba muna*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
● 627 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
579 the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 937 [691]

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so
643 were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Matalili and Taua, the major gods of i Tua, may thus be considered the major gods of the
776 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
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631 Village meetings (*unkapeuo lulu*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*unkapeuonga o te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*unkapeuonga a te uui ahiki*)
645 discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these
[177] governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

643 the chief's executive (*tuula*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kote te vananga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 613] The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
109 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm
191 and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that
797 time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, pre-
167 sumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in
163 Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tiose, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included
612 within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
794 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Pukapuka—analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
439 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
771 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
672 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
602 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
191 and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Puka-
[124] pukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
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645 *tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wakaponongo a te urui aliki*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these
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of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) 137
grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo* 262
wakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. 241
Puraka (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the 262
mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 131
1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse 797
with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural re- 101
sources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, 721
and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged 177
reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 642
1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the 795
boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, 797
Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is
now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. [871
Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with 744]
Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

301 type, termed *taumanoa*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of *uao*. There is no example of the *taumanoa* on the atoll today, but Talainga reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *taumanoa*.

301 643 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yaua*) shown in figure 19,*b*, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yaua* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (24,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the uncut hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (10,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Pukapuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to uncut hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

Ear Ornaments

301 Ear ornaments are termed *unhaowowonga*. The ear lobes of an infant
304 are pierced with a hook of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf. A piece of *puhoua* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*unhaowowonga ngaipu talinga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19,*e*) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Pukapukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *hahelini* is made by levering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*hahelini*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

Head Ornaments

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *pihi*; a headband is a *putihi*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*haupua*) of the pandanus tree

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1939-S)1938 Pukapukans

561 646 623 888 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *uwaine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tungaga* fishing group.

887 646 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *amonga* (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 646 888 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 645 793 613 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*alibi wolo*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 643 613 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te alibi wolo o Te Utu-o-te-matu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

565 643 613 645 [561] 793

te wui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

565 643 613 177

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Malewata	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tui	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipula	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamaunga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matuiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*matuiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[644]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

565
643
613

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwutu	Two matpiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants
643 believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were
602 approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*aunga*)
565 of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of
643 the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

644 The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *nakoyamoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any
643 side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

643 In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered.
644 It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-
[133] takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the
644 chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly
[613] feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his sub-
613 ordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, body-guard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those
576 of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakakowvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue
793 of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might
643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu-
645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was
[171] the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born
613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Puka puikana

643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale yo o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of
782 a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a gaudiness kilt dyed red with the juice of *wale* berries, a headband of *wale* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki fakie", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Ui", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*una*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tabua te tui*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia[a] wai mali wanin | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wowolo te wawa | Let the talo tubers grow big |
> | Kia tintangatanga | (Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request) |
> | Kia uatala te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (feces) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ale te wawa | Until the food stinks |
> | Kawa ye te tangata | Countless the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Kou tanyain wau koe ki maui" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leowi* or *tmaie*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the
[302] choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *lotus* part
643 of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *matau*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yiengo ola* (not to be confused with *yiengo mali*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was taps to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*uakayani*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[a] Kia, an archaic particle used in petitioning responses to the god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e makamamma te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

562 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Muliwutu lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue,
597 the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hokoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yano*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yano*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanaro* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever indorsed as chief.

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Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngalo, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakmayika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakmayika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakmayika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakmayika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *kipe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear down and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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Table 4. Aliki Succession

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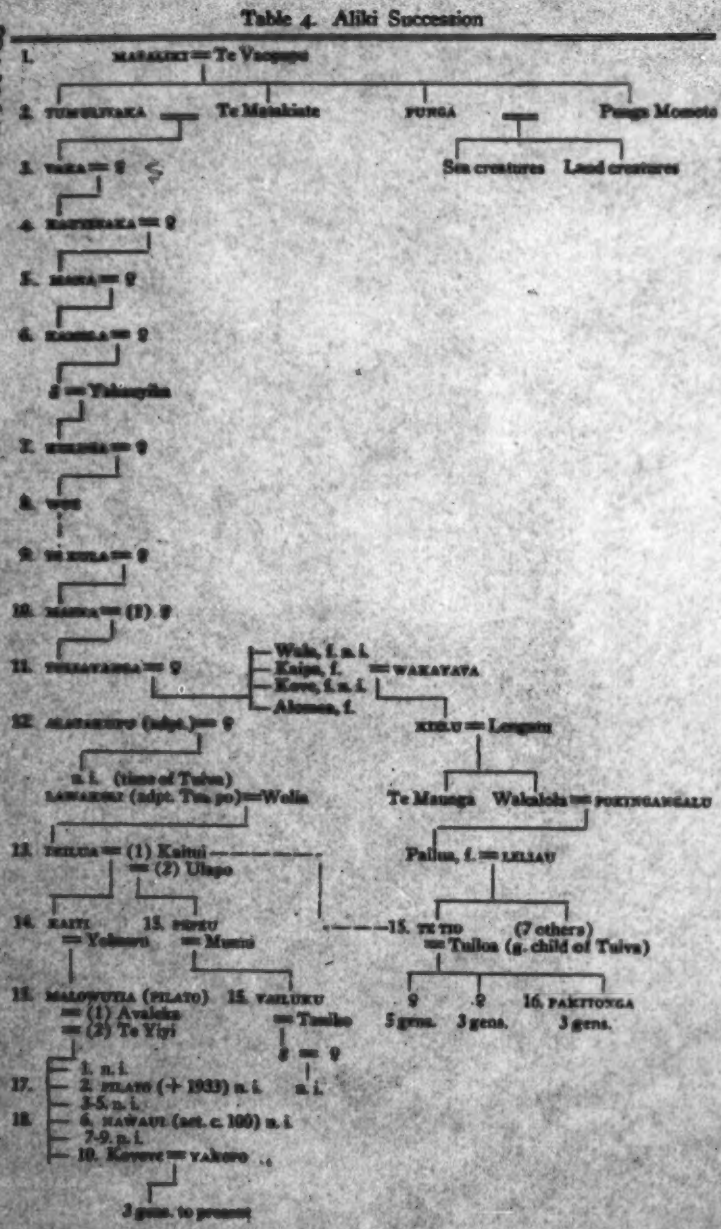

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

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The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamaliki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and searover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wangana assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, taps-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wangana was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wangana rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

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Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pano sona*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Taiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Aistakupa. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

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Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepea, blood son of Ikilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepea nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawa, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Mesua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepea nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yuk*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepea in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepea was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Mataliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepea were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
643 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.
642 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:
787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*ana*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*pota*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lahei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people
[826] and for their vigorous old age, unmarred by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thereafterth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

A distribution (*lauhaus*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Taua,
643 the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the
771 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*wuhapono kale*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*wuhaponongo ne te*
645 *tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wuhaponongo a te wui ahi*)
[177] discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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643 the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vananga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te alikí* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
646 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te alikí*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
631 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to
623 discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
[622 chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
685 the chief Tuiayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
682 (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and
643 petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal char-
661 acter, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust
578 or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangonga*, brought back turtle and
578 other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men
643 became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tana to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group; all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngalai, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

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Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the o'ao dirge:

Hoai ma te ceng e,
Tipene tuvungi ki matua e,
Ko mauli kapa i matua e, kapa ma ma vae.

Tino yaulalu, ye vave, yaule vaa mai tai pal—

Tiaki te kakai matua, ma kotua ma vaia,
E tangata kotua i te kotua tangata,
Waki vaa mai ki a kae te pathai o te takanga
o te wai mokiraka,
Kua ngaia kae, e ale kotua i te pua ta,

Te yiko tala vaveali ka te matamatangi—

Ko wakaitakaka te kala,
Wakatuvaqpen ate kae ki Malivae,
E tuku waveia, e tuku taua,
Aka wakaitaka mai kae ki te wale nana.

Na pauna ka kae o Talikai.

Kamaki kae pe Wakai,
Ko ye kae ma wakanga o tangata o te ana
Yanna.
Kae yae kae te tala ma i te tala o Tiki ma
pauna,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo pa tala.
Tamai ma e tangavaqpen wakamaqvaqva
Wakamakangia i te kainga ma te kae ma te a
kotua ma te ala kae kotua.
E ala taua, ka vave ake ma pe Uya,
Ko ake taki ana i ma ngaia kalaala e
Yalaka ake, ananua,
Kua taka ma te wakangala o kai tangata?

Slave, kinsfolk,
We cry out to the island,
The cord buried to the eyes, buried also the
face.
Gentle body, never fleeing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people wailed, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Malivae ceremony,
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Wakai.[38]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoan.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sulled swiftly.[39]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uya,[40]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 579 642 669

It seems that the killing of the young men of Yaln was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupa and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupa's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Taua and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupa, named Tualangi and Pallon. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupa rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Taua to help him, Alatakupa rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[38] A character in a popular story.
[39] A reference to the epic journeys of Te Palo between Kamoa and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[40] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

167 overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who
173 went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for
609 and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko,
[563 but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)
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That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

173 It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship
609 (*puyi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

177 The men of Pukapuka, organised on the *matakoru* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went
[92 below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngame/iuali* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

173 Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much
643 of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old
561 men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

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It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: 1

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Tuiva was a child of Taonga, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
639 have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of fight now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
173 ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[162] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *hili langi* or *lo kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutae* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
[354] food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yakwalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

Z: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
643, 623

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for governing groups, see p. 19.]

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Mulivutu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants 643 believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were 602 approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*auunga*) 565 of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of 643 the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

644 The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *uakayamoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any 643 side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

643 In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. 644 It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which in- [133] cludes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the
644 chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to
[613] their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last
613 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special
574 salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wokakauvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these
793 chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might
643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu-
645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was
[171] the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born
613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wowine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangaga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *awanga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*alihi wolo*) by virtue of his
995 experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te alihi wolo o Te Ulu-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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te uui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te hau* or *te fama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupela*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

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The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Maliwata	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Leite	i Tini	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipale	One langatila
Yale	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamanuga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki uola*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[644]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of cocoanut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakakauvale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mojakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so
643 were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Matalihi and Taua, the major gods of i Tua, may thus be considered the major gods of the
721 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngaku, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*wakapono koka*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled inter-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*wakaponongo no te*
645 *tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wakaponongo a te uui ariki*)
[177] discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final vote seems to have rested with

643 the chief's executive (*wola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*have te vonanga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
[622 chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
671 the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
641 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupele*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*olihi*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period,
> 881 which is then called *te takalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa warau au i te takalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakanlukki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ya* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kitiapapai (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kuiamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kosamoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kaaliki (children).
Tagamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalon: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loga and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Mulivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupele: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kaa matua.

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wawine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *malivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangaugo* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *aunuga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *wola*. The *wola* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wolo o Te Uiu-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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te wui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kou* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

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The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today.. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Maliwutu	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tuá	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipale	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamatunga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *mataiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*mataiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[641]

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Taua,
643 the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide
774 favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

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646 marised as follows:

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643 *tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*wakapononga a te wui aliki*)
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[177] governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

643 the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vanauga*) to the
several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o*
646 *te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tolatala*
631 *na te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to
discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve
623 boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of
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considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

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gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
671 the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
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682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by
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shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the
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671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punish-
ment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threat-
ened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a
friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but
always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka:

173 I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

173 The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal char-
643 acter, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere devilry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what
661 must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence
578 that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

173 The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tanpanga*, brought back turtle and
579 other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men
643 became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Taua to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakanyika's nominee. Yakanyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tafalili, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and seafarer, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wanguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, taps-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wanguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wanguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

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Te Kaia, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restocked, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pusa usu*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wata, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatokuga, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatokuga succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatokuga was fresh in their minds.

Tafea, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Lete without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tuli-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uvle* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*uale lahau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aswaga po*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tasa, who,

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te palo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

[685]

Civil War

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 "The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wele* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was
placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

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173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

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173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his ceme-
761 tery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his
father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents
and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly
pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over
the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and
533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers
of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up
the *alou* dirge:

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Moe ma te toto e,
Tatou tatangi ki motu e,
Na mauli kape i mata e, kape ma na vae.

Tino yaulefa, ye vava, yaule wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai uatua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia latou i to kotou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te peiki o te takanga
o te wui mulivaka,
Kua ngalo koe, e ule kaina i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wuwuli ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatuteka ia iala
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toka wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakanluia mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na petua ko loto o Talikai.

Kamaini koe pe Waiei,
Ko ye tua na waituaga o tangata o te atu
Yamoa.
Koa yau lua to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua.
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tungounguu wakamanava
Wakamalunga i to kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leka kooua.
E ulu taina, ko vave ake au pe Uyu,
Ke ahu tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Malelo ake, nonewu.
Koa toka ano to wiaangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Waiei.[38]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo called swiftly.[39]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Malo known the footage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyu,[40]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old man), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the
579 people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing,
643 the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed
for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should
669 fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came
across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and
Pailou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw
the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about
their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third
time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu
rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding
his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed
with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help
him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[38] A character in a popular story.
[39] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[40] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

[The effect of the Cook Islands' Act on the patterns of Pukapukan life will be found in the appropriate categories and in category 177.]

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643 the chief's executive (*tevola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vananga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
613] chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577 punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

627 Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manava ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Waina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*make waina*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

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578 a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

177 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies
685 fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing
625 talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
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378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
423 divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
244 intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
672 actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
696 commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
681 punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pule toe* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*si lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *si lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Mataliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitaue, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Mataliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te uwali uwana*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matabiata, lived on the eastern side, *te mato uwana*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hetemu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua mato* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children [848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories
627 of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Malua. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in those houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manava ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Wiaua, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*waka mana*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uukaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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623 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
[622 chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
685 the chief Tulinyanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
682 (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
677 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vanenga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

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613 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest
616 member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uwele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

776 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods
776 were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panemu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *tutau* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 ego's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai uale*, "house eating" or *kai*
584 *hiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
776 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
613 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may
616 intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc.

See also:

Property . . . . . 42 Banditry 879

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423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
185 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Nisa. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuhoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alatalupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *matau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
226 the high chief (*ariki mato*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

[7. See pers, category III-- analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakamagalongo mai kolua,[1] e to taua[1] laia ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe taku kolua i a kolua taua he wakatokatoka wua i te moto. Ka puhua maua i loto, e vayi koa, ngalepolepe. No i ai ma aunai ia te vananga he longo kolua talinga. Wakamaaia kolua wakalolei. Ko te vananga ia na aunai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
377 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
241 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *hotaua* fern to use as fertiliser for
village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou*, *taua*. The latter is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes.
241 The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own
[489] households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*uuhatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves
241 Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the
203 matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that overseers this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua ki te vasanga ko avatu ki to taua kaka. Ka wo loa taua ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka mamai: E takiyaea te nia papalu, e takiyepulupulu te nia. Yaa na mea a te tinia ka mamai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kavoa, e ya te ngonga, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te kape, e ya te kaipua, e ya te anga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangia. Ko te wai mea ia e wakayatia i to taua matua. Ka nono taua i ai e wiau po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.	Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangia* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.
226 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as
223 follows:
623
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685
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At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 152 321 123 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taio from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 157 421 361 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law-breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 221 245 Besides accounting for the law-breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pale pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadilloes. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*si lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *si lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matalikí. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Valuaa, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matalikí with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mali uyuua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiase, lived on the eastern side, *te mata wawaa*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribe, *hotonu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tuo motu* or *tuo ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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643 the chief's executive (*uwle*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*have te vonanga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o*
631 *te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
623 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

[622 613] The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*longatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
685 the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
682 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punish-
ment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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578 a wedding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

122 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies
685 fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
625 from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by inter-

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uukaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to be pale*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yolu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he buried them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and buried their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the tale swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them!" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pale pae*.

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Civil War

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Though the law of *pale pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

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226 ported by the notch in the rear cast (*yubenga matile*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's forehead. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tokoa*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi hoaihoai*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was taps to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
5/8 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 tale puddings (*manu*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also taps formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 tale puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the bonito and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Matokitaingi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled
202 the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish; two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tuakoki*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captain of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakamangala*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*bunoto*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Tonaka and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one
764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

784 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipale, on the boundary between Loto and Ngalo, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Wakangalaia is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 3 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[765] The grave of the chief, Te Kale, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matangi. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 3 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[788] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuanua who was killed as a chief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matauan, of a man named Walehale and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Wakangalaia. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kale and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangao, was a close friend of Te Kale and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his Sunga gods differed from those of Te Kale, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alangano.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*manli ele*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172. Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawahine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*hanua*) of indeterminate

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.

643 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

692

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage. All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

643

787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*usu*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people and for their vigorous old age, unmarked by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

[826]

A distribution (*lauhava*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te ninga pule*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 694 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lasi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

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625 is known by the way in which the *loui* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
694 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato
203 men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people
to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or
[653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report
is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a
new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished,
the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakatongolongo mai kolua,[4] e to tana[4] kolu ki te vananga a te pule ko avetu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe taku kolua i a kolua tana ke wakatoitoka wua i te motu. Ke pukua mana i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepolepo. No i ai ma aunai ia te vananga ke longo kolua taliaga. Wakamasalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aunai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all
will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported
in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the re-
serve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in
secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
241 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to
look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *hetoau* fern to use as fertiliser for
village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *ilaua*, *kolua*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

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605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Molingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uale*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense tapu that exists between *uale atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the tapu *uale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *uale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokuin who married his *uale atua*, Wetten, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and con-
[171] tinue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uale atua*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

602 The attraction of *uale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 chants (*hapu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a consummated affection of one *uale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations
835 for the *uale atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hapu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Manilili koe, ko Tuke au,
Ko ranga ma ka galeia
Wiki ana, e tuke wale atua
E ainakere, e kapa ranga
Ko wakaruwa ahu manaia;
Tuki mika pang ga ia pakia e ia ranaia ia.

You are Manilili (the Pleiades), I am Tuke (Orion)
(We lived) like two dancers together (as do these stars)
Turn to me, oh my *uale atua*
(as we turned, you we the tapu (then)
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I see you) my poke (sample) like the beginning (dawning) of the Ripe (stars).

The second chant runs:

Ko wakaruwa ahu ai au,
Ko yuku mapa i ia ainaki,

Wakaruwa ranga ai au
Koe wana i tuke ia ia ranaga,
Ko tuke ia wakaruwa ka kaw;
E kia ia tuke tuke ranaka,
Ko tuke au ia ia ia au,
Ko ahu ai au ia ia ainaki,
Wiki ana koe ia ia ainaki,
Wiwaki ana ranga ainaki: wakaka ia ia ranaka?

I had dared my desire (as *uale atua*).
The first-born spoke (herself to me) and said: (for my desire)
Dead is my heart (with shame).
I go to my shameful food.
With my lament for you;
Unquestionable is the desire of my heart,
(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
I return near (this place) by the main road,
You turn to me that we may talk,
I like our secret understanding: we shall have intercourse, shan't we?

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613 transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage.
616 As long as there was one lineage in the *uma*, the *uma* was exogamous. When many sub-
lineages developed within the *uma*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the
lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple
[582] sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it
explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups,
so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan
171 society.

613 The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

616 Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties
(each called for this purpose *wakatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed
226 to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by
a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in
Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the
378 men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting
in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group,
petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts
over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety
division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time
more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is
merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns,
represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of impor-
tance to the community.

616 Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings
613 of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, princi-
423 pally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are
divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is
244 no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular
intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth
and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course,
the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided
among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

613 Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial
actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly
672 brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man
696 commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with
retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be
681 punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for
the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning
is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that
they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose
majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered.
That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is
charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relation-
ship ties based on maternal descent.

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203 men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day
with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the
guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state
of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaṅga*). In a loud
voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the
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the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A
typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been
detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[1] e to tuna' luia ki te vanaṅga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tuma ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukua mauna i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepulepu. No i ai na aumai ia te vanaṅga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vanaṅga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa ia te mauna ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

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291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa
489 with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on
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look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women
of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* fern to use as fertilizer for
village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Note the use of the plural pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronoun, *kotou*, *nakou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

579 by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and,
776 in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this
577 regard as showing the power of Taua. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or
609 when meeting foreign-vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throw-
721 ing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

701 A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign ves-
609 sels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kawa*
726 (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uoi taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *uuli kawa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kawa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard
[202] the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and
264 came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself
726 set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their
609 malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

712 No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans.
701 In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

WARFARE

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Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*awanga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on unilateral raids, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tasa, who,

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Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*oumaga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on autocratic rule, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who

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yenga, but genealogies give name of his three wives as related to Tuliayenga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wotiz. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tuiva lineage, killed with the chief Alatoinga. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally induced into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[122]

Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayenga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepen, blood son of Ikilua and Uliaga, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Lotu. Pepen nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawa, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepen nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (yala), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepen in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Lotu.

Pepen was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Metaliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepen were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amicable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

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516 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking,
156 wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

131 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 500 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles
167 northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire
311 population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The
101 word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for
367 the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-vaka (Head-of-the-reef), refers to the legendary origin
103 of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361 The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by
505 canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside
491 the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-
766 most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends
764 across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one
423 reserve of Yato called Nisa. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.
361 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato.
931 They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted
621 after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

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361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of
491 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-
487 house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

103

Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ale	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimanu	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Takamuni	'Circle'?
	Ulekawa	'Penis-of-sennit'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki*
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki*

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

* Mataliki (mata ariki, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (mata iiki, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

103 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig. 1, *a*, *b*).[1]

Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 92.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 132 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and 244 distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the 132 new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual 731 famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. 262 With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just outside the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. 731 A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

1. [See p. 18, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

731/132 latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

731 In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the 161 imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the popula- [578] tion was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the 821 control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a 527 season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it 796 holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

821 The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are asso-
621 ciated with the villages as follows:

796 Ngake: Kaitua, Mauaka, Malaugai, Malaugai tonga, Tonga, Mulitanga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Wakalua.
Yato: Tokolau iti, Tokolau matua, Wakatiu, Palagu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nina and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ai*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed
ai mowan. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of
621 the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunin (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

Village Property

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te ayanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef,
621 inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the
226 reef. The reef between Matawua, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utuoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tahatai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lawi*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *tekupu* birds (tern).

Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lasi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
378 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
879 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wukalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wukalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wukauiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
725 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
872 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

762 replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*haba ki hanga o te ala*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

Cultivation further consists in weeding (*hangai i te vayamaya ai*) and fertilizing (*mahalopo* or *silihao*) the talo beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are transport into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pahanai* leaves, *lau hoanua* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*palapala*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pahanai* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is transport in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pahanai* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This manner fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

In the old days a little dryland talo (*hapa*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *palaha* are recognized:

Taki te tinapuda: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, lua tupu te ala o te uawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, lua valu te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po fauna, lua lua te lito o te lua: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po hagaulu, lua valu te lito wau: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Tuyuno atu, lua lua lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua valu mai te uhi o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua lua tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua lua wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua lua lima: (25d day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakalaugawali: (29th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua taki te lua lima, lua uyi, lua tupu mai ohi te lua launa, lua ono lua talo, lua ofu: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua atauto ki hanga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ofu lua ki hanga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua ofuo te ala: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua matapa te uawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Ofuo ki te vavanga o te uawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua lifoi, lua vaetoko: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which infor-
591 mation is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
621 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunea, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that
173 devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[323] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another.
597 X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father,
764 she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the
177 father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. These siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kaialalou, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

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Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

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The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lapu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yaw*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Tekalonga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamenga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Mosua, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoka, Malowua, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Maliwuta lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangafipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

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PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

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Rehabilitation

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Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakemomoao*). Both he and his executive officer (*uola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kielia, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukiaga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lowi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*tuhaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery
131 from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records
643 speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was
538 again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tuikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture: 1

173 Tuiva was a child of Tacuga, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage.
639 This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tulaiyanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupou against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupou. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are your going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

521 to be *mata hirihiri* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

These native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata hirihiri*. Such a person is furious with
152 children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quar-
578 rels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *hii*, which
626 is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *hii* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *mantoa pete* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
576 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *uehalahapeka*; one who arro-
867 gates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *uehalaha-*
626 *peka*. This word is distinguished from the words *uitoki*, *uimahi*, and *matawua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *uitoki*; a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *uitoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *uehamitomito*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *uehamitomito*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yoyuiu-uuia tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngatu uehaeya*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy
361 person is a *tangata hahiaoge*; a person who flatters another with frequent presents of
626 food is said to *yokoyoko*; a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi*; a person who is greedy for food is *hopu yae*; a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanea*; a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai yae*; one who steals food is *toyeyoe*; one who is generous at giving away food is *hoihoi mafie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is consid-
732 ered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of *dami-mutua* is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*,
158 stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and
826 takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapapa*, meaning
626 that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *hama*: a crippled person has a *hama*; a bald-headed man has a *hama* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toka vaia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toka maua* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children
152 or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toka vaia, ko koe" (You're the one
857 I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uai vaia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uai maua*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering
156 not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uai vaia* (one who does not make enemies), *or e ye uilauili* (one who does not select people).

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

~~526~~ Informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been run-
ning and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
~~744~~ busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation
for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women.
This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas.
In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the
ia'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect
nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to
do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu
on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to
Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomor-
row fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the
recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, em-
bracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport
program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th.
Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New
Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day
was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard,
people from each village grouped under its own shelter.
First there was imine, in which singers from each village
sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then
tug-of-war between teams from each village, including wo-
men's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners
from each village visited in turn each other village. Wed-
nesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard
throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters
as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were
devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each
village visited in turn and played against teams from the other
two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g.,
wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food,
fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday,
January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and
coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer
by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

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136 752 sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his 136 foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou, louili kula, louili uli,* 820 *louili akau,* and *louili taupulepule,* which live under the sand. *Uuukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its 787 poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water 226 bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only 226 the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipea are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *heuru* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

226 In the first stage of growth (*tuua te tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te* 262 *tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are 185 considered tasty. *Kauru* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *heuru* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lauaya heuru*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *heuru* were not reserved (*tuakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

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757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
572 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *mari atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yourugo o te atua hi lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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757 the thumb on the vein and then with deep pressure, moving it slowly along the vein outward. Both movements are applied in all types of sickness, on all parts of the body, for every type of pain. Even in inflammation of the breast in a nursing mother, *lomilomi* is applied to relieve congestion or allay pain. Only the inexperienced person indulges in general rubbing movements over the whole body and on places remote from the source of pain. Massage, in the conventional sense, is never used by the expert medicine man, who concentrates on deep pressure over the seat of pain. There is no use of chanting either to assist the rhythm of pressure or magically to increase the efficacy of the technique.

752/757 Deep pressure and thumb movement are further applied for the relief of pain as follows:

Strains and sprains. The limb is explored with the fingers to determine the part of greatest swelling; deep pressure is then applied to this spot while the patient moves the limb at frequent intervals.

Pain in the middle of the forearm. Deep pressure is applied to the blood vessel in the upper arm; then the thumb is pressed along the main artery in the forearm, from the proximal to the distal portion of the limb, thus rubbing the sickness to the fingers, and ultimately from the fingers into the air. An added treatment is the application of a suitable medicine to the wrist and then pressing toward the wrist in such a way that the sickness is conveyed to the wrist and there absorbed by the medicinal application.

Short breath (*ao potopoto*): Shortness of breath resulting from overwork is diagnosed as due to violent pounding of the heart. Deep pressure is applied to the right top and left top of the abdominal cavity. This is believed to relieve breath tension, but no effect on the blood flow is recognized.

Headache (*tinga te uhi*). Deep pressure is applied to the nape of the neck (the effect being presumably to paralyze the nerve centers in this part of the body).

Constipation (*tutai pukapuka*) and diarrhea (*totapi*). Deep pressure is applied to the colon (in the one case to relieve strangulation, in the other to assist the process of adjustment).

Stomach pain (*tinga te manawa*) including mild appendicitis. Deep pressure is applied to the part of the abdomen affected.

Filarial swellings (*mahi kinokino*). For swellings of the foreleg, for example, deep pressure is applied to the thigh and is followed by thumb *mahatele*.

757 Formerly, a medicine man might perform the pigeon-sounding ritual (*lupa*) before beginning the *lomilomi* and at frequent intervals during the
755 course of the treatment, with the idea of introducing the power of the god into his fingers and of retaining it during the treatment. This method was not common; its use depended on the personal choice of the medicine man and on the severity of the sickness. When he did this, bystanders would say: "Ka yopukia e te atua i te lima" (The god will seize the hand).

752 Broken and dislocated bones are treated by empirical means, supported formerly by communication with the god if complications set in. A fractured bone is *ivi uati*; to set a fracture is *mahatou*. The technique was illustrated by Pau only for a broken forearm, a dislocated elbow, and a dislocated jaw, though undoubtedly he has a reasonably good technique for dealing with every type of limb dislocation or breakage:

The medicine man grasps the broken limb with his two hands, the two thumbs on opposite sides of the upper part of the limb, the fingers of both hands holding the limb

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752 below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*yoko*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*tui lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*lakau makeyako*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*ava*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *wenongo taka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

751 Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *maki awukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki taenowa* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

752 Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development. The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories
753 of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaha*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio hi te tuanin*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka hi te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakelekeles*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*mahimaki na mangamanga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
791 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamau was a Meliwata man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These
713 were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 tight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fisherman waits for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753/825 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis tail of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is vicelike; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

225/820 3. *Wuli wowo*, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225/262 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fats (*pukualanga*) and the major internal organs (*ngahau matua*). It was taps for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan levies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*weke makave loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*weke makave poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*punga*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*mawie*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ula*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ula* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after moonset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ula* with his hands (*lolay ula* or *tanga ula*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lomalama*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a single-piece barbed hook, *halowa* bait, and plenty of chum.

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605 visits at the house of Elia, and Moinagi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotea visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *male atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *male atua* are involved in a case. Neither *male atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *male atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense *tapu* that exists between *male atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the *tapu male atua* become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *male atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *male atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokaia who married his *male atua*, Wenua, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly
[171] assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *male atua*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old *tapus* were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

602 The attraction of *male atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 chants (*kapu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a consummated affection of one *male atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations
835 for the *male atua tapu*, informants could only quote the two following sections from *kapu*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Manaffi ko, ko Tuka au.	You are Manaffi (the Pleiades), I am Tuka (Orion)
Ko ruma ma ko pakoro	(We feel) the two hearts together (as do these stars)
Tuki ma, ruptiko ruta atua	Turn to me, oh my *male atua*
E [illegible]	You are scared, you are the *tapu* place
Ko [illegible]	(For which) my heart has longed,
Tuki ruta pauta ko te pauta o te [illegible] ko.	(When I see you) my *tapu* friends like the beginning (stories) of the Night [illegible]

The second chant reads:

E [illegible] old of me,	I had dried my chicken (for my *male atua*),
E [illegible] I to shield,	The [illegible] spoke (hurled to me) and [illegible]
	[illegible] my [illegible].
E [illegible] *male* of me	Dead is my heart (with shame),
Ko [illegible] I [illegible] and language,	I am in my shameful [illegible],
Ko [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]	With my [illegible] for [illegible],
I had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],	Unquestionable in the desire of my heart,
Ko [illegible] ko ko [illegible] ko,	(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
[illegible] all to me to [illegible],	I return near (this place) by the *male* road,
[illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible],	For turn to me that we may talk.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	I hide our secret understanding: we shall have intercourse, shall we?

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *male atua* is *hai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *hai malenga* (incest).

No reference to *male atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *male atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
538 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *male atua*
177 to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu; and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from violations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

847 Conception is known as *te mahaitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mahailikinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *ike* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
833 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*mahoanoa*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the taro fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*yui*), decorative hitts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and is likely to be choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or sennit of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, cane dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for
261 special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *haveu* crab meat gives her child crooked legs; eating *tupa* crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *haipoa* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *haveu* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores on many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The [753] pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
838 (*vale uw*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluekø*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wis eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i toua wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wis* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521
461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
838 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Maliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamatanga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Maliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	2	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamatanga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

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776 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of
114 minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiho*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in
615 the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island.
562 He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Taua nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaon, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loica-o-Matalihi (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Matalihi (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Matalihi (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Nuu-ya-o-Matalihi (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*uukamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the
828 servant of Tuua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who
53 promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki).
526 Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tibitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
773 such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tibitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tibitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
592 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
577 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaf-
784 fected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki hai kiko*, sickness caused by
753 incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te*
776 *yuuuuga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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753 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea uukglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wameuune, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *vano*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalamea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *weke*, octopus; *uluyina*, sea porcupine; *uluyele*, variety of star fish; *unakoa*, univalve shell; *kanu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupukaua*, a rank seaweed; *pikipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kavau*, a robber crab; *kalami*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *veli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, snap, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

757 759 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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755 sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of
787 the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was
755 given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by
753 ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on
776 a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

775 A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to
753 avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing
755 the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

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755 On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

755 The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

775 773 Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yuo*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

753 The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the care was continued until all were put out of the way.

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539 E ulu kumala unu i te va mai ngake	You are like the tops of kumala leaves picked in eastern places
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya	In our love, set apart and sacred as gods of the Underworld
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku ngalo	We will disappear like islands lost in the sea.
Te uila e nunui i te kili	Your skin is bright like constant flashings of lightning,
E kalipo kili e angalua	A skin irridescent and flashing,
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi	As of a delicious fish I cut and remove your head
Lele i to koyi tapu o Moula	The colors of your skin run like the tapu rainbow stripes of Moula the god
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku wai ya	You are my fish caught and pulled up at the tapu islet of Ko
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau	As sacred, you, as the worshipping place of Ulutakapau (6)
Ko no takuake e tama ya	Where you stay praying, you, the holy one,
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi	For you, I brushed aside the entreaties of my lineage.
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki	You grew like the wutu trees of the land of Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,	Tall trees but stunted in their branching,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu	You flourished like the leaves of the tatapu tree.
Unu mai na pa koloa	I drew you safe from the enclosure of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
Te tane o na nuku kokoa	You, o man of the legendary mischievous islands to the east (8)

6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.

789 Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

793 The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to 754 eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

775 Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to 774 trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to 114 trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

754 If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,[20] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls —some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like o spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[20] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaalu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats;
352 these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts,
753 but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

755 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
571 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of
784 a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by
753 incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te*
776 *yewenga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

114 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

[155]

115 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

[114]

The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

115 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the
154 visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes
539 who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
759 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tunuaga*[10] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[10] The Pukapukan word *tunuaga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

755 On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

755 The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

775 Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from
773 the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te ywa*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

753 The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu*
756 *tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own
755 gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

755/183 In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old sennit malo that the child would receive should it live to maturity.

The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau kino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.

All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

757 Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably [171] borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uaua*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi*, cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.

The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *yoka* (deep pressure) or *uaua* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *taukatele* (to travel), placing

the thumb on the vein and then with deep pressure, moving it slowly along the vein outward. Both movements are applied in all types of sickness, on all parts of the body, for every type of pain. Even in inflammation of the breast in a nursing mother, *lomilomi* is applied to relieve congestion or allay pain. Only the inexperienced person indulges in general rubbing movements over the whole body and on places remote from the source of pain. Massage, in the conventional sense, is never used by the expert medicine man, who concentrates on deep pressure over the seat of pain. There is no use of chanting either to assist the rhythm of pressure or magically to increase the efficacy of the technique.

Deep pressure and thumb movement are further applied for the relief of pain as follows:

Strains and sprains. The limb is explored with the fingers to determine the part of greatest swelling; deep pressure is then applied to this spot while the patient moves the limb at frequent intervals.

Pain in the middle of the forearm. Deep pressure is applied to the blood vessel in the upper arm; then the thumb is pressed along the main artery in the forearm, from the proximal to the distal portion of the limb, thus rubbing the sickness to the fingers, and ultimately from the fingers into the air. An added treatment is the application of a suitable medicine to the wrist and then pressing toward the wrist in such a way that the sickness is conveyed to the wrist and there absorbed by the medicinal application.

Short breath (*ao potopoto*): Shortness of breath resulting from overwork is diagnosed as due to violent pounding of the heart. Deep pressure is applied to the right top and left top of the abdominal cavity. This is believed to relieve breath tension, but no effect on the blood flow is recognized.

Headache (*tinga te ulu*). Deep pressure is applied to the nape of the neck (the effect being presumably to paralyze the nerve centers in this part of the body).

Constipation (*intai pukapuka*) and diarrhea (*tatapi*). Deep pressure is applied to the colon (in the one case to relieve strangulation, in the other to assist the process of adjustment).

Stomach pain (*tinga te manava*) including mild appendicitis. Deep pressure is applied to the part of the abdomen affected.

Filarial swellings (*wahi kinokina*). For swellings of the foreleg, for example, deep pressure is applied to the thigh and is followed by thumb *wakatele*.

Formerly, a medicine man might perform the pigeon-sounding ritual (*lupa*) before beginning the *lomilomi* and at frequent intervals during the course of the treatment, with the idea of introducing the power of the god into his fingers and of retaining it during the treatment. This method was not common; its use depended on the personal choice of the medicine man and on the severity of the sickness. When he did this, bystanders would say: "Ka yopukia e te atua i te lima" (The god will seize the hand).

Broken and dislocated bones are treated by empirical means, supported formerly by communication with the god if complications set in. A fractured bone is *ivi nati*; to set a fracture is *wakatou*. The technique was illustrated by Pau only for a broken forearm, a dislocated elbow, and a dislocated jaw, though undoubtedly he has a reasonably good technique for dealing with every type of limb dislocation or breakage:

The medicine man grasps the broken limb with his two hands, the two thumbs on opposite sides of the upper part of the limb, the fingers of both hands holding the limb

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
301 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie*
613 may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
[372] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad 776 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
822 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped
257 Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
193 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
776 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island
613 might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *sewa*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

613 lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

193 After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring 554 priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupale*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

[267] 156

196 Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by fre-
613 quent food-gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *hakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance
188 by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *sukatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on
187 the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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753 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea maakglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wanewane, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nino*, anything tangled; *vona*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalamea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *uake*, octopus; *ulayina*, sea porcupine; *ulayele*, variety of star fish; *unakoa*, univalve shell; *komu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupukana*, a rank seaweed; *pitipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kovu*, a robber crab; *kalomi*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *uali*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

756 759 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
757 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An ex-
ample of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *vale mahi* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuuvaga*[a] *mahi* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Pukapukan word *tuuvaga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skillful, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puha* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaha*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vas matakelekelea*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na manganunga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
791 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamau was a Mulliwatu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was
773 filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

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756 ghosts. These were their properties, tala, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamaai was a priest of Te Lauapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lauga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiou*, the *vete*, the *ouaiai*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

a. Wallen. Wallen was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned time. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malmalo*, the *eov*, the *uuti hava*, the *uo*, the *haloma*, the *atule*: when he chopped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has
757 his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and Inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tamakomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the
757 medicine as a poultice (*sucua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tamakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lole* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tatule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And
— awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).
787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:
775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelen ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale pontini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

1. [See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

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In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

> In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old sennit malo that the child would receive should it live to maturity.
>
> The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau hino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.
>
> All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

757

Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

[In]

> Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uma*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi*, cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.
>
> The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *puha* (deep pressure) or *tuaua* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *uahawle* (to travel), placing

759 the thumb on the vein and then with deep pressure, moving it slowly along the vein outward. Both movements are applied in all types of sickness, on all parts of the body, for every type of pain. Even in inflammation of the breast in a nursing mother, *lomilomi* is applied to relieve congestion or allay pain. Only the inexperienced person indulges in general rubbing movements over the whole body and on places remote from the source of pain. Massage, in the conventional sense, is never used by the expert medicine man, who concentrates on deep pressure over the seat of pain. There is no use of chanting either to assist the rhythm of pressure or magically to increase the efficacy of the technique.

752 Deep pressure and thumb movement are further applied for the relief of pain as follows:

757 Strains and sprains. The limb is explored with the fingers to determine the part of greatest swelling; deep pressure is then applied to this spot while the patient moves the limb at frequent intervals.

Pain in the middle of the forearm. Deep pressure is applied to the blood vessel in the upper arm; then the thumb is pressed along the pain artery in the forearm, from the proximal to the distal portion of the limb, thus rubbing the sickness to the fingers, and ultimately from the fingers into the air. An added treatment is the application of a suitable medicine to the wrist and then pressing toward the wrist in such a way that the sickness is conveyed to the wrist and there absorbed by the medicinal application.

Short breath (*ao potopoto*). Shortness of breath resulting from overwork is diagnosed as due to violent pounding of the heart. Deep pressure is applied to the right top and left top of the abdominal cavity. This is believed to relieve breath tension, but no effect on the blood flow is recognised.

Headache (*tinga te uhu*). Deep pressure is applied to the nape of the neck (the effect being presumably to paralyse the nerve centers in this part of the body).

Constipation (*tutui pukapuka*) and diarrhea (*tutuji*). Deep pressure is applied to the colon (in the epic case to relieve strangulation, in the other to assist the process of adjustment).

Stomach pain (*tinga te manava*) including mild appendicitis. Deep pressure is applied to the part of the abdomen affected.

Filarial swellings (*mahi hinohino*). For swellings of the foreleg, for example, deep pressure is applied to the thigh and is followed by thumb *mahatele*.

O

759 Formerly, a medicine man might perform the pigeon-sounding ritual (*lupe*) before beginning the *lomilomi* and at frequent intervals during the
755 course of the treatment, with the idea of introducing the power of the god into his fingers and of retaining it during the treatment. This method was not common; its use depended on the personal choice of the medicine man and on the severity of the sickness. When he did this, bystanders would say: "Ka yopukin e te atua i te lima" (The god will seize the hand).

752 Broken and dislocated bones are treated by empirical means, supported formerly by communication with the god if complications set in. A fractured bone is *ivi mati*; to set a fracture is *mahatou*. The technique was illustrated by Pau only for a broken forearm, a dislocated elbow, and a dislocated jaw, though undoubtedly he has a reasonably good technique for dealing with every type of limb dislocation or breakage:

The medicine man grasps the broken limb with his two hands, the two thumbs on opposite sides of the upper part of the limb, the fingers of both hands holding the limb

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752 below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*yoka*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*mi lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*lakau makayako*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*ava*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *wonoma teka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

757 Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *maki awukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki taenaua* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

752 Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development. The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories
763 of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mato pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakelekelea*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na mangamanga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
791 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamaa was a Malwutu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was
773 filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

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756 ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamau was a priest of Te Laupapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiva*, the *vete*, the *eaaiai*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Walieu. Walieu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyen was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malewile*, the *eve*, the *wuti hava*, the *we*, the *haloma*, the *atule:* when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has
757 his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tamakomako* plant.
757 Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*eeme*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tamakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

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757/278 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nono* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings [844] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lolo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*maki ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taryinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taryinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*hua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo moe*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192/826 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145/856 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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252 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists
462 his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *uale imu* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo
261 and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on
258 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

Th. coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods
252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*aganagau*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *ouikomuko* is baked (*ouikomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*uiko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu halohalo* from the *niu mata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halohalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*yeu*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu halohalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially
[343] for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tuna*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
102 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
626 suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
577 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
244 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
709 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

857 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
887 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
554 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata mana*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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753 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various:
776 theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea mahgliolia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wenenene, anything twisted, lumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *vana*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *halomea*, species of sea anemone; *matua halou*, variety of sea cucumber; *halou*, eel; *weke*, octopus; *uleyina*, sea porcupine; *uleyele*, variety of star fish; *uuakoa*, univalve shell; *kaua*, another univalve shell; *houa*, a seaweed; *pupuhave*, a rank seaweed; *pihipihi*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kuvu*, a robber crab; *halami*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *uili*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

757 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tan-*
759 *gata wotu*, and *tangata yiveyiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yiveyiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
[57] other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
154 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An ex-
177 ample of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

[159] One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *wale mahi* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuaraga*[a] *mahi* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *longlowei* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams.
177 The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further
contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with
unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his
lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar
or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense
for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent
individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient
about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis
the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of
medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the
gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the
patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same
time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Pukapukan word *tuaraga*, cognate of Maori *whanga* (expert), is now applied to white medical practitioners. In war *tuaraga* was used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skillful, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

756 ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamen was a priest of Te Lampapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *toiro*, the *vete*, the *mamai*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

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193

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757 278

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lala* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mati tatale*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

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843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *lomi te uite* (pressure on the fetus) or *lomi ngafu* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *uehetele* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pata. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *lomilomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate ngali*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

764 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the 769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in 761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or 769 Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an 761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight. 775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in- 609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the 626 behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

759 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
572 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
784 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yumunga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
579 trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
761 permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over
533 the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *oloe* dirge:

539 Moe ma te teta e,
Tutou tatangi ki matu e,
Na mauli kape i matu e, kape ma na vaa.

Tino youlalu, ye vava, yaale waa mai tai mai—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no latou na vaie,
E tengia hotou i te hotou tangata,
Wali wua nai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wui mulivaka,
Koa ngalo koe, e uke kaina i te pou tu,

To yika tala wawuli ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatakatka ia lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakaukaia mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Samoini koe pe Welei,
Ko ye tua na waitunga o tangata o te atu
Yamoa.
Koa yau loa te tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te valu o Te Palo ya tale.
Tenei au e tungoungoe wakamenuva
Wakamaikungo i te kainga ma te kau na to a
hotou ma te ulu loka hotou.
E oku taina, ke vave ake au pe Uyo,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Maleko ake, nenewu.
Koa teka tao to winangale' e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[29]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoan.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[30]
Here I am waiting, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[31]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
579 that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
643 time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed
669 for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[29] A character in a popular story.
[30] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[31] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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502 waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star
787 course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

181 The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss
181 over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that
761 even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line
181 with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme
522 realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
627 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
579 children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
●761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
579 point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

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805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki lunga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kaulilili loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maua: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata lema: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [178 762] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *wulo* bark was hung on the bench nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aumaga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Taua, who,

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173 539 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 173 593 602 579 [762] Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watuinoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

173 484 177 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

173 177 [554] When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *ylliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Matayauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernbrmal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

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226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*notonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might
fish *ate*. The *notonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked talo
to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the
meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island
with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of
the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ate* one
year automatically became the group for succeeding *pale* fish the next year. All fish
226 caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
765 *notonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
were taught the elements of *ate* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season
started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman
(*tangata tua moive*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain.
His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow
had the next oldest man of the *notonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of
the *notonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
731 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six
bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that
seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one
bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as
a breast ornament (*yano*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death
provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew,
as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain
gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope
or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift.
The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his
crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts
as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wokayano*, and the gift itself was
yano, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *wolonga*.

Ate fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out
far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a
landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ulu-mapu-o-te-tokalua, which juts out of the water opposite Yato
village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or single coconut leaf on this rock as a gift
(*mahatoto*) to the god Malakitelangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune.
It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a
canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without
fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the
canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to
return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the
reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew
had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal
of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be
destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu
returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo ele* (stinking
ngongo birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
of the group returned loaded with *ate* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*inao*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled
up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wu*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tupetupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaeveevenga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yen*) worn by women. The art of making the *yen* has been lost today.

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627 The owner of the stolen property might
671 go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
578 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the confessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which relatives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

627 Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manatu ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manatu ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Wuina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*maka musa*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

Disposition of Children

386 No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

764 Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*ejaepa*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of tentlike enclosure called *la* by sewing four pandanus mats (*kie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a *malo mate*, if a male—a short pandanus malo only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yuus* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *titi ui* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before if it is obvious that death is imminent.

[763]

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitou*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they 526 selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go 613 into the house of seclusion (*uale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*wakaevui*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *tauie* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *paapaa* wood called *te ouri o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*aloa*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*ati*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

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752 below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*toka*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*vai lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*lakau mahoyako*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*avu*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *uwonuga teka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

757 Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *maki owukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki taewauo* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

752 Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development. The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories
763 of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men

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[421] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of
613 paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon
(*tai*) to outer beach (*tuo*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned
423 by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai*
311 to *tuo*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on
the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach.
[314] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated
on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members
of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land.
The *kaus* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tuo*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kaus i te tawa lalo*) are: Te Fa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kaus i te tawa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-lalala, Te Wele, Te Fuapua.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tuo* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Nina in the western section of the village.

421 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two
613 kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared
among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female
241 members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on
the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corpora-
428 tion and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among
individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

Each section (*kaus*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named
423 *yilunaga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in gen-
613 eral, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through
marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different
692 lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency
is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or
remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections
on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds
or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups,
each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged
to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
378 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
879 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth
of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual
control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulch-
ing (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into
physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others
to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few
Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to
the old site of Ngake village at Umpoa, and were destroyed by the tidal
wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with
sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being ex-
cavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
773 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors
have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children,
768 blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death,
his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the
deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures
that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
872 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the
wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*pulunga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi hawikowi*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was *tapu* to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*nasewa*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also *tapu* formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Matakitaingi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 30, then 30 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tuakaia*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *tabu*-*mangala*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*hanuta*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Totolou and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapukan today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291 177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *uakakauu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalava*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*ina*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C81pa conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *uvlo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai uvlo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or [764] was wound round the waist (*pepelu ki te matai uvlo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalava*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *uakomalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *mako uala* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamatomako*, *lakau yili*, *pola puka*, and *maile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uno* fiber were termed *mua titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 383) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

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Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yiongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pata*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wale* and *tuai aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

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the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*yula*) was marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the foot; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*uvola*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the foot; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a simple headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are undressed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to 2 feet wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

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Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or peculiarities of the deceased:

[826]

Veti, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *kaupapa* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *punga* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that skulls of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, Te Apa, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,*B*). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*tau*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pau made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*uvuta taukinokino*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

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A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Taupeka, on the boundary between Yato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

764 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipole, on the boundary between Loto and Ngahe, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangakula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a single headstone and footstone.

[766] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 32 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[768] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuauna who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautu, of a man named Walakula and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangakula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Matagea, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alangaoa.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*mauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 775 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

[778] 172 764

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *sous tini ai*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayao*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).* They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21).
177 No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

* [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

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PATERNAL LINEAGES

There are seven principal paternal lineages in Pukapuka. Each lineage is a *po*. The word *kainga* is used synonymously with *po*, but informants thought this usage modern. The term *po* is also applied to the burial ground associated with each paternal group. Other meanings of *po* are "night" and the "Underworld". When a man talks of his *po*, he means his paternal lineage and the piece of ground where he will be buried. The importance of the burial ground as giving a symbolic locus of reference for the varied functions of the lineage is shown by the fact that when asking the paternal lineage membership of a person one does not say: "What is his *po*?" but, "Where will he be buried?" (*Ka tanu i wea*?) The answer always provides the name of the burial ground. On the other hand, in narrative the name of the *po* is always used as an adjective to indicate paternal descent affiliation, as, "Ko Pakula, e tane Matanga" (Pakula was a man of Matanga *po*).

Membership in a paternal lineage is by birth or adoption. An individual is buried in the cemetery of his sociological father. A woman is buried in the cemetery of her father; her children, male and female, are buried in the cemetery of her husband. Each of the paternal lineages is divided into a number of smaller paternal sub-lineages called *wakavae*. Each major cemetery of the lineage is divided into a corresponding number of sections, also called *wakavae*. Hence a man and his children belong to a *po* but also to a *wakavae*. The *wakavae* may be regarded as a paternal sub-lineage, the *po* as a grouping of paternal sub-lineages into what is here termed a lineage. A final list of Pukapukan lineages and their sub-lineages is as follows:

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Villages	Paternal Lineage (Po)	Paternal Sub-lineage (Wakavae)
Ngake	Maliwaia	Yalou, Aliki, Alia
	Matanga	Paku-i-tua, Te Manako, Waka-moe-ki-te-loto, Angialulu
Loto	Yangaliponepone or Tilotilowia	Wakavae-ki-mua, Yangaliponepone, Yamanaia
	I Tua	Wakavae Aliki, Wakavae-ki-muli, I Tua, Walanga-kula
Yate	Yamanaga	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-ki-muli
	Yayi	Tokalau, Matanga
	Yalaiga	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-muli-vae, Walagia

Note: Various lists of the lineages and sub-lineages were collected during our stay. The above list represents the names procured toward the end of our visit, and is a clarification of earlier lists. As with the names of maternal lineages (*wae*) and sub-lineages (*kainanga*), there was a progressive clarification in the minds of informants as our investigation proceeded. Common, uninstructed opinion tends to confuse paternal lineage and sub-lineage, a natural tendency, perhaps, to promote one's sub-lineage to the status of a lineage. It is likely that the relative numerical strength of lineage and sub-lineage, and also their status, have fluctuated during the course of Pukapukan history owing to natural causes and to the predominance of certain personalities at certain times.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
591 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

[523] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

264 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to tuka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to tuka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
597 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and he herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

764 Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
177 household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the 764 story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 613 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the 177 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited 364 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the 182 already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*akiki*) or chief (*uwi akiki*). (See pp. 234-192 237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uwi akiki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matairapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uwa* 618 unit) or village membership (*matoyiapo* unit, sometimes called *lalu kakai*), 621 depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

61L Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

Disposition of Children

586 No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

764 Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*male*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*epaepa*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and there kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of textiles enclosure called *la* by sewing four pandanus mats (*bie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a male *ruete*, if a male—a short pandanus male only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yone* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *ñño ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before it it is obvious that death is imminent.

[763]

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uakoiuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uoto-aroaga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for bottled-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uatonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[18] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of mats or tako, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[18] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to
764 the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uyu*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*iuu* or *tuluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the
775 Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niu wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners. The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakaloloi*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their homes. There is no record that a seclusion (*haitau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*toupe*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

764 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purifi-
764 cation rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse,
of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The
underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the
mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retire-
ment until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the
passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a ceme-
761 tery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a ceme-
tery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are
mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut
lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If
one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is
legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones,
rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the ceme-
tery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking
a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one
will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the
native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children
play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pan-
danus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the head-
stones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or
769 Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan
indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that
the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness
in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever
occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
626 behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names
but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for
instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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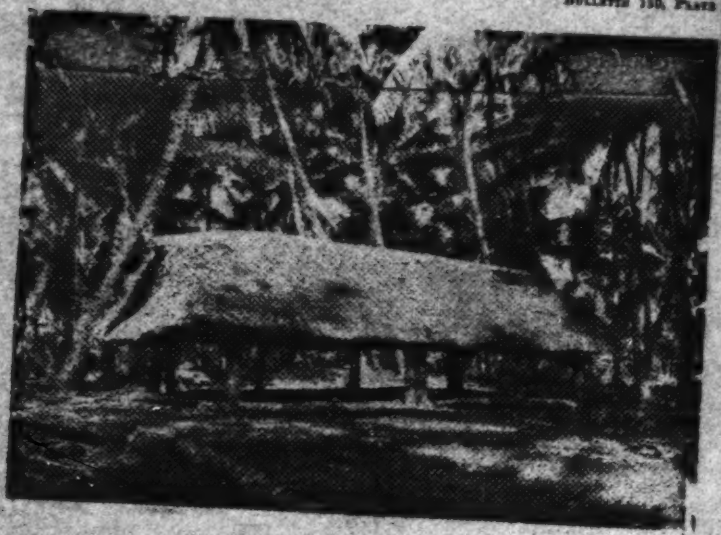

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B

HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE *WALE ATUA* TYPE AT THE PLACE MATALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA, USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD; ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REENFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF LOTO VILLAGE; THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
764

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for graves, see pp. 25-27.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

764

a

b

FIGURE 3.—Ancient grave forms: *a*, grave of Tuanua, rectangle 12 feet 8 inches by 4 feet 9 inches; head slab 2 feet 7 inches high; *b*, grave of Taupeloa, Tongan or Samoan warrior who settled on Motu Koe Islet.

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

●764

PLATE 1.—Burial marae of high chiefs showing triangular, rectangular, and "eared" types of grave stones.

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net tiwitiwi fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and looks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--118 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovely skin.
Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
Loa ngalo i tana muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
E vayia io toku kili, koa taukuiakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Clothing for Special Occasions

292 Both men and women wore special clothes for festivals. The dress of the man for sports contests consisted of the malo of pandanus or the malo of sennit, or both. A non-contestant might also wear a poncho-like garment called *la kupenga*, and a sennit malo with attached feathers. The sennit malo (*malo kewa*) and the pandanus malo (*malo kie*) are described elsewhere (pp. 133, 146). Both are worn for wrestling contests, formerly also in warfare. The sennit malo alone is worn for other contests like spear throwing. The method of donning the two malos (*pelu te malo*) is as follows:

First each fringed edge of the pandanus malo is turned in to make a longitudinal fold about ¾ inch deep. The malo is then folded longitudinally a second time along the mesial line so that the final width of the malo is about 3½ inches. An assistant takes the malo at the middle section and passes it round the waist from back to front crossing the two free ends above the navel. The malo is pulled tight; one free end is passed down over the genitals, through the legs, and brought up the back to hang over the shoulder. The other free end is brought up over the chest and also hung over the shoulder. The assistant takes the commencement end of the sennit malo, places this loop over the pandanus malo at the navel, and winds the sennit malo round the waist on top of the free end (thus burying it) and over the pandanus malo. Five or six transverse turns are made down, then a similar number of turns made up and over the first turns. The assistant continues to wind the malo round the waist until the twisted sennit end is reached. This end is passed down on the outside of the transverse turns, pushed under, and brought up underneath the transverse turns and over to the front again. The free end is pushed through and caught over the downward turn of the sennit cord, pulled tight, and the free end passed along the malo for about 8 inches, and bound round it again. This binding is continued until the transverse turns of the sennit malo are secure, the free end of the binding cord being fastened with a knot to the last transverse binding. One free end of the pandanus malo is now brought down from the front shoulder, passed down over the sennit malo, pushed up and underneath the sennit, then obliquely down and under again, continuing to bind the pandanus malo round the sennit malo until the middle of the back is reached, when the free end of the pandanus malo is tucked under the sennit. At the back, the second free end of the pandanus malo that has passed through the legs is similarly bound round the sennit malo and worked round to the front where the free end is tucked under the sennit malo. Depending on the length of the pandanus malo, the binding turns will be spaced or contiguous. For composite dart throwing contests, the sennit malo alone is girt on as described. One man always helps another to gird on either malo. An alternative method of donning the two malos is given by Macgregor (20, p. 48 and pl. 4).1

292 There is a reference in a chant to a malo termed *malo kula*. Informants
285 could give little information about this garment, though they suggested it was not necessarily worn by the chief alone but might be worn by any man who was fortunate enough to own one. It consisted of the ordinary five-ply sennit braiding, but at each twist of the braiding, the quills of small red feathers were inserted and caught by this twist. The name of the bird from which the feathers were obtained had been forgotten.

292 Some braided five-ply malos were formerly made from human hair,
[265] possibly the hair of a beloved child who had died. Presumably these malos

1. [See 2: McGregor, pp. 48, 52.— Analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yiongu*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paopao*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paopao* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi wolo* and *mui alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his
[578] *wale atua*.

In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a
584 boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by
602 the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension
765 by the repression of strong avoidanesa; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become
881 sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wahenwine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are
867 considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a
597 *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotoa (p. 239):

> Lotoa is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotoa's husband,

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more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niu wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakalelei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyio wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*uale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*vakotuai*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *taute* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *fuafua* wood called *te uui o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yougi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*alea*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*aai*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*hoitou*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wahamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*taupo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uselo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakou*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale unkoyamoo* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aumaga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tana, who,

764 the stones are of unhewn coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipolo, on the boundary between Loto and Ngalo, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Wakangakuku is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a single headstone and footstone.

[766] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matangu. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[768] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuanua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautu, of a man named Walalula and his two companions who broke the taps of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Wakangakuku. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangoa, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief. But as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Akangaea.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*uauli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

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843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *kami* to mita (pressure on the fetus) or *kami tupu* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is thought to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *mahatala* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pun. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *lomilomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*pai*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Yoyo [illegible]	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipu, tipu	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ulu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Kaukau, kaukau,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ulu	Bend back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*hanu*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *hova* or *laukau*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*nin wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te hova o te alihi*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*awanga*) of the old men's group (*tupale*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayoi. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli wanin*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Talkeie (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taboos or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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766 mourners placed the stones (p. 361) round the grave and returned to their homes. There is no record that a seclusion (*hoitou*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general population: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

764

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*mokomailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

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The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

764

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

766

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*tempo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

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539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles, and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command. and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
879 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ni tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
775 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
268 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
592 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yate, the mother is a Lete woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yate man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yate. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
764 to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or
769 Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
626 behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

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177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
439 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
771 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
642 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much
602 affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
191 and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Puka-
[129] pukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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613 616 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *wuele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

776 777 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panemu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uwtu* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wale*, "house eating" or *kai*
684 *kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
776 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
613 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may
616 intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
613 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
591 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
613 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that
731 devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population
173 has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[723] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's
613 father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
597 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

764 Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the
177 father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 3, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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605 visits at the house of Elia, and Molingi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotea visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uele atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uele atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uele atua* will appear in court to act as
695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uele atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense taupo that exists between *uele atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the taupo uele atua become so shameless as to consummate an
753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two uele atua and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten uele atua incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokuia who married his uele atua, Weetau, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his uele atua,
[771] whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old taupo were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

The attraction of uele atua for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
602 chants (*haipa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
539 consummated affection of one uele atua for another. When asked for rationalizations
835 for the uele atua taupo, informants could only quote the two following sections from *haipa*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matafiki koe, ko Toka au	You are Matafiki (the Finisher), I am Toka (Origin)
Ko ooue au koe pokoa	(We Both) like two dancers together (as do these stars)
Kaki ngai, e ooka uele atua	Turn to me, oh my uele atua
E [illegible], e [illegible]	You are [illegible], you are the taupo place
E [illegible] ahu [illegible]	(For which) my heart has longed,
Tokai uele pokoa ko te pokoa o te [illegible] au	(When I am you) my uele [illegible] like the beginning (blending) of the [illegible] [illegible]

The second chant runs:

Ko [illegible] ahi ai au	I had dared my desire (for my uele atua),
Ko [illegible] i te [illegible]	The desire upon (herself in me) and made [illegible] my desire,
[illegible] au	Dwell in my heart (with shame).
Ko [illegible] i te [illegible]	I go to my shameful deed,
Ko [illegible] au koe	[illegible] my heart for you;
[illegible]	[illegible] in the shadow of my heart,
[illegible]	[illegible] dwelling place (?) [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] (this place) [illegible] the uele atua,
[illegible]	[illegible] turn to me the [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] uele atua [illegible] we shall have [illegible], shall we)

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[521]

friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

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Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776

Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua so te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

188 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
193 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatoto te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r ... r ... r ... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh
193 (*hilihilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*atunga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga vaia*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus mala or bands of *uvia* bark (*auti uvia*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with
196 a knot is *yola*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
181 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamaysi were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

114 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Matalili, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

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115 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

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The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likulihu*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

115 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kapaia, and in the story of the *pule pae* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadilloes. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ui bala*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ui bala* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matuliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitane, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matuliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mauli tuyaua*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakitae, lived on the eastern side, *te mate tuvaua*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hotuma* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tuo motu* or *tua ui*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such
912 primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the
244 migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by
773 the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale
425 and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man
428 digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed
177 on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions,
423 one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of
621 those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members;
244 and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawahine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotihotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All
[522] attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of
244 the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women
625 gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his
689 and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

244 The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives
423 an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate.
471 Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds
592 that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands
511 owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

423 Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are
613 controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *haukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki towia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Maniemli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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flower of the *uriua* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-waea has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakin: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu hoalin: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuiuio: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu mulie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilki: bears very small nuts.
Niu hamoui: very large nuts.
Niu hawa lulua: nuts with long husks.

[For the account of two culture heroes, Wotoa and Te Yoa, from whose visit was derived the Pukapukan's knowledge of the Underworld, with added inforamtion from the visit of the seer Levi, see category 116, pp. 326-330.]

[For material on early canoe voyages away from Pukapuka which are a combination of fancy and fact, see category 116, pp. 400-410.]

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245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pawaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*mukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*pachili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka molemole*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te hayasi*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*hayasi*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

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245 A heap of *yokoli* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putanga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *halohalo* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wowo*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*mukomuko*) with a scraper (*halohalo*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mamalemole, mukamoto, makena, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelcua,*
177 *talaki, kaisloa, nenunenu* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.* All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *puloka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
224 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman
423 plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *ekiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolla e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *ekiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyen, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyen brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyen, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hawati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the back of the stick. Place the *hawati* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*satumate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*wakawati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
312 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

*In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Mauikatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*mokotua, mokomonino*), a young man or woman may change (*solo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village

613 affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he

884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving

[578] a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *solo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept

626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village

358 membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *sua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *kainanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *sua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *sua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wsa* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *sua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *uwo*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka leiei na mo konga ia ma, ne na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i-a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau lôa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika paa. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kavea, te kile, te tali, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Kba nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te nila mai lunga o te langi. Miuia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Miuia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, mani; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakui, te pala, te wonu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kiliotawaki, te atachoea, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauumui, te tau hokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, utu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kavea, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, mani: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolonga,—te wui manu e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wunga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tapu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Ruvettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliotawaki*, the *atachoea*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauumui*, the *tau hokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *uwo* was given, the *uwo* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

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* The references to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

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Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te mea ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai koa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe la oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu lua te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called wua. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a wua also which grew from them. The wua grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the wua of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua manga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wanga, tupu mai. Peia oki i a Yeitae.

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau o te mouna. .

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na mea ki nganta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; peia oki te wanau a Kenakena, peia oki te wanau a Pukapuka, peia oki te wanau a Malemu, peia oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanau a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

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NOTE: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mataliki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their new transformed brothers and sisters and these names

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613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

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In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

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Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

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The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*keinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*keinanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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613 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male
643 child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yasa*) around the man's neck. After the
597 chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yasa*) round the neck of the successor and the *taumanea* ornament (a string of pearl-
776 shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to
782 establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

613 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated
643 by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly
173 title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.
773 The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yalanyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yalanyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yalanyika could find a champion (*tua*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yalanyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hafa* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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The members of Kamole's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kulum, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kulum was her son by Kamole's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamole, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamalihi, probable son of Kamole.

The seventh chief, Kulum, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevane sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wut, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wangana assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of licence, taga-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great eclipse wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wangana was contemporary with Wut, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wangana rose to authority because of Wut's absence.

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Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restored, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*puna mana*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

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845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata pila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papahinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu halohalo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lahau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus keys. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *hohonenga* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Watu-manavanui (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

773 When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*pito*) and along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*uwua*), the cord is then cut (*kohati*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *vuluyi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu hanu*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

844 The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*hau*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the

824 father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *puapua* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *pulu* tree (the *uwua* to be used later for tale fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te uwua o Meo* (the afterbirth of Se-and-so). But informants suggested no connecting between the life of the tree and the

844 life of the child.

The parturient blood (*toto*) is tapu. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is tapu, nor were any con-

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lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wustini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wukamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tibitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tibitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tibitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
782 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
776 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any mem-
788 ber of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tsnga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule lusia e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi maniao	(Make) the wind calm
Tolu te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *ouunga*, *wale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* struc-
[786] ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewelie, the god of chums, was

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On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disembowelled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yao*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the case was continued until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced
751 and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuanin*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te matu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata papa*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*ene matakolekoles*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*unkiuki na mangamanga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
751 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamea was a Malwatu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These
773 were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

756 shoots. These were their properties, tabu, sickness causing knots, snakes, trees, flowers.

Tuaua was a priest of Te Langapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *longa* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *tuiva*, the *uete*, the *ouaiui*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

191 193 This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

193

2. Waliga. Waliga was a man of Lata. Ngaliyeyen was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malmalo*, the *ewe*, the *uuti hana*, the *uo*, the *haiowa*, the *atule:* when he chopped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

757 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

758 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has
757 his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tuumalomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the
757 medicine as a poultice (*uuua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tuumalomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tatule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the husk. Let the patient drink two or three pouliouns of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makutia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po puta: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tuu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa te mai loa ki luaga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momoua te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulaki lua pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kaulilki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maca: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata loma: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use
173 of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the
use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea
[178] voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka,
the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took
[162] with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that
Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 173 173

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

539

E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki luaga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko tola atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua tola yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kilaliko i a Maui Potiki e taua ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa luaga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya tuna, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki luaga, wuwuti ki luaga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele ia vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e uiu lakau tela. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki luaga, koa oko ki te konga o taua kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ula lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki luaga. Iii koa te vaka ki luaga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga taia wenua. Koa pau ki luaga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya* *ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1/2 [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Taletale loa ki ai, "Wano koe ohoa e wawine ma koe. Tuia te hunga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongaleleva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koiai taua taua-wine. Ko te wawine ia ka nunui e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te taua-wine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, ohu kiai. Uhu atu ki te wawine na talatala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te taua-wine ia, nunui loa ki Te Ulu o Te Wau na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nano ai, nano ai, e, kua loa te vala. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te taua, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Puputu oki wakawau, to oki; e taua-wine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E taotaui no Tumu-livaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te omomo i a Tumulivaka ki te wai-wai a Mataliki. Kua opoopo i te wai ama ki oia tawa. Omoto loa i a Tumu-livaka, ka kaven te wenua e Mataliki ki te wai nana. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, moto. Taka i a Ma-taliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaokao ki lalo. Taka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Mata-kiate ke te matu wenua. Oti ai. Ta-waraga kaue loa tamaiki; tawaraga loa taotaua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuaraga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongaleleva. Go to Te Alo Ta-langa. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Ma-taliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched. Mata-liki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Mata-kiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two chil-dren mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

123 173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently intro-duced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the uterinal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mata-liki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wau and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See category 173 or 116 — analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1933 Pukapukans

173 given in informant's statement that Wangum, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this time-scale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate ugia*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away, from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tangaleleva, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

Immigrants

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the east, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Uteiti and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

173 Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration
173

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely
173 that it was during the reign of Kanola or before. The translation of the textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

839 They were from Tonga. There were their two brothers: Manawuse and Tangalos.
173 The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wawua. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wawua. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawuse and Tangalos. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipolo and Tauplos.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wawua. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (yau): Polke, Nistao, Tane, Tapungaye. First to the yau of Polke; they fought with Polke, struck Polke dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the yau of Nistao, fought with Nistao, struck Nistao dead. They also destroyed his yau completely. They went to the yau of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his yau. They went to the yau of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his yau completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipolo and Tauplos heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipolo and Tauplos spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipolo and Tauplos came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumalos. Tauplos and Tokaipolo talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-smelled island. From early times the smell of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawen is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumalos. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-ou-te-i-Te-Aumalos (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumalos), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the sinny Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likolike*) and decayed coconut (*yami*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kauawewine was her name. She went to Matauta, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawen. She spoke to Tokaipolo and Tauplos. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

[39] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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173

is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back homes, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupelou who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupelou looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kamawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kamawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kamawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumalua would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a zesty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matika. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawake. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupelou went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumalua. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupelou chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tuna. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumalua flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupelou chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-ef-Falaua. Falaua said to Taupelou and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupelou said, "Here is us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumalua flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupelou shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumalua fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Wano-manava-mai (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wakamano-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

[173]

A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumalua:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at one end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, ameai aba nau he yamayama ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*roka-wakaagi*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The moment of his death follows the preceding account.

173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans in Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-mai was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*toulua*) with a crew
173 of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kaiusa, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyaoola; the second, Tuyimata. Whenever Tuyimata looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of
173 his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyaoola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyaoola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyaoola. The

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. In any case Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

The captain of the canoe was Te Amu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotos, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kau wowots*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

173 In the time of Kulucu and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Matalihi. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and
173 forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

172 Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

173 One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells
173 of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kainialoa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kainialoa and his father, Tautuna:

539 Kainialoa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the
173 canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Tonuinga, to remonstrate with Kainialoa privately and persuade him to paddle. Tonuinga did this, but Kainialoa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kainialoa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kainialoa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitongaaoku noticed them. Talitongaaoku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitongaaoku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitongaaoku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kainialoa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
539, 773

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for mythology, see pp. 8 - 9.]

000 she spoke could fly as high as the bird sitting there. She replied that he could fly higher. Then the chief took his spear and hurled it into the air. "Can Manava Nui fly as high as that?" he asked.

The other chief, who was fishing on the reef behind the islet, saw the spear in the air and ran to his home, and learned the news that the woman had brought to them. They called the woman ashore and killed her, lest she return to her people and tell them that the two chiefs were aware of their intentions.

That night they crossed with their followers to the first settlement of the Eaki. It was the custom of all the Eaki to sleep side by side, using a long log as a pillow. The two chiefs carried a second log to where the Eaki were sleeping and crushed their heads between the two logs. They went on to the other settlement of the Eaki and attempted to kill them in the same way. These people all chanted as they slept. The chiefs dropped a log on the heads of these people also, but a strong man (*toa*) hurled it off, shouting "*Tuki pou!*" (Strike the post!) The people sleeping with him leaped to their feet and ran to Pukapuka Islet along the low stretches of coral which surround the lagoon. It was a stormy night with thunder and lightning. Manava Nui was sitting in one of his stone seats, watching the sea. When he heard his people crying out and running away, he followed them, flying above the reef. The two chiefs pursued him, hurling their spears into the air to prevent his coming ashore. At the passage in the reef at Pukapuka Islet, Taupeloa and Tokaipole speared Manava Nui to death as he was flying to the reef to rest. They rushed to the village and told the Pukapuka people the murderous plan of the Eaki. The Pukapuka people turned on the Eaki and slew them all as they came along the reef from Motu Ko to Pukapuka Islet. After burying the bodies in a single pit, they went out on the reef and dragged ashore the body of Manava Nui; and when they cut him open, they discovered that he had eight hearts.

Manava Nui was buried at a point where the boundaries of the three sections of the village meet. When the two chiefs died later, Tokaipole was buried between Loto and Iaki sections and Taupeloa, between Loto and Ngaki sections. Two ancient graves on these boundaries are pointed out as the burial sites of these heroes.

Frisbie (2) translates Manava-Nui as "Stout-Hearted" or "Many Stomachs." He describes the grave of Manava Nui as 16 feet long and 5 feet wide. The headstone is chiseled to represent a bird, and four large slabs are placed on either side of it for his eight fabulous "stomachs".

●773 The story of the wrestling of the gods Te Akuaku and Ngaliieieu
539 is told.

Te Akuaku was a god of Akalava [Mangaia?] who traveled to Tonga, where he found all the gods gathered for a wrestling tournament. Te Akuaku wore the rainbow as a wrestler's malo around his waist, and around his shoulders he wore the rays of the sun. When he approached and challenged the others to wrestle, all the gods stood back, frightened by the brilliance of this stranger. Finding that no one would accept his challenge, Te Akuaku left Tonga and journeyed to Samoa. As he came to shore, he looked down into

the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends (*'oa*) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live. 773 539

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections belonging to three groups of people. 000

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1).* [367] In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

* Lp. 2 -- Analyst]

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

773 [For stories about the culture hero Te Palo, see pp. 43-45, 75-76; for stories about semi-culture heroes, see pp. 63-70; for nature stories about animals explaining their physical characteristics, see pp. 31-34, category 116 or 539--analyst].

538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Maulkatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky,
is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land
of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were
gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The
gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the
sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The
god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask
Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant
land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu
arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two
friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods
crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the
sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu
turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were
again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both
arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position.
The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about
but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on
his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly,
tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was
stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu
stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe, and finally stretched
his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck
above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth
and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

773/171 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [11 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65. category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:
Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupemu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoono wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:
There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the
773 gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui open wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

539 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui.
173 He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The lengi fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The malau and the lali fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The wangamoana fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the taotaoama, tried to

2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a taotaoama fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called te pulu o Yina (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the taotaoma fish. All the other fish of the sea, the manini, the tawa, the ngatau, the tiwitiwi and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the manini tauila (seasonal manini fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

539 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the
773 manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nuanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-
773 Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are
773 connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 173 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their 773 tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, 183 would gain them fame in the future ("Wai aí latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

539 The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *you*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people 173 gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she 731 might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

173

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

731 168 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it 261 was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The 621 time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola'*), a man named Te 166 Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

In the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him. 114 177 [115]

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiete. 639 175 773

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roe, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Uro-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time). [187 241]

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 -Pukapukans

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and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-niui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yanora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-'uru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will be seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea. 773 539 173

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one.

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads; and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

773 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to
539 his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture
193 of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings, each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.

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Soul Trap

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Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.

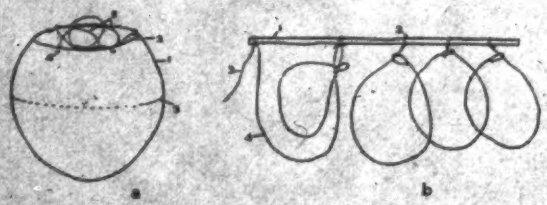

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Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut. (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *uao* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*haka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *uao* fiber.

189 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psy-
774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that
869 leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman
828 to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
787 At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained
775 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the
[829] hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*)
828 which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the con-
787 ception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taug, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

114 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

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115 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

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The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tqua o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

115 154 539 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of
154 talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi hunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
372 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
171 world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
774 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being
775 ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

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[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was
775 assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived
539 from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost; but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the
[776] stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve
[782] their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

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Lats (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Ʒoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "ere'aerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

> If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,[20] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.
>
> The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.
>
> In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.
>
> I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[20] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yale mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yale mauu* (fig. 4,b),[1] consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yale ko te talakelaka	You were tied to the *talakelaka* tree
Wakawiwi aka te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank;
Wakatatili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakauta ko te wale poutiri . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a mele or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[1] [See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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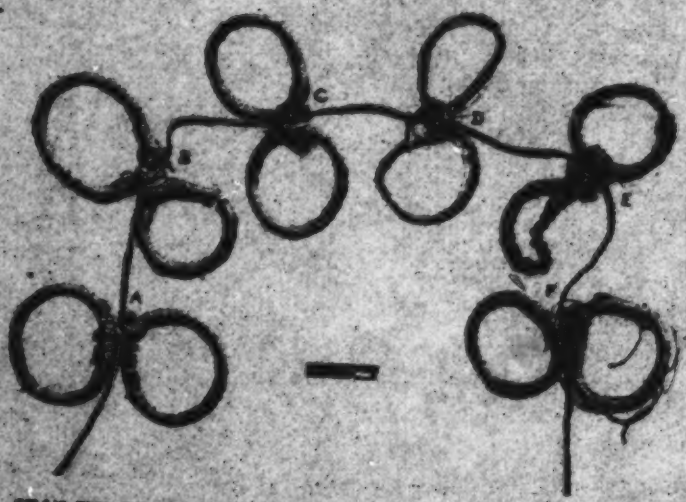

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN EEL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 15 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7½ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 6 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
613 day. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
423 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
245 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
578 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the
847 talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakaviti*). When an individual dies, much of his
773 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
042 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the
775 fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that [778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the 172 two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

764 Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mau titi ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by
177 Macgregor (20,fig.13).[1] They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

1 [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

774 Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan
775 culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with
which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul
417 trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum
may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the cen-
284 tral portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian
114 Digby of the British Museum.

[223
284] Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maniga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maniga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ⅜ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*fu*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *uso* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kuka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *uso* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*alualu*),
612 the *pushi* feast is followed several days later by the *uwele* food division. If the *alualu* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tomomoyungo* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uwele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uwele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*suiva*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uwele lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uwele tamamaoine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Moa (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apaum (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however ridiculous, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *makaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to
764 the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uyu*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*luo* or *tuluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the
775 Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

764 more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I
775 think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian
171 concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether
764 or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the cere-
574 mony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division
[245] in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *nis wahowale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

965 The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tongatu haiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wahalolei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *payis wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
764 to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
761 order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
761 intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
775 But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
609 tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
626 behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 774 869 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

793 828 787 775 [829] Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti tuhatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when
613 it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[775] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*po valu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*vakavoa*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukava* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

776 Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yama-
613 unga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a
226 talo swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

776 powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

776 Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons
821 for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu wangota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te vayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

776 A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or
775 *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of
776 the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when
613 Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

193 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a
776 man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Matalili and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

774 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the
775 idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*wasli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come
761 back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

774 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

174 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

[155]

175 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

[174]

The Cosmos

112 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

175 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngake village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

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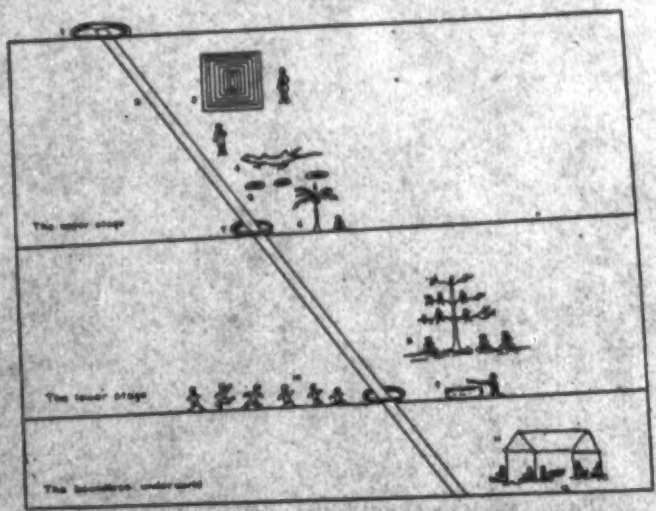

FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te hapi huapa*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te pa a Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Loke; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Malu; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te hapi lalo*); 8, *puka* tree of god Tangi, women who have borne children sitting in branches, childless women sitting on ground below; 9, musician god Tulikalo playing his gong (*nowa*); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Leva (*te vale pou tinitini o Leva*); 12, goddess Leva plaits her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Mufua, oscillating stone of Yokamani, talo gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surround house of Leva in the boundless Underworld (*te Po likuliku*).

539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

775 Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction 154 of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed [372] in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under- [171] world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem 774 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being 775 ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po Ikuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was
775 assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived
539 from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as six gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely
[776] rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the
[782] stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *melo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

189 Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

193 The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to
154 eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

175 Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa
174 and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an
114 "crevaerum" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

154 If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offence against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAEBUA,* or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAEBUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAEBUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *eve snares* would be *yale vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

* Presumably Gill here refers to the deified spirit, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere tuarua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talahetake	You were tied to the *talahetake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa ele	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai tama i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a mako or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

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757 must then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
572 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats;
them are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yilolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
759 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts,
but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children
are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness,
ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at
these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who
are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause
sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukans had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
577 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of
784 a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered
perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infrac-
tion of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group
were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the
following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules gov-
erning the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules
governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual
tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friend-
ship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
homicidal encounters were the only cases for which a material cause, unaf-
784 fected by spiritual interference, was recognised. Even here, however, a
closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the
withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the
worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki hai kiko*, sickness caused by
755 incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te*
776 *yuuvaga o te atua hi lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused
by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

755 sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he
787 felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was
755 given by Pau:

753 A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.

Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with
776 his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lapu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lapu atua* instead of the desired victim.

775 A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to
755 avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

755' The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

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755 On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

755 The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

775 775 Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te ɣua*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

773 The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases.
776 They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own
755 gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the care was continued until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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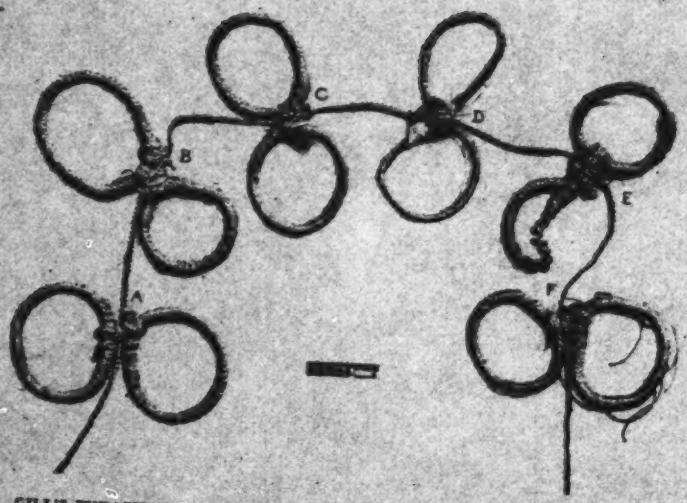

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS; END TO A, 12 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7½ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 3 INCHES.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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●
[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for land of the dead, see pp. 23-24.]

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe aí ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki. [133] [103] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

2. [775] The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e.....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyana was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyana disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Niua, and saw there the dead body of Tuyana, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9 E-5 (1934-35)1953 Pukapukans

776. The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa..their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]

The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

731 latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913.
132 Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

731 In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the
161 imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the popula-
[578] tion was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the
821 control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore,
527 that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The
796 London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

824 The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are asso-
621 ciated with the villages as follows:
796

Ngake: Kaitu, Mauake, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Walalua.
Yato: Tokelau iti, Tokelau matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

821 formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

[621]

776

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1.) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

132

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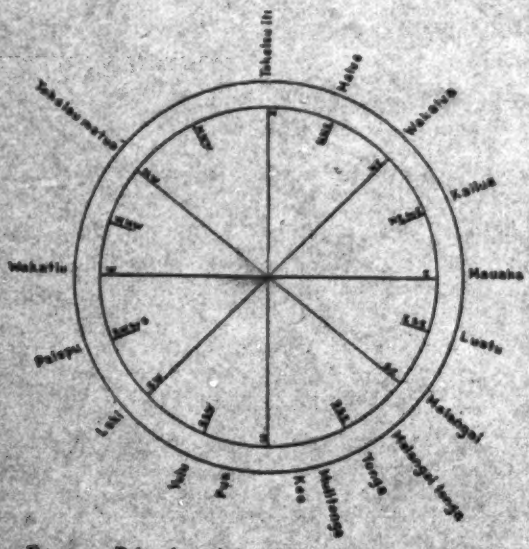

FIGURE 2.—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

821 192 The word for side or direction is *kaokao*. Hence a person says *kaokao tokelau* (northern direction), *kaokao tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau, tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *mao* is used. *E mao tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *mao* wind; thus a wind blowing

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

423 The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning
226 the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there.
133 As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village,
685 men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their
621 canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

423 Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the
226 lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve
431 of Nina. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained
621 control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

621 The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village
421 retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands.
361 The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).

423 The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just
621 after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe,
361 in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alatakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population
526 growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *autau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary
423 advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest
621 in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional
526 boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

626 Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced,
226 the high chief (*aliki uoto*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

[k. See p.15, category 11b – analyst]

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[626 / 776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Taua's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *haio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to
423 mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other
621 had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki lalo te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *haio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on
423 Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide
776 village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Taua in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto
423 received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely [548] from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
324

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pu i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pu i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pu i te tukunga uuu*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older
887 men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletoa, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month.
561 Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1-Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kalavu*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukuuka or wakayrim: to pay out a line.
Wawati: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or hanga: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakaatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Teli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or mamono: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 626 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua uwaine* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te maunu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 777 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 782 776 778 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Makkitelangi, near the western reef channel 226 782 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*nakatoto*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
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> Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Punivi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the punivi fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Punivi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225' There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertebrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

> Stone throwing (*kowa hi te wata*) or stone clubbing (*pato hi te wata*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow snapper, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.
>
> When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.
>
> If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with mangrove, lagoon, [illegible]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 *Pole* fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is hedged to the reef by about 200 fathoms of line. The hooked *Rusuttua* is speared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *hatakato*, *hapua*, the giant *malau*, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapua* and *Rusuttua* are considered sweet eating fish, though *hapua* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*taki*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*taki ia, taki ahuahu*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*au*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*takitaki*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to troll behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*matila*) over the stern of the canoe (*taki*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except *kanoa*, *pala*, *kanai*, and *ahuia*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *ulua* with live *matala* bait and wooden hook; *tuna* and *lai* with live or dead *kalama* bait; *tamatama* with live *matala* bait; *atuia* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with any bait; *pakiva* with a *tafe* manage hook and live bait of needle fish, *kalama*, or *matala*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *ahuia*, the parrot fish, *pakiva*, *pava*, *kalamata*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *matau*, the rock groupers, *pakiva*, *lai*, *tuna*, and *tamatama* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*yi atu*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*atu*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*lisanga atu*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

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At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Malohiolangi*, protector

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupale*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*aotonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *ata*. The *aotonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*matae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ata* one year automatically became the group for seeking *pala* fish the next year. All fish
226 caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
868 *aotonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, were taught the elements of *ata* fishing, the rules, taps, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau uoloa*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *aotonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *aotonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
431 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*yana*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *uakayana*, and the gift itself was *yana*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *uatonga*.

Ata fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *aotonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ule-mate-o-te-tokalua, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*uakaetoto*) to the god Maisiniangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was taps for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the taps and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this taps was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo elo* (stinking ngongo birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with *ata* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*inae*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulunga matile*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tubua*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikoui*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or
688 the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school.
578 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*mawu*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day.
202 These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*tapu*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tauhola*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines
776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakamongalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*humete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Totolos and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the
178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already
523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one
764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hio* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*mahamanea* or *mea makalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*tabaw*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
796 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
643 garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
728 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted
776 sennit and called *epa kapenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumalivaka was made of plaited *wulo* fiber (*epa wulo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hio* material (*epa kulibi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kapenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned were the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828] whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata hoau* or *taumata akbi*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau hotoru* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *kupanga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead,
292 and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle
793 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long
776 *uuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the
613 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *uumaupa*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or
another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or
302 waist decoration (*ati*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens with-
832 out a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake
293 make their decoration of *muko uale* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pala puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *malle* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*ati*) are worn over the customary basic garment.

292 The *tiri uuka uale* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young
leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split
294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain mat of prepared pandanus (*lifo*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 611 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uuele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

[776 77] No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panana Te Wata, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *kai*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Ulia. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uutoa* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai uule*, "house eating" or *kai kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
582 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would
684 punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish
776 a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
613 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules
616 of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
582 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger
171 unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yasa*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yasa*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanaea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

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Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakasyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakasyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakasyika could find a champion (*tao*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakasyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *tapa* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs.
642 Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Matalilei and Taua,
643 the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the
276 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*mokopono loki*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and
643 settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*mokoponongo no te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*mokoponongo a te wui ariki*)
645 discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these
[177] governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

643 the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te umanga*) to the
646 several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tolotala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
623 probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
[622 chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
613] to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
[577] punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
671 the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
685 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
682 reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*wokamana*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick successions any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the talo fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*yui*), decorative bilts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and so likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or cement of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, sewe dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or 261 *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *kaveu* crab meat gives her child crooked legs; eating *tepe* crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *kaipea* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *kaveu* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful [153] about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores in many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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766 their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

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Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Yuya matalagi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ulu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngalaei, ngalaei,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

766 The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kauu*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

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766 Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

766 After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *kauhava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*sis wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

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The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*atanga*) of the old men's group (*tupale*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli uwaia*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

766 The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taboos or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their homes. There is no record that a seclusion (*haitau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*tuupe*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

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183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 774 869 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

793 828 787 775 [828] Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

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Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

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Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua pumapuna: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangalou: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (wata mauli ola).
Atua no to po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *pumapuna* and *tangalou*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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776/114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 613 562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te manu, te manu a Taua noso ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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776/613 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[775] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*pa vulu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*vakavae*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukava* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

776/613/226 Tamalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yamanga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a tale swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamanga went fishing they prayed

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[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

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Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

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Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

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Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

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Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

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Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621]

Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 262 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Ysto lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [301] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

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776 shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
301 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie*
613 may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
[372] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head
776 covering of *tuelo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
822 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
792 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
793 ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
792 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
613 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *aeua*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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776 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and
613 was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the
226 sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the
793 priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*puyua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

776 powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

776 Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons
821 for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga lokuti te waahu" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu ungeeta* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te ewyi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

776 A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *nawa* or
775 *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of
776 the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when
613 Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Mangaia, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wukamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incur-
828 able debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who
753 promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki).
526 Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
773 such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyau, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyau to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitibi* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
782 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
776 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any mem-
788 ber of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato,* the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te ika ale kaina e!	Two persons desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te [illegible]	(Make) the wind calm
Tuka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yiwaga, ennenga, uale atua,* and *pata.* The *pata* struc-
[776] ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*pata*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewaka, the god of clams, was

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga uvelo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*auanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*anu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*taute*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *neuu*, not *auanga*. These are *te neuu o Tulikalo* and *te neuu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *neuu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *neuu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *neuu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *neuu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayahitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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193 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a
776 man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

774 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the
775 idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mouli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come
161 back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

774 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

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[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

775 When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

539

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve [776] their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these [782] favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyanola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

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757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
242 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

753 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial beha-
572 vior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yuvenga a te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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253 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea mskglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wauruwa, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nuno*, anything tangled; *vuna*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *halomea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *weka*, octopus; *ulayina*, sea porcupine; *ulayele*, variety of star fish; *uuhoa*, univalve shell; *kawu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupuhawa*, a rank seaweed; *pihipihi*, dried coconut husks; *ungo*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kawu*, a robber crab; *halama*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molehau*, milipede; *uwi*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

756 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yiwayiwa*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yiwayiwa* was
759 a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *mana-mana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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755 sounding (*inpe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he
787 felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was
755 given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by
753 ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with
776 his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

775 A malicious spirit (*atua*) who inflicted disease on a living person to
753 avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing
753' the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

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755 On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

755 The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

775 775 Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disembowled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi to yao*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

753 716 The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

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The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

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In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

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Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*tactac pens*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

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Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

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Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *aua* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tukatuka mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

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The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the talo dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukar

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uele* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*uale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal-lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*auanga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Taua, who,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tana. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waleto (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kauu* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uei toina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli kauu* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kauu* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for Pukapukan gods, see pp. 21-22.]

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

776 [For information about the gods concerning their activities and their aid to men, see stories pp. 24-31, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the sub-soil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path, (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa numiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[776] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

539 "Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama! "	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side! "
E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
Akatu te ao ununui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
Ke wano maku pulu ika, e ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And
awakened in fear.

786 Medicine men (yila).
787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went
fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At
other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job,
Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village.
He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria
inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the
food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi,
and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter
for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular
purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the
wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:
775 The following story of Millimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Millimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal
lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her
husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her
family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or
servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead
body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer
beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring
back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family
gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-
no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries
but found out that Millimili's soul was already caught in the
mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had
already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were
telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to
the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was tem-
porizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to
divert the gods' attention from the soul of Millimili, he asked
Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once,
and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo
played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether
the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but
still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo
to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so
long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began
to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble
with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata
went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This
caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got
alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e,....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyana was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyana disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Niua, and saw there the dead body of Tuyana, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9 E-5 (1934-35)1953 Pukapukans

776. The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa., their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]
The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

628 [See I: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See I: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See I: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See I: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayoi were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

839 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 839--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tenga laua. Eia lua o laua haings: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayake. Wakako loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolonga loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua lou. Wo loa la te wenua ia ki a Tuyimete. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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114 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical
124 conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between
597 loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted.
[173] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation
776 upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that
[861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come re-
[522] latively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children
[848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village
[836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent
[585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kaiava*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukutuku or wakayche: to pay out a line.
Wuwuti: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or lunga: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakamatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tue: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoin or mamomo: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua wuaine* 626 (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te mauru kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or 777 to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods 782 for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, 776 controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred 778 clearing (*rionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Matokitokungi, near the western reef channel 226 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish- 782 hook. The gift (*wakatatea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

[Information on the "sacred maid", who was dedicated to the god of the chiefly lineage and under his protection, will be found in category 613. See especially pp. 237-239.]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kaiatu*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukuatau or wakayeha: to pay out a line.
Wawaui: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or lunga: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wahamatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tuei: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or matoma: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

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226 782 776 225 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malokitelangi, near the western reef channel 226 782 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*nakatitia*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau ki mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 782 562 278 793 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe was mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamanea* or *mea wakalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takove*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
613 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
643 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
728 garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
776 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *welo* fiber (*epa welo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa lualiki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828] whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorised person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata kowa* or *taumata alik*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-*
177 *langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and
517 sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle
834 of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet
562 wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats
79 were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a
552 symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used
114 for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on
778 lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ka, which tradition states
324 was used by the bird man Wato-manava-mui, is now in ruins. The remains of other
133 seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of
177 coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now
333 almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at
417 the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*fu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Implements

324 412 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tuhituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating talo and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

778 341 Religious enclosures (*auanga*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*unu*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Tana, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village. 778 Two of these sites were cleared.

172 At the religious structure of the god Te Alongaoa there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 32 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tuikaalo. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tuikaalo was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Alongaoa. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tumulivaka and Te Matuiciata are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tumulivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matuiciata. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 15 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

1-Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

778
772 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early mission-
ary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make
791 walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a
central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Poly-
778 nesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative
346 of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted
[361] of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yionga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*potu*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*pae-*
613 *pae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the
341 foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matanga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

[177] Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Chris-
565 tian, enclosed, bandline grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners
764 (pl.2,B).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*ahi uale* and *uai ahi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

172 sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the
775 fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that
[778] he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present con-
172 curred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough
764 sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *mas titi ui*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

322 Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

412 Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayua*), as shown by
177 Macgregor (20,fig.13).* They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapukan must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

* [See 2; McGregor, p 46 — analyst.]

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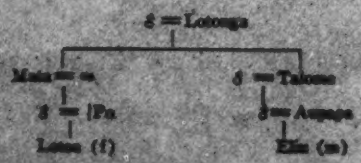
601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu*; the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the
605 term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The
114 word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to
778 anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

605 Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as
602 *hoinga mahana*, or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance.
[777] But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hoinga mahana*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hoinga mahana* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hoinga mahana* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *hoinga mahana* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Takona are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elia, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

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mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*haitua*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*taupo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
788 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi manino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yiange*, *ennange*, *ennle ainu*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a
[776] simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewelu, the god of chaos, was

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778/782/226 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

778/613 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*auanga yo*), and the cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kauo*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*uukavae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

778/346 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

778/793 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai.* The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*tauta*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *awanga*. These are *te newu o Tulikalo* and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *newu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga taujeto nuta* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings created for the sacred maid (*taryabionga*) to walk up. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 613 361 A list, furnished by Talanga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale
			Vakayala
			Kui-manuila
	Maliwutu	Tumulivaka ma Muila	
		Te Vayi	
		Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakinos ma Malokitelangi ma Tumailangi	
		Te Akongaco	
		Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui
			Te Atua-ngutu-uli
			Poiva ma Tatakava
			Wakalewiti
	i Tum	Matalikl ma Tamayei	
		Te Ulu-takapau	
		Tugale	
		Tama	
	Yangalipule	Kui	
Yato			i Te Uuutulele
			i Lowia
			i Kailia
	Yamanga	Te Manugata	
		Tamalanga	
	Yalonga	Tawitonga	
		Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 114 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (*sau*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Tama; this is a big block of *pungo* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

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that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-manu (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *uuta*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata uui atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*pa*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uuheyuuinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dreams experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uuheyuuinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth group for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uuheyuuinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupuu* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great fearing for the members of the

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196 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied
187 a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it
[182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

609 With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.
182 When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and
[118] prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a
193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without
187 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uele* bark was hung on the bench nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*uele lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *uele nukayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aronga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tasa, who,

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173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [11] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *wele* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of
the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was
placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled
only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but
also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure.

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2).

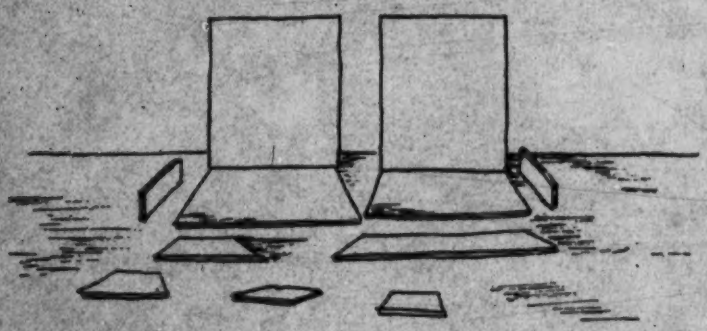

FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914.

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kulowa*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo iko*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukutuku or wakayvie: to pay out a line.
Wawai: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tape or hapa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Totoi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakamatale: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yolu or mamamo: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 626 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua uwuvive* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia lose i te mamu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 777 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ko kaya*).

226 782 776 778 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malokielangi, near the western reef channel 226 782 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*sukatetea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck survive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
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Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Pusiwi, because the shape of the nebula resembled him of the shape of the *pusiwi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Pusiwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertebræ were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand dipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*kowa hi te uatu*) or stone clubbing (*pata hi te uatu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamayei*, *tapuapua*, *tautau-*

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Pole fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is lodged to the reef by about ten fathoms of line. The baited *Rusettus* is spared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *kaiakata*, *kapoa*, the giant moiwa, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapoa* and *Rusettus* are considered sweet eating fish, though *kapoa* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*taki*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*taki ie, taki ekaika*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*ae*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*takitaki*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to trail behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*matila*) over the stern of the canoe (*taki*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except bonito, *pole*, *hawai*, and *ekaika*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *ulua* with live *matiolo* bait and wooden hook; *tatu* and *lai* with live or dead *holomo* bait; *tamatama* with live *matiolo* bait; *atuta* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with any bait; *pakeke* with a *tapa* manga hook and live bait of needle fish, *holomo*, or *matiolo*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *ekaika*, the parrot fish, *pakeke*, *pere*, *lalamatia*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *matiolo*, the rock groupers, *pakeke*, *lai*, *tatu*, and *mamo* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*yi atu*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*atu*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*lisunga atu*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

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At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Maiolikalanga*, protector

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupale*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*notonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might
fish *ata*. The *notonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taio
to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the
meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island
with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of
the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ata* one
year automatically became the group for nursing *pala* fish the next year. All fish
226 caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
868 *notonga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
were taught the elements of *ata* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season
started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman
(*tangata tau tonito*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain.
His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow
had the next oldest man of the *notonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of
the *notonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
931 of the crew, including himself; in a six-oarer canoe the captain went fishing with six
bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that
seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one
bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as
a breast ornament (*yana*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death
provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew,
as might nonetheless happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain
gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope
or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift.
The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his
crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts
as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wakoyana*, and the gift itself was
yana, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *wutonga*.

Ata fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out
far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a
landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ulu-anana-o-te-totaka, which juts out of the water opposite Yato
village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift
(*uakaitoa*) to the god Malokitelangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune.
It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a
canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without
fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the
canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to
return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the
reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew
had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal
of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be
destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu
returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo elo* (stinking
ngongo birds). The thanks of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
of the group returned loaded with *ata* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*tuae*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled
up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yue*. The bowman is known as *kenyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*houhou hi sua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309)
782 and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a
562 new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest
778 commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal
793 descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa tuaui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa hapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pakupaku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa iliki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pale vesu: the best nuts for making sennit.
[137]

Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa hanaiana: pale green.
Niu kawa meiomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo teto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyiuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
242 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukawa* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kawa*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, trays, and mosquito switches.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties
423 are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo
262 dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

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Pulaka: the whole plant.
Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapulo: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Lauwau: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pikopiko: the lateral corm(let) or sucker produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Ala: root.
Wulawala: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy land in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child is commonly owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*wawai*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matoaya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *lopa wawa*.

144 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf
282 basket (*kete kaula*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*tuka*). She recognizes the mature (*kiwi*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She
412 pulls out (*longa*) the talo plant and slices off (*topa*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*tohi*) with a stick (*koya ai*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matuiqiau e, Matakauau e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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482 replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*taku ki lunga o te ula*).

242 There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving
931 lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

244
410 Cultivation further consists in weeding (*kaugai i te vayamaye ui*) and
314 fertilizing (*vahalepo* or *tikhao*) the talo beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukanu* leaves, *lau hotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polopolo*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukanu* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukanu* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

244 In the old days a little dryland talo (*kapo*) was cultivated. Killed by the
192 tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Taki te tingapulu: the cutting is planted.
Po lua, lua tapa te uha o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
Po tolu, lua velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Po lima, lua lua te lito o te lima: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Po ongaulu, lua velo te lito wawa: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Tasyno ulu, lua lua lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua velo crai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua lua tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua lua wa: (25d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua lua lima: (27d day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakalaungavali: (28th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua wakai te lua lima, lua uyi, lua tapa and ahi te lua lima, lua one lua talo, lua ulu: (30th day) petioles spread and darkens in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua ouaulu ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua ulu lua ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua tahu te ulu: (2d month) the head is built, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua matapo te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Ono ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua kiel, lua wawalu: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 [195] cally as *mali tukuna* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tukuna* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *sangafoa*. *Wateaga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapa* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in 431 the household of the giver. The same word, *tapa*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamarei, a gift of taio to the gods Matalomea and 782 Matakiea, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *umhatapa* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 208).

431 Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoawi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yuayua nunui*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an [578] open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *etawai*, the mean or stingy person, *hahionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

437 Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today 439 to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale ye o te meyahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of
782 a meyahitanga was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of uele berries, a headband of uele bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and heads. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yaki jakie", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Of", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*uea*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tabua te uai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kin[11] uai auti wauie | Let the clusters of uaa be full (?) |
> | Kin wauie te waua | Let the taro tubers grow big |
> | Kin tautangatanga | (Addressing the *meyahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request) |
> | Kin mauie te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kin pi ki te kai | Let (food) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ki ale te waua | Until the food abides |
> | Kaua ye te tangata | Continue the future for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the meyahitanga was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Kau taupiki waua kau ki auie" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The meyahitanga was guarded by old female relatives (*kauai* or *tauie*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her
[302] skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the fatty part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal
643 fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as eels; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her dancers.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matuia, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their ancestors. From the residence of the meyahitanga to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yiewga ale* (not to be confused with *yiewga ataili*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was taps to commemorate one at times came every two or three months when the maid walked
[195] on it to show herself (*uaia yaua*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[11] *Kin*, an archaic particle used in addressing requests to the god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male
643 child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by
597 the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yuse*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yuse*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanao* ornament (a string of pearl-shell *fakhook shanks*) round his waist. In Maliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever installed as chief.

776
782

613 Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated
643 by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of
173 the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly
773 title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Maliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Maliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Maliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Maliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Maliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakmyfin, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less kind in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakmyfin herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakmyfin could find a champion (*tao*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaf tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakmyfin chose Kai, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kai took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hoje* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a supernatural strength picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the last round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kai struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
788 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and
788 Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaina *e*!	Two penises desirable to eat (a form of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi matino	(Make) the wind calm
Tohu te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *ennanga*, *uuli atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a
[776] simple shrine. I *ean* name. The shrine of Lewelei, the god of clouds, was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

118 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
182 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke o, aunai te pipi kula, te pipi meto, te pipi wawla ula; teia te tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

118 The god house (*uale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*aunuga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kenua*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wahenua*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

118 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*pefu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

118 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
113 *tapu*. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

188 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
190 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakaali te rua*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatere te tiuga*) and made with his lips a b r ... r ... r ... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te ivo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh
193 (*hikihiki*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak about the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as for gerfo to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Matalliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*ananga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga uuta*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus mole or bands of *uele* bark (*uuti uele*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with
196 a knot is *yele*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
181 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

196 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied
181 a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to
grant the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernatural power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant
[182] then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the *owner* if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uele* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

609 With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.
182 When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure
on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual
[198] to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a
193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe*
187 movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *nukutuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tukutuloa to mea . . .". (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

775 When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived 539 from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the 776 stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve 782 their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutoku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyanola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *hawhis* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinam to put together again the tree chopped down by

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226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*tautau pesu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*pala* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

226 276 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malomo*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *ava* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *aiule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*voka tahataha mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

226 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*pahoono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pahupahu*, she prepares quantities of the talo dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pahupahu* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletua (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aunaga po*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who,

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Than he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the uliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayake. Wakake loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te laleka o laua leo. Wo loa la te wenua ia ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

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842 type of food division (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Ti pe ta tana tama e vai tamawahine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*mahatinga* or *mahatahataha*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata mahamana*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*hahaenga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata mahamana* applies physical therapy (*papongi te tua muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*mamali*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 783 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*papa lakaia*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*titia*) all her sexual sins (*yala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

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755 183 In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old semit malo that the child would receive should it live to maturity.

The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau hino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.

All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

757 Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably [171] borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uaua*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi*, cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.

The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *yoko* (deep pressure) or *uaua* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *uahotele* (to travel), placing

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CONTROL OF WEALTH

471 In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the
421 control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on
731 Wale five talo beds (*ui*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed
ui wunua. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of
621 the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

VILLAGE PROPERTY

REEFS

423 The barrier reef (*te ayanga loa*) and all fishing grounds on the reef,
621 inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:
226 The reef from Wale to Matautu, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matawen, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Utu, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Utu was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utupoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tukutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake an-
476 nounced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the
431 lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lani*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this
784 generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *tuhupu* birds (tern).

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226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
784

Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Paniwi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the paniwi fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Paniwi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the talo beds to bring back talo which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertibrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*kaua hi te uatu*) or stone clubbing (*pata hi te uatu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamayui*, *tafaughua*, *tautau*-

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224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*voka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
261 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ʒa*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Tana (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipāpi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *taumamaya*, *yomuyomu*, *lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
574 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor
431 is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children
576 all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*wakalavalava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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757 and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping
542 mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with
352 the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

775 The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading
753 in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

755 The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness
572 or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods
784 or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures.
761 Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in
784 homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

752 Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names
753 for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki hai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua hino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word
776 applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yuwaga o te atua hi lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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821 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *manake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
787 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by
226 thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments
[847] for violation of tapua. When lightning (*uilo*) strikes the ground or a tree or when a meteor (*mata uoi kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*wanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te wale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tala pu wutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *uluulu ahau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matua kalou*, *louili kula*, *louili uli*, *louili ahau*, and *louili taupulopulo*, which live under the sand. *Unukoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *vulayi* (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *vulayi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*halukalu moana* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokou tai* and *vulou*. Only the *vulou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *vulou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *vulou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipua are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupa*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *hawa* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

In the first stage of growth (*tuua to tupua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu to tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kawa* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *hawa* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*tauaga kawa*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *hawa* were not reserved (*weakaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa uu*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *uulo* cord (*matai uulo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakuwa ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tupotupa a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaevaevanga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yen*) worn by women. The art of making the *yen* has been lost today.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe was mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wuhamanes* or *mas wuhalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takowo*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consultations. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malokitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *wulo* fiber (*epa wulo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa taulihi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata hanu* or *taumata mataliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uwlo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *sumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uwlo* bark (*uwti uwlo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamansia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uwti uwlo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uwti uwlo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *sumanga pakayua kotawa* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *uwti uwlo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *kuperga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putihi kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vachua and Te Alongaua. The long hair was oiled and braided

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
693 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.

692 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*uue*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people and for their vigorous old age, unmarked by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

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A distribution (*laukava*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no ideas as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *suiti wahatiti tangata* (conception 787 dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful talo patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *suiti wahatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy. [828]

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *mahangaulu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

> All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*agahau hino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wawine pauga*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*lopa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *titiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

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843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 787 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on observations of the mother's abdomen and on dreams. If the pregnant woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli tomilomiloaki*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli motoine*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives much certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—bar accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female, for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yoki yokio	Carry above the head (?)
Yuya matalangi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Uin ulu ei, uin ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngahoi, ngahoi,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kawa*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *laukava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*niu wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*auvanga*) of the old men's group (*tupele*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamatyei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli ennin*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food taps or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 774 869 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 828 787 775 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti wakatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

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Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

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Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua pumpom: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua ao te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *uuta*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata uui atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uukayuuinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uukayuuinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uukayuuinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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613 lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

193 554 After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

[787 156]

196 613 Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 188 187 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wakatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

188 To *iupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
192 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a br...r...r... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh
193 (*bilibilio*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Matalili) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*ausuga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga watu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *welo* bark (*wati welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

196 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
181 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

196 187 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it [182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

609 With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure 182 on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and [118] prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a 193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without 187 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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756 not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks
787 came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of
759 his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some
154 other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sick-
177 ness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as
[159] causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuunaga*[*] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

756 This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status
787 from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses
177 he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

756 For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought
554 fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

755 For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more fre-
787 quently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[*] The Pukapukan word *tuunaga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective meaning skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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755 sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he
787 felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was
755 given by Pau:

753 A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.

Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

753 The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on
776 a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

775 A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to
753 avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

755' The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

159 a garden of beautiful flowers and a woman, dreamer's father's brother's daughter, blossomed forth as one of the flowers.

(This informant has had many dreams of the dead, who look just as when they lived.)

159 Talainga: A recent dream related to special activity, fishing.
787 He dreamt he saw a big ship sailing over the land. On board were many Pukapukan men as well as white men. The ship sailed on to the taro beds and ever onward. As it passed him, Talainga recognized Iti and others on board and spoke to them, asking where they are going. They answered, "To the taro beds, and beyond in that direction." The ship disappeared and he dreamt that he then walked down to the beach He found that he was holding a fishline for kakai in his hands. He walked out to the sea and cast the line. He caught a fish which he tossed onto the beach.

(The day after this dream, he went fishing and caught plenty of fish. A dream of good luck, this.)

159 Talainga: After several sessions' work with Mrs. Henry [resident agent's wife] and me. [Pearl Beaglehole.]

He dreamt he was at the cricket ground (where he'd umpired women's cricket in which both Mrs. Henry and I had participated), a clearing on the road, surrounded by thick groves of coconut trees. The place was full of water. He saw a cemetery close by in which the graves were all pointing south. Nearby was a little house, which resembled a W.C. Asking whose house it was, he learned that it belonged to E. and P. [Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole] someone told him to move the house from alongside the burial ground. He hesitated to do this because the ground was so wet. Disliking the job, he and two others moved the house. Put down, the house was moved yet again by other people. Then he saw E. stood in front of the house, opened the door, and went in. The end of the dream

(Before either the dream was dreamt or related, informant had been invited by E. and P. to pay them a visit to their house, which was undoubtedly an important thing for him.)

Eliu: Dreamt of a meeting of Ngake men, who when ended took their canoes to the back of the island. Saw them in their canoes, fishing. He dreamt that he was lying in the meeting house watching the canoes. Where he was, he sank his line down into the ground. He pulled his line in thinking he had caught a kakai. But it was not a kakai, only a pala. He got hold of the jaws of the fish and told Te Ingoa to hit the fish, which the latter did, killing it. Then the dreamer threw his line again. This time he caught a whale which jumped about on the land and broke loose. He tried to catch it, and after a bit, succeeded. The whale's head was broken, and blood was

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitou lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitou* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitou* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitou lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

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Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitou lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
788 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
788 air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua nie kaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi manino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *pionga*, *auanga*, *uale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a
[776] simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewake, the god of clams, was

613 lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

193 After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

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193 188 187 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *uuhatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

188 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
193 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wokauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . pound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kilikilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved
193 against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Matalili) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

^196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*atunga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga matu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus *malo* or bands of *welo* bark (*wati welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

196 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
187 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

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[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was
775 assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived
539 from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely
[776] rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the
[782] stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yon saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

> If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,[20] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.
>
> The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.
>
> In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.
>
> I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, tartly, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[20] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere voerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa clo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautill ai tana i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116 — analyst.]

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*hiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakelekelea*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na mangamanga lima*).

752 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
751 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamau was a Maliwusu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These
773 were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the Land was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

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756 ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tauau was a priest of Te Langaga. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he
191 looked, there the *longa* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiya*,
the *uete*, the *manini*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That
193 was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it
773 with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Walieu. Walieu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malouila*, the *ere*, the *uuti hova*, the *uo*, the *kalema*, the *atule:* when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

757 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

759 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably
757 generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *taumakomako* plant.
757 Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*cuvua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *taumakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

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[Information on the "sacred maid" who was dedicated to the god of the chiefly lineage and who may, at one time, have had religious duties, will be found in category 613, 643 or 116. See especially pp. 237-239.]

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322 285 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*tukapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 554 461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wukamalongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*imu kai wikamalinga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *wuoa vaka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*uuta*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wuliwuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wuliwuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uuma*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatani*. They are

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502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*houkau hi uua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 782 562 778 793 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uelo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uelo* bark (*uuti uelo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanain sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awanawa. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uelo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uelo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakapau hotaua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyea. It consisted of the usual *uuti uelo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupenga pu*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki hokoo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaua. The long hair was oiled and braided

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle 292 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long 293 *uuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumunga*, but was associated with Te 776 Maungatu and Taliongamuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this 613 turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn 304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or 302 waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist 832 as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports 621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandaliers. The people of Ngake 293 make their decoration of *muko uala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *polo puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *mailo* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basic garment.

292 The *titi muko uala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split 294 in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*titi*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wawine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities
623 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangaupa* fishing group.

687 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *auanga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Taiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Taiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*alihi uvolo*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *uvolo*. The *uvolo* was both the
613 spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

565 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te alihi uvolo o Te Ulu-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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565 643 613 645 [561] 293

te uui alihi (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te hau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uala*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uala*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupale*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

565 643 613 177

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Malowete	One alihi (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One alihi, one langatila
Leto	I Tuti	One alihi wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipale	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One alihi, one langatila
	Yamanaga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matoispo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*alihi wolo*), seven other chiefs (*matoispo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

[646]

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643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief
644 had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukopu*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to
[613] their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last
613 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te alihi* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those
571 of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ho koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wahakouvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue
793 of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might
643 go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and execu-
645 tives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intralineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was
[171] the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born
613 female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psy-
774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman
828 to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
787 At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained
775 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the
[529] band of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*)
828 which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the con-
787 ception of a child (*miti wakaiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing taio beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

776 shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
301 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laubie*
673 may be either the flower of a *hie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or
else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be
an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree,
unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from
Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart
from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
[372] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper,
had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out,
Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also
guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utu-
poa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by
Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw
away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the
reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head
covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad
776 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
822 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped
Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the
reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
776 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island
might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
613 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld,
especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld
where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always
helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times.
His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to
have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred
enclosure called a *aswa*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is
as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and
was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of
familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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776 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and
613 was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manula may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the
226 sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the
793 priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*puyna*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
788 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognise the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and
788 Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi mamino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *amanga*, *uale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a
[776] simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewuhe, the god of clams, was

118 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
182 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aunai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; tein to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

118 The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*aronga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kasu*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakavae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*pionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

118 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*pots*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

118 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
113 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general population sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*tauta*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *newu*, not *awanga*. These are *te newu o Tulikalo* and *te newu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *newu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *newu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitonga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *wata*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata wai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*makayawinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aku* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*makayawinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*makayawinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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[613] lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

[193] 554 After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did [767] either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great [156] prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

196 Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A 613 man who caught a *kahai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate antisocial conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

193 The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The 188 method of *nukutato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on 187 the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

188 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion,
193 taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.
187 The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kilikilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved
193 against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony
182 follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*savanga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga wutu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *welo* bark (*wuti welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yeie*.

196 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before
181 the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

196 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied
181 a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it
[182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.
609 When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure
182 on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and
[118] prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a
193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without
187 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

789 Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

793 The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to
754 eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

775 Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to
774 trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to
114 trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

754 If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,[*] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls —some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yele vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[*] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
759 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakelekelea*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na mangamanga lima*).

757 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
761 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

763 1. Tamau was a Muliwutu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These
773 were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

756 ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamaa was a priest of Te Lampapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he
191 locked, there the *leapa* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiva*,
193 the *vaie*, the *manini*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it
773 with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Walieu. Wafieu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malouila*, the *eve*, the *uuti hava*, the *uo*, the *kaloma*, the *atule*: when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably
757 generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *taumakomako* plant.
751 Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*vasua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off
278 the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *taumakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
793

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for priests, see p. 23.]

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka gener-
609 ously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm
191 and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that
799 time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary
167 Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka.
[101 In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Weeds* (6, p. 33) landed in
963] Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tiene, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Taluie whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included
642 within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent
794 visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Puka puka—analyst]

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.

526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lita, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo neuengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga.* *Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wusi*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

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latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the prevailing hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kalua, Manuka, Mokongai, Malengai tonga, Tonga, Mullinonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Waimbu.
Yato: Tokalau iti, Tokalau matua, Wakatia, Palaga, Yuka, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nina and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *kio* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamanea* or *mea wahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takave*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
613 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
643 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
778 garment (*opa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
776 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumallangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *opa kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *uulo* fiber (*opa uulo*); that of Tua for the gods Matalikí and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *kio* material (*opa kuliki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *opa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *lo kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *opa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
[787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828] whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *opa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *opa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata kuna* or *taumata ulíki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *soketsto te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god.

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The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kilikilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

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Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

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A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*mwanga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga wutu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing canoes, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *uelo* bark (*wuti uelo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

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After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

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196 god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied
187 a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it
[182] was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uvelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure.
609 When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure
182 on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and
[118] prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a
193 humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without
187 the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

182 A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *uahatuloutulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

193 Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

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124 As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka generously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

124 Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

177 Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka. In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takale whom he had met in Hawaii.

177 The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Pukapuka—analp.]

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177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
205 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
771 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
642 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their
602 supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools,
191 and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[129] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code
577 of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgement upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking vessels, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

House Styles

341 797 343 A wide variety of house styles is found in Pukapuka today. In the permanent villages, the dwelling houses are either of coral lime roofed with pandanus thatch, or of a type introduced from Rarotonga by the missionaries, with slat walls reaching to the roof and often with a wide veranda. Along with these modern houses are found old style dwelling houses and cook houses. Small, square, slat-walled houses which stand close to each dwelling house in the permanent villages were evidently orginally built under missionary impetus to serve as bath houses. Some of these bath houses are used for their assumed purpose, but the majority, after their novelty wore off, were converted into storehouses for fishing gear. Loto village at one time set up a row of wooden structures on coral lime foundations in the water a few feet from the lagoon beach. These serve as privies; many of them are in sad need of repair.

In the copra villages, most dwelling and cook houses are built in an old Pukapukan style. One house in particular, a watch house at the place Matala in Uta, has acquired undue prominence in the literature because of its age. Built about three generations ago at the time of first missionary contact, it is a well-authenticated example of one style of Pukapukan house building.

SIMPLE RIDGEPOST HOUSE

341 335 The *uale toimaha* (fig.8,a) is a small, low house, usually erected on exposed outer beaches to serve as a cook house, sometimes as a sleep house. The framework consists of two ridgeposts (*pou tu*), which support a single ridgepole (*tau matua*). In one subtype, rafters (*uati poto*) run from the ridgepole to the ground. In the other subtype, two wall posts (*pou*) on each side support wall plates (*kaukau matua*). Rafters run down from the ridgepole to rest on the wall plates. There are no thatch rafters; the thatch of coconut roof sheets is laid directly against the rafters, in such a manner that the midrib bases of the roof sheets function as thatch purlins. Lashings are of sennit or, as in a rough house examined, of dried *pulaha* stalks. Smaller houses of this type have one ridgepole only, but more substantial houses have a second ridgepole (*tau tua*), which is laid in the crossings of the rafters (fig.8,a). The ridgepole roof sheet is securely fastened to the framework by pegs (*pubi*) that are pushed through the sheets and between the two ridgepoles.

A roof extension (*kawaata*) is often added to the exposed end of these

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa uu*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Walakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupa a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaevoevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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Stone Seats

324 177 517 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewa-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

831 564 717 552 114 778

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wato-manava-ewi, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

324 133 177

Walls

423 Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

333 417

House Foundations

333 The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

778 No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the talo swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

333 The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yionga*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pots*) of the priests in the god house (*uale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

764 Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

765 Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*uale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alihi uale* and *uai alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

618 616 613 297 621 578 226

period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yolongo* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*wilo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

612 621 618 574

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolongo*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

613 616 618 597 611

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

114 171 611 498

Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

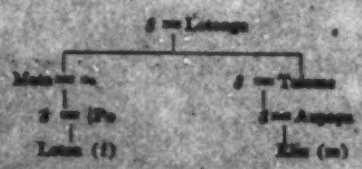
1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *tlamutu*. The father calls the child my *tlamutu*; the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

601 603 114 778 Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

606 602 [m] Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *keinga wakama* or as *wale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *wale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *wale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *wale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *keinga wakama*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *keinga wakama* are *wale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *wale atua* are also *wale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *keinga wakama* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *wale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *wale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *wale atua* or *keinga wakama* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Tolama are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotea and Elia, are *wale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotea, of the opposite sex, are *wale atua* to each other.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
834, 797, 836

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for sexual restrictions and effects of missionary teaching, see pp. 20-21.]

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.

526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
796 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mana to Talainga to record.)

Lita, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Maulkatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

502 the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

487 In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279°. As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ζ, ε, and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Maui) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88°, while the true course is 84°, and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

502 The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

171 193 192

1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungauhi ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lua lau
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungauhi	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungauhi ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungauhi ma lua	100,000(?). Ngauhi tini

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

802/193 The word *katoa* is used for ten in simple enumeration. It is never used in conjunction with the name of the object enumerated, but in its place *laungaulu* is used. Where the special counting prefixes are used, these are added to the suffix *ngaulu* to indicate 10 objects of whatever class.

802/192 Numbers higher than *ngaulu tini* in progression of numerical greatness are: *manomano muamua, matinitini, makelekele,* and *yu*, which is an expression that corresponds to infinity. The number of terms that the Pukapukan uses to indicate high numbers is interesting though it is a little hard to see the function of high numerical concepts in an atoll culture.

It was a favorite jest among informants that the Pukapukan could count to a higher power than we could; proof of this they argued was not only the presence of words indicating progressions to infinity, but also the ability of the culture hero Maui to find Pukapukan words which enabled him completely to enumerate the stars in the sky, the fish in the sea, the sands on the beach, and so forth. It is likely, however, that such words as *tini, ngaulu tini, manomano muamua* indicate not so much a definite number as a progression of increasing greatness that is more sensed or felt than definitely apprehended.

802/193 To indicate "more than" or "plus" to even numerals, *tu ma* is suffixed to the numeral; some 70 people (*tinomitu tu ma*). To form numerical nouns from the numerals 1 to 10, *ngaua* is suffixed to the number: I have received my three (*na taua toku tolungaua*). Each is *taki*; one person or object each: *takitayi*. The prefix *tokitaki tu* is used of things to indicate "one by one", "one at a time", and so forth: *tokitaki tu tayi, tokitaki tu lua*; of people the prefix *takitau* is used: *takitau tokalua*, by twos, or, for each pair.

802/192 To count is *kaui or wukalau*. A special set of terms is used to count coconuts by pairs (*oaniu*). One pair of drinking or mature nuts is *tayi oaniu*. From this on the counting runs:

Lua: 4 nuts.	Iva: 18 nuts.
Tolu: 6 nuts.	Yua: 20 nuts.
Wa: 8 nuts.	Tolu: 30 nuts.
Yepalapulu: 10 nuts.	Wa: 40 nuts.
Ono: 12 nuts.	Lima: 50 nuts.
Witu: 14 nuts.	Lau: 100 nuts.
Valu: 16 nuts.	

802/193 The development of counting prefixes is indicated by the following list. To count people, the prefixes are:

Toka, counting people from 1 to 10: *e tokatolu taua*, we are three.
Tino, counting people from 10 upward: tinongaulu, 10; tinowelau, 100 people.
Matino, used solely for counting the priest numbers of a god house (*wale atua*): matinotolu, three priests; matinowitu, 7 priests.

Inanimate objects or creatures other than human beings are counted with the following prefixes:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

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193

Ipu, coconut shells: ipungaulu, 10; ipulua, 20; ipuwelau, 100; ipuluangalau, 200.
Kai, fishhooks, used when counting the number of hooks on a composite fishing apparatus (taumakomako): kailima, 5 hooks. The number of fish caught with this apparatus is also counted with the prefix kai, as kailima ika, 5 fish.
Kau, oven stones, fishline sinkers, leaves of prepared pandanus for plaiting: kaulua, 20; kauwelau, 100; kautolungalau, 300.
Kaui, fishhooks stored in the special tuluma receptacle, or hooks on a bonito trolling rod: kauitolu, 3 bonito hooks.
Kupu, plaited objects such as mats, hats: kupungaulu, 10; kupulua, 20; kupuwelau, 100.
Lau, fish caught by ordinary methods, or live fish: laungaulu, 10; lau lua, 20; lau, 100.
Manga, branches, livers (internal organs), bananas, or fingers: mangangaulu, 10.
Mata, talo, or pulaka: matangaulu, 10 tubers; matalua, 20; matawelau, 100 tubers.
Mata, meshes in a net: matalauangalau, 200 meshes.
Tua, crayfish or crabs: tuangaulu, 10 crayfish; tualua, 20; tuawelau, 100.
Ua, shellfish; uangaulu, 10 clams; ualua, 20.
Ulu, victories in a progressive game: ulutolu, 3 wins in disc-throwing game (tupe).
Yeka, canoe seats: yekoono, 6-seater canoe.

These counting prefixes are also used in questions inquiring the number counted, as: *E tinowea te tangata*? How many people? *E matawea te uenu*? How many talo corms? *E yekowea te vaka*? How big is the canoe? The answer uses the prefixes as given above.

804

Measurements of length are commonly used for fishlines, or in craft activities. Those in common usage are:

Watinga mangamanga lima: length of one finger joint, tip of finger to first joint.
Lua watinga mangamanga lima: two finger joints.
Tolu watinga mangamanga lima: three finger joints, i.e., one finger length.
Ngawa mangamanga lima: span of hand from thumb to longest finger.
Watinga lima: finger tip to elbow joint.
Lima: finger tip to shoulder of outstretched arm.
Uma: finger tip to center of chest with outstretched arm.
Ngawa: tip to tip of fingers, with outstretched arms, across chest; tolunga ngawa, three lengths, and so forth.
Kuni: a length of 10 ngawa.
Lau: 100 ngawa: E wea te loa o te mea la? E lau; What is the length? 100 ngawa.

Measures of volume are made by the use of descriptive terms:

Mo mea lewu: a very little.
Lewu: a little.
Mo mea: a little more.
To ki: (a container) about ¼ full.
To kiki: between ¼ and ½ full.
To kiki ki loloonu: about ½ full.
Ki: full.
Ki kakale: brimful.
Ki kalekale: full to flowing over.

There are no standardised measures for volume; the liquid which is being described is added to the descriptive term to make clear the amount of liquid measured.

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283 sennit malos. Four-ply braid is not used for cordage. Braided sennit is termed *kawa*. Sennit made from the selected, long pieces of fiber is *kawa uua*; from unselected strands (*amo*), *kawa wili*. Ordinary three-ply braiding which produces a fairly long, loose braid is termed *kawa wili yaeyae* and is used for ordinary anchor line (*kawatau*) or fishline. Careful three-ply braiding, in which each twist of the plies is pulled very tight to form a close, round braid, is termed *kawa wili tuki*; when made of the long strands (*uua*), it produces especially strong braid used for strong fishlines and canoe lashings.

Braiding is always done toward the body. The commencement end of the plies is knotted and tied to a stake set in the ground before the worker or else coiled round the toe (*iho li te mangamanga vae*). In three-ply braid, the outside plies are brought over the middle ply in succession, each ply taking in turn the middle position. A shortening or thinning ply is reenforced by direct overlapping on the specific ply affected or else by the addition of a new strand from below, the short end of which is folded back over the middle ply (fig.18,*b*). When it is temporarily abandoned, the braiding is stoppered by twisting plies together or by tying the two outer plies together with an overhand knot. Braiding is permanently finished by gradually reducing the size of the strands until they are very thin and then rolling the three plies together on the sole of the foot to produce about 3 inches of three-ply twist. Shreds of fiber (*uuhuuhu*) left on the cord after braiding is finished are carefully cut off with a knife (*tabu*) to give a smooth, neat appearance to the cord.

[804] Finished cord is measured by stretching it from tip to tip of outstretched arms across the chest. One such measurement is equal to a fathom (*ngaeua*). When the worker has made a sufficient number of *ngaeua* for his purposes, he winds the cord into a coil of fathom loops and stores it until needed. Lengths of cord for canoe lashings are made fairly short because the cord must be used uncoiled when lashing through holes in the canoe hull. Working coils for house lashings are made by winding the sennit over the back and palm of the hand. The sennit is taken from the hand, the free end is wound several times round the middle of the coil and fastened with half hitches. The commencement end is pulled from the center of the coil and the lashing started with this end. As the lashing proceeds the coil unwinds itself, but the coiling prevents the sennit from becoming tangled and hard to use.

Examples of three-ply braided cords for various purposes are:

Anchor line CB98 (*kawa tau*): three-ply braid, 6 mm thick, 11 mm wide. The plies thin down to 4 × 2 mm at the finishing end and are twisted into two plies (two plies being twisted as a single element) for 2½ inches and knotted.

Other lengths of braid used as deep-sea fishlines and anchor lines (CB107, CB109, CB198), have thicknesses of 4 × 7, 4 × 8, and 5 × 10 mm. They are all loosely braided pieces of sennit (*kawa wili yaeyae*).

Canoe lashing sennit CB109 (*kawa uua li vaka*) is a flat three-ply braid, in which each ply is composed of 13 long coconut fibers. Short plies are lengthened by direct overlapping, the slight backward projection of the short end of the added strand being trimmed off later. The finished braid is 3 mm thick, 6 mm wide; the flatness and strength of this braid make it ideal for lashing together hull parts.

283 Five-ply (*wili lima*) braiding is reserved exclusively for the making of
292 sennit malos (*kawa malo*). The braiding technique is similar to three-ply braiding save that the outer ply from either side crosses two plies instead

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Ipu, coconut shells: ipungaulu, 10; ipulua, 20; ipuwelau, 100; ipuluangalau, 200.
Kai, fishhooks, used when counting the number of hooks on a composite fishing apparatus (tamakomako): kailima, 5 hooks. The number of fish caught with this apparatus is also counted with the prefix kai, as kailima ika, 5 fish.
Kau, oven stones, fishline sinkers, leaves of prepared pandanus for plaiting: kaulua, 20; kauwelau, 100; kautolungalau, 300.
Kasi, fishhooks stored in the special tuluma receptacle, or hooks on a bonito trolling rod: kasitolu, 3 bonito hooks.
Kupu, plaited objects such as mats, hats: kupungaulu, 10; kupulua, 20; kupuwelau, 100.
Lau, fish caught by ordinary methods, or live fish: laungaulu, 10; lau lua, 20; lau, 100.
Manga, branches, livers (internal organs), bananas, or fingers: mangangaulu, 10.
Mata, talo, or pulaka: matangaulu, 10 tubers; matalua, 20; matawelau, 100 tubers.
Mata, meshes in a net: matalungalau, 200 meshes.
Tua, crayfish or crabs: tuangaulu, 10 crayfish; tualua, 20; tuawelau, 100.
Ua, shellfish; uangaulu, 10 clams; ualua, 20.
Ulu, victories in a progressive game: ulutolu, 3 wins in disc-throwing game (tupe).
Yeke, canoe seats: yekeono, 6-seater canoe.

These counting prefixes are also used in questions inquiring the number counted, as: *E tinowea te tangata?* How many people? *E matawea te mana?* How many talo corms? *E yekewea te vaka?* How big is the canoe? The answer uses the prefixes as given above.

804 Measurements of length are commonly used for fishlines, or in craft activities. Those in common usage are:

Watinga mangamanga lima: length of one finger joint, tip of finger to first joint.
Lua watinga mangamanga lima: two finger joints.
Tolu watinga mangamanga lima: three finger joints, i.e., one finger length.
Ngawa mangatanga lima: span of hand from thumb to longest finger.
Watinga lima: finger tip to elbow joint.
Lima: finger tip to shoulder of outstretched arm.
Uma: finger tip to center of chest with outstretched arm.
Ngawa: tip to tip of fingers, with outstretched arms, across chest; tulunga ngawa, three lengths, and so forth.
Kumi: a length of 10 ngawa.
Lau: 100 ngawa; E wea te loa o te mea la? E lau; What is the length? 100 ngawa.

Measures of volume are made by the use of descriptive terms:

Me mea lewu: a very little.
Lewu: a little.
Mo mea: a little more.
To ki: (a container) about ¼ full.
To kiki: between ¼ and ½ full.
To kiki ki loloto: about ½ full.
Ki: full.
Ki kakale: brimful.
Ki kalekale: full to flowing over.

There are no standardized measures for volume; the liquid which is being described is added to the descriptive term to make clear the amount of liquid measured.

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821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *inanini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign
805 for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
132 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
221 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina yu*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lolei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco-
312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

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114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so nuclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
646 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> 805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
> 561 a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakanluaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meine utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *meine ju* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *meine utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kuúpupuni (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kulamoamoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Komamoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kamiliki (children).
Tamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalon: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matiwaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 30 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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514 sea water. To defecate is *uukapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wengi: dry reef.
Kon tuuuva te tai } : the sea swells.
Kon pupu te tai }
Kon pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Kon oko te tai ki ngaaua: the tide ripples on the beach.
Kon wowoou te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Kon tu te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Kon payake te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Kon yeke ki te ula: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Kon wakunkuuia te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Kon wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeydo*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo ki mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te uu o te ata mutua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata mooa: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata keea: gray dawn.
Te uiuiga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te kakuuga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te whinga o te tupua } sun is pursued tupua, the risen sun la.)
Puia te la: the sun rises higher.
Kon tutu nui te la: the sun stands above.
Kon tutoou nui te la: the sun is overhead.
Kon tutoou mukuku: the sun is directly overhead.
Kon angakue te la: the sun starts moving down.
Kon tatoou te la: the sun is to the side.

805 Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
Koa to te la: the sun falls.
Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
Koa yeyetgi te po: the night begins to darken.
Koa po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kekekele: black night.
Te pouli mata newu: dark when stars are dim.
Koa vaelua te po: the night is divided into two.
Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Koa wenake te ata kuna: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
Koa kitia te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te taupalonga la* (afternoon), *te auiowi* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Mawu, no te vaia o Letunga, no te vaia o Uihili, no te vaia o te taiwehe.* The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater 805 emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*takalonga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

[177] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

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805 he names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pola: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki luaga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaalu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulualki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kauliliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kena: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.

[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [778 762] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

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Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku ioa ki te vanaga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enaena pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E hoa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

* The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pioi* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

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226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi iko*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano an yi kalona, yi kakai, yele pala..." (I am going to fish *kalona*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*...); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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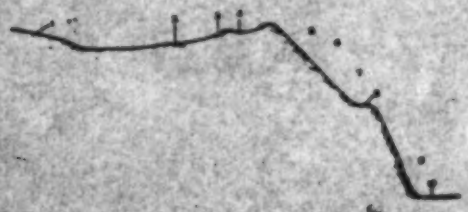

FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *wenua*; 2, lagoon, *ale*; 3, inner side of reef shell, *tamatawa*; 4, reef shell, *alwala ahua*, the reef circuit being termed *ayanga*; 5, surface water, *bilitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *waini*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *pumpungutu*; 8, lower, outer reef shell, *papa e te ahua*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yele-pumpungutu* (also called *nenu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa e te wenua*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*,
887 *alwala*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were
561 caught by the young men's (*tangangu*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangangu* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kalona* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kalona* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kalona* to be

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latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kalua, Mamoe, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mafitonga, Kao, and Pua.
Loto: Wakelau.
Yato: Tokelau ki, Tokelau matua, Wakatia, Pakaja, Yuka, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niu and across the reef joining Wale to Komwa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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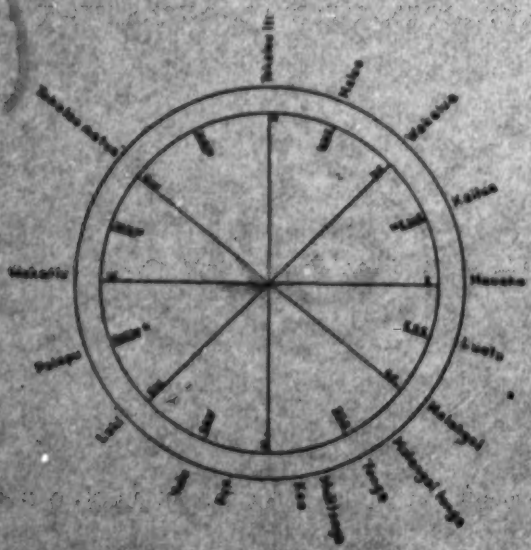

FIGURE 1.—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

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The word for side or direction is *kaokao*. Hence a person says *kaokao tokelau* (northern direction), *kaokao tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga malangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *mao* is used. *E mao tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *mao* wind; thus a wind blowing

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821/192 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *manake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
787 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A
226 vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree [847] or when a meteor (*mata moi kawe*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*uuauua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good. [613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*ts uale no ts la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign
805 for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
132 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
221 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina ya*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lolei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia te te ange*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco-
312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

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431 on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to
574 each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This
621 was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

527 2. *Lauaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It
formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season
262 of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village
food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lauaya*,
as *lauaya hauau* (crabs), *lauaya uuma* (birds). A *lauaya* after a tapu period ensures
that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers.
If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lauaya* feasting may last
for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village
men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the
[621] food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be
made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon; either in the first or
second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as
a governing factor in the *lauaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other
food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngaluenga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamatienga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngaluenga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *monotonga*.

5. *Kavakau*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malaua*) or other
[623] inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old man's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wasle, *tauuayanga*, and *puki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *walkiaua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia wale* and *lulukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *laukaua*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 *Iuu lai o te uua* is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held
574 on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens con-
527 trolled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 *Lauuetongi* (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo*
613 *alai* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingolingo* (land shells), feasts
of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three vil-
lages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for
their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative
of the small amount of fish food that this village could supply its guests. For these
feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special
delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts
from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special
work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its
religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *ptonga* (religious avenue).
When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all
joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake
group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food
and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have inti-

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OTHER PLANT FOODS

222 No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not culti-
262 vated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw
when ripe, with or without complement (*kimaki*). They may be sliced and
252 baked (*uala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo uala* and *likoliko uala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*makano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner
[821] kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Matii. Of the several
245 varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*.
262 *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lawuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *hili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as
431 gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in
251 five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A bunch (*tu*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet
252 deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

249 Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is
621 owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and
245 adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *vu*.
262 The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

262 There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No taps against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

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[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

776 Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

613 Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general
313 duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its
241 nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale
[262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776 Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776 Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the
821 four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 242 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langoaa e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [301] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua lenkie* for his male wor-

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776 powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

776 Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons
821 for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totolua was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu wangota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te vayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

776 A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or
775 *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these
776 minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when
613 Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakasta: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki lunga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakavai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kauliliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te utu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kesa: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.

[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 713 [178 162] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

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The following information on stars was obtained from a number of informants. Robert Dean Frisbie assisted in the identification of the star names and also prepared a chart of the Pukapukan heavens from which the accompanying chart (fig. 55) has been adapted.

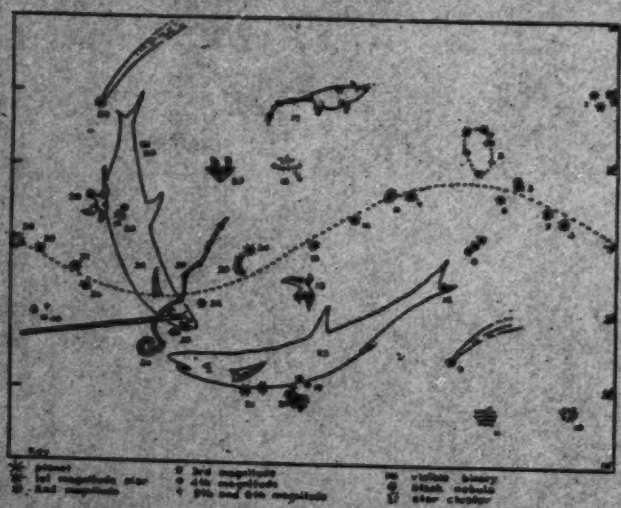

FIGURE 55.—Chart of Pukapukan heavens: 1, Na Taki-te-tolu-a-Mataliki α, β, γ Cassiopeiae); 2, Te Wale-o-Tutakaiolo (α, β, θ, ι Aurigae, β Tauri); 3, Mataliki (the Pleiades); 4, Talupu-tea (Venus); 5, Tulakupe (Jupiter); 6, Mata-kula (Aldebaran); 7, Mata-kula (Mars); 8, Te Tolunga-Maui (ξ, ι, β Orionis); 9, Mata-kele (shooting star); 10, Mau-tokelau (Lesser Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 11, Mau-tonga (Greater Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 12, Tapao (Sirius); 13, Pa-ngolengole-a-Kiliwelo (Praesepe cluster); 14, Mata-tea (Saturn); 15, Tokiva (Jupiter); 16, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Coma Berenices); 17, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Ursa Major, second identification); 18, Te Mauu (Corvus); 19, Na Mata-o-te-paniwi (Crux); 20, Te Paniwi-o-Tautua ("The Coal Sack"); 21, Na Mata-o-te-tokalau, Wau-rua-Velo (α and β Centauri, includes also other stars of same declination); 22, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 23, Te Maina (the Moon); 24, Te Mata-you-ki-te-maina (companion star to the moon); 25, Te Wale-o-Awiau (Corona Borealis); 26, Na Pongaponga-iya-o-te-kiole ε and ζ Lyrae); 27, Mata-uai-kave (comet); 28, Te Tokua (Delphinus); 29, Tolu (α, β, γ Aquilae); 30, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 31, Te Tao-o-Maui (black nebula near Scorpio); 32, Melanate (Antares); 33, Lau-tauua-lalai (λ, ν Scorpionis); 34, Te Kau-o-Maui (star cluster in Sagittarius); 35, Te Wao-e-Maui (δ, η, ζ, ι, θ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis); 36, Talupu-tea (Venus); 37, Tapao (Jupiter); 38, Te Mata-you-ki-te-la (Mercury); 39, La (Sun); 40, Taki-pki-tulu (Pleiades Australis). Dotted line represents sun's ecliptic.

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82 The named planets are:

Planet	Native Name	Remarks
Mercury	Forgotten	Called te mata pili loa ki te la (the star very close to the sun).
Mars	Mata-kula (Red-star) a name given to Aldebaran or other conspicuous star	That Mars changes its right ascension and declination is not known.
Venus	Takupa-tea (White-booby-bird)	Known to be the same star when observed in morning or evening; its morning appearance confused by some with morning rising of Jupiter. No native belief as to why Venus rises only part way to observer's meridian.
Saturn	Mata-tea (White-star)	
Jupiter	Tapao	When visible to east in morning.
	Tulalupe	When visible to west in evening.
	Tokiva	When visible overhead.
Sirius		Confused with Jupiter, whose three names are applied to Sirius when latter is in position to warrant their use.
Sun	La	Rationalizations for eclipses of sun and moon given in story of Lingutaimoa (1).
Moon	Maina	Face of moon pictures the woman Yina pounding pandanus key to extract its nut.

The ecliptic of the sun is termed Te Ala-o-te-la (The Path-of-the-sun). The half of the ecliptic to the north (Te Lua-poto, The Short-hole) is the season of fine weather and pleasure-making. The half of the sun's ecliptic to the south (Te Lua-loa, The Long-hole) is the time of bad weather and tapu activities. Informants say that Te Ala-o-te-la goes into the *lua poto* or the *lua loa*. This may mean that the sun in its passage through the sky passes through a hole (*lua*) or cave in the sky. *Poto* and *loa* refer to the short days when the sun is to the north, and the long days when it is to the south.

The named nebulae and the star clusters are:

Nebula or Star (Cluster)	Native Name	Remarks
Black nebula near Crux "The Coal Sack"	Te Paniwi-o-Taewa	Taewa named this nebula for its imagined resemblance to the paniwi fish.
Triangular black nebula near Scorpio (45° south declination, all hours right ascension)	Te Tao-o-Maui (Spear-of-Maui)	The spear that Maui thrust into his shark and hurled into the sky.
Milky Way	Te Mango (Shark)	The shark hurled by Maui. Pukapukans not aware they are observing different halves of the Milky Way during winter solstice (when shark's head is to south) and during summer solstice (when head is to north).

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Greater Magellanic Cloud[10]	Mau-tonga	Said to be a woman because it comes from the cold south (tonga).
Lesser Magellanic Cloud[10]	Mau-tokelau	Said to be a man because it comes from the warm north (tokelau).
Praesepe cluster (18-19° north declination, 8h 25min 30sec right ascension)	Pangolengole-a-Kiliwelo	Also generalized name for star cluster or visible nebula such as Great Nebula of Andromeda as opposed to star clusters with named individual stars.

As distinguished from a star (*mata*), a shooting star or meteor is *mata-lele* (running-star); a comet, *mata-wai-kave* (star-with-a-tail). The word *kavinga* means a star constellation in general, but more particularly, a group of stars which have the same declination.

Named stars are:

Mata-kula (Aldebaran), often confused with Mars.

Tolu (three) or Taki-piki-tolu (α, β, and γ Aquilae). Morning rising of α Aquilae (Altair) is sign of commencement of rock grouper season: talao, wapuku, ulupunga, and tiwitiwi fish plentiful.

Melemele (Antares). Morning rising sign for rock grouper season.

Te Wale-o-Tutakaiolo, House-of-Tutakaiolo, (α, β, ι and Θ Aurigae, β Tauri).

Na Taki-tolu-a-Mataliki or Na Taki-tu-tolu-a-Mataliki, Three-of-Mataliki (α, β, and γ Cassiopeiae). Rising slightly before the Pleiades (Mataliki), these stars and Mataliki are signs of approach of flying-fish season.

Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Stars-of-the-pair, (stars of same declination: α, β Centauri, η, Θ, ι, ϵ Argonis, Canopus, Achernar, ϵ Doradi, ϵ and β Orae, α and β Crucis). Morning rising of α and β Centauri is believed to herald period of good lagoon fishing. These two stars often called Na Lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo, and are used as star course to Niue. Informants' belief that any star of same declination as α and β Centauri is included in Stars-of-the-pair is interesting in relation to this star course: The more stars of the same declination the navigator steered by, the easier it was to keep a straight course.

Te Yiku-o-te-kiole, Tail-of-the-Rat (Coma Berenices). Pau believed that this name refers rather to Ursa Major, of which α, β, γ, and δ form the body of the rat, and stars ϵ, η, and ζ form the tail. Both identifications appear on chart.

Te Wale-o-Awitu, House-of-Awitu (Corona Borealis).

Te Manu, Bird (Corvus). Morning rising is sign of rock grouper fishing season.

Na Mata-o-te-paniwi, Stars-of-the-"Coal-Sack" (Crux). Morning rising is sign for rock grouper. The name Tautolu for Crux is said to be a modern importation. Pau believes that Na Mata-o-te-paniwi is also modern. It is possible that Crux was unnamed by Pukapukans of former days.

Te Toloa, Duck (four 4th magnitude stars in Delphinus). First rain after their rising, a sign of the approach of the rainy season, is referred to as te toloa yua (duck water).

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[10] At times only one cloud is visible, because Mau-tokelau moves over to Mau-tonga, warms the woman's cold, unemotional nature, and then embraces her in sexual intercourse, so that the two clouds become one, with Mau-tokelau superimposed on Mau-tonga. Informants insist that sometimes there are two clouds, sometimes one; they do not find at all reasonable the suggestion that perhaps one of the clouds has set or has not yet risen, or that moonlight has obscured the lesser cloud while the greater cloud is still visible.

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821 Na Fongapouga-iyu-o-te-kiole, Nostrils-of-the-rat (visible binary, 4 τ Lyrae and 5 Lyrae). Some confusion over identification of the name. Likely that almost any visible binary may be correctly called by this name, in same way that Jupiter and Sirius may both be correctly called Tapao.

Te Tolunga-Maui, Three-Maui-Brothers (ζ, ε, and δ Orionis). Veti alone included Orion's sword as well as his belt in this constellation. Used as star course from Pukapuka to Olosenga and return.

Te Wao-a-Maui, Fishline-of-Maui (θ, η, ζ, ε, and δ Ophiuchi and ε Serpentis). Most informants agreed on including these stars as the main ones in the Fishline, in reality a group of stars strung out north along the Milky Way from Scorpio. An unimportant constellation, figuring neither as star-course guide nor as fishing sign.

Taki-piki-tolu (group of stars in Piscis Australis). Veti and Pau maintain this identification, and refer Tolu alone to α, β, and γ Aquilae. Possibly this distinction is old.

Mataliki (Pleiades). Morning rising marks change of wind to southeast, heralds flying fish, reef fish, and bigger deep-sea fish (then full of roe) seasons. Hence the saying, "Teaa te kau ika o Mataliki ka yau" (Here are all the fish of Mataliki coming). Formerly morning rising introduced the six-moon period of pleasuring. Mataliki directly overhead in the sky is a sign of turtles coming to lay eggs on the outer beaches.

Te Kau-o-Maui, Fishhook-of-Maui (cluster of 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitude stars in Sagittarius). Often confused with the tail of Scorpio, though it lies southeast from the southernmost stars in the tail.

Lua-tama-leki, Two-beautiful-children or Lua-pulotu-leki, Two-beauties-close-together (λ and υ Scorpionis). Their modern name, Pipili-ma, is said to be Tahitian.

Tamaakomako (τ, ε, and σ Scorpionis). Some informants do not recognize this constellation. Identification is doubtful, as it includes Antares, definitely named Melemele.

Te Ala-kavinga-o-te-ika, Star-sign-of-fish (Ursa Major). Descriptive name only because this constellation is known by all as sign for reef fish. Pau's identification given above.

Te Mamo-o-ngana. Group of small stars known to some, could not be identified.

STAR COURSES

502 [487] The value of Pukapukan star courses from the viewpoint of modern navigation has been worked out by Robert Dean Frisbie, whose notes follow. The accuracy of the star courses to the west and from Samoa to Pukapuka is noteworthy. Informants knew of no star courses which would help a navigator sailing eastward from Pukapuka, an indication perhaps of the predominating contact of Pukapuka with western islands.

The course from Pukapuka to Niue was equal to the bearing of α and β Centauri (Na Mata-o-te-totalua) when low in the sky to west of south. Informants emphasized that the stars must be low in the sky; evidently the old navigators were aware of the Centauri's rapid change of bearing when at a higher altitude (no such emphasis was laid on the Antares, or the ε Orionis, star course). Informants were not aware of the stars being in their lower transit when observed low in the sky; but a navigator sailing so far south as Niue, lat. 19° 10′ S., would undoubtedly observe this.

The true course from Pukapuka to Niue, calculated by Mercator sailing, is 204° 48′. The course that would be steered by a canoe headed toward α Centauri, at 5° altitude, would be equal to that star's bearing, which is, in the latitude of Pukapuka, 204° 10′. This is computed by the formula: $1/2\ Z = \sqrt{\cos s, \cos(s-p), \sec L, \sec h}$ (In this $s = 1/2\ h + L + p$; Z is bearing; L, latitude; h, altitude; p, polar distance.)

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a taotaoama fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called te pulu o Yina (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the taotaoma fish. All the other fish of the sea, the manini, the tawa, the ngatau, the tiwitiwi and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the manini tauila (seasonal manini fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--Analyst].

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shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

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Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

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Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

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Tuhilalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nenu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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COLORS

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The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
Kula uliuli: very dark red-brown.
Kula keye: deep red.
Kula lelenga: greasy (?) red.
Kula melo: scarlet.
Kula melomelo: reddish.
Kula pongipongi: brownish red.
Kula toto: blood red.
Kula yiyinu: shiny red.
Melomelo: yellowish.
Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
Uyi, uyiuyi, pa uyiuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
Mumuka, mumumu, litolito, kena, kenakena: white.
Mukalele, mukavakevake: blinding white surface.
Tea: white, used only in proper names.
Kalipo: iridescent.
Kokone, koaokone, koyikoyi: striped or variegated.
Uli (general word), **uli popo, uliuli, pa uliuli, ulimotumotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa**: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kena*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *mamake*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.

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formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in its god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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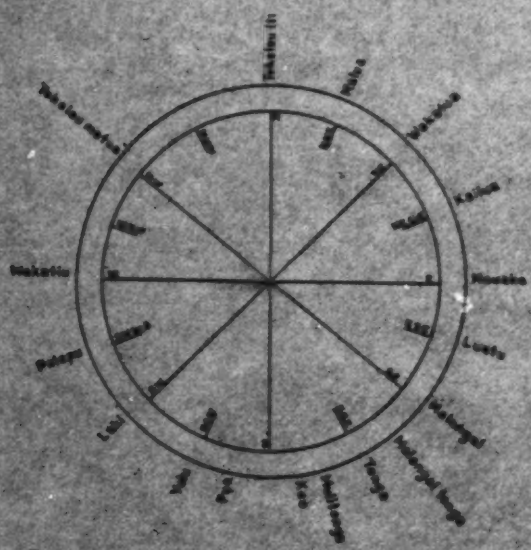
Tokelau
Tonga
Lauta
Lauta
Tokelau
Tokelau
Tokelau

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514 sea water. To defecate is *unkapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and, that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wengi: dry reef.
Koa nanava te tai } : the sea swells.
Koa pupu te tai }
Koa pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Koa oio te tai ki ngauta: the tide ripples on the beach.
Koa wowoou te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Koa tu te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Koa payehe te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Koa yeke ki te uhu: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Koa wakaulauia te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Koa wekiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo la mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te uhu o te ata matua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata maua: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata kesa: gray dawn.
Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te hakaenga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te wikinga o te tupua } sun is termed tupua, the risen sun la.)
Puia te la: the sun rises higher.
Koa tuia pai te la: the sun stands above.
Koa uiuua mai te la: the sun is overhead.
Koa tuiuua mahake: the sun is directly overhead.
Koa angaiia te la: the sun starts moving down.
Koa uiuuau te la: the sun is to the side.

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221 and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from con-
[312] crete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

312 Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep
315 holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

139 The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel,
241 and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly
137 in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Puka-
137 puka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond
214 Fosberg, are recorded in the following list.

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Kave (Cassytha filiformis)
Lakau yili (Pemphis acidula)
Laukorewa (Asplenium nidus)
Laupone (Ipomoea grandiflora)
Linu paniu (a moss) (?)
Maile (Polypodium scolopendria)
Moemoe (Boerhaavia tetrandra)
Mouku (Fimbristylis cymosa variety macrocephala)

Nau (Lepidium bidentoides)
Niu coconut (Cocos nucifera)
Ngangie (Pemphis acidula)
Ngayu (Scaevola frutescens)
Nonu (Morinda citrifolia)
Nuau (Pleurya ruderalis)
Ongoongo (Euphorbia prostrata)
Polapola (Solanum viride)
Polo (Hedyotis romanzoffensis)
Puapua (Guettarda speciosa)
Puka (Ceodes umbellifera)
Pukaua (Hernandia ovigera)
Pukaka (Cyrtosperma merkusii)

Pukaua (Jussiaea erecta)
Taeyinu (Tournefortia argentea)
Taumahonako (Achyranthes velutina)
Tiale (Gardenia taitensis)

To, sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)
Vawai (Tribulus procumbens)
Vayavaya (? Lepturus repens)
Vayavaya ei (? Cyperus ferax)
Wakanava (Cordia subcordata)
Wala (Pandanus sp.)
Wau (Pisonia velutina)
Wawa, talo (Colocasia antiquorum variety esculenta)
- kele
- kiekie
- lula
- nawolawola
- newunewu
- peleau
- polapola
- pongi

} native varieties of talo

Welo (Ficus tinctoria)
Wetai (Psilotum nudum)
Wetau (Calophyllum inophyllum)
Wuti (banana) (? Musa sapientum)
- malie
- mitiluki
- pulaupuka
- talua

} native varieties of banana

Wutu (Fagraea berteriana)
Yanuti (Suriana maritima)
Yulu (? Pandanus)

NOTE: Of the plants listed, *pukaua*, *wawa*, *puapua*, and *wutau* are used for canoes, implements and utensils; *polo* is used mainly for canoe outriggers; the bark of the *wau* is used for fishline and cordage (termed *wau*) for fishnets. The coconut supplies material for the women's kilt, the man's rough mats, smart cord for fishlines, catcher lines, and general lashing, also material for rough mats, food platters, baskets, house thatch. It is one of the chief foods of the island. Pandanus is used for mats, for men's mats, today for house thatch. Its wood is valuable for house frameworks, and the ripe fruit is eaten. Pukapukans distinguish in terms of leaf shape two varieties of *Pemphis acidula*: *ngangie* and *lakau yili*. *Ngangie* is the preferred wood for fishhooks, for implements and outrigger connectives, but failing this wood, *lakau yili* is recognized as a valuable substitute. Botanically the two plants appear to be similar. The flower of the *tiale* is used for wreaths and decorations. The bark of the *wala* was formerly used for decorating ceremonial headdresses. *Nawu* makes the red dye used for mat designs. All the creepers such as *moemoe*, *laupone* and *ongoongo*, are used extensively for wreaths and decorations. The one *nonu* tree on the island is reported to have grown from a drift seed.

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The general name for a plant is *lakau*. Root is *aka*. The trunk of a tree is *pu lakau*. A moss or lichen is *linu*. The fungoid "toadstool" growth on a fallen tree is termed *laulau taliuga*. A seed is *uua*, a flower *pua*, a leaf *lau*. The name of the plant is added to these words to particularize: *uuapuapua* (*puapua* seed), *puauia* (coconut flower), *akauala* (aerial root of the pandanus), *lauuia* (coconut leaf, leaflet). The seeds of certain trees, however, have distinctive names: *pei*, seed of the *wutau* tree, and *kalaka*, *pukaua* seed. The word *tiale* is used for both plant and flower of that name.

The Pukapukans are intimately familiar with the botany and horticulture of coconut and talo (pp. 81-90).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *koukou lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tauia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *puleka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Maniuli and Maniepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Maniepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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flower of the *matau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Uhu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu laktin: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wasa: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tasiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu kosila: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malic: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lailiki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lasoual: very large nuts.
Niu kawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa iliki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
824 Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
Niu pulu vem: the best nuts for making sennit.
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Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognised:

Niu uri: dark green.
Niu kawa kanakana: pale green.
Niu kawa mcionelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyhyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kenu*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukewa* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kowa*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole B-F (1934-5) 1935
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The names for the parts of a coconut tree (niu) are:

Pu niu: trunk.
Launiu: leaf and leaflets.
Kauniu: leaf midrib.
Tuniu: leaflet midrib.
Pakiniu: midrib base.
Kakau: three inner leaf midrib.
Kaku: thorns stipule.

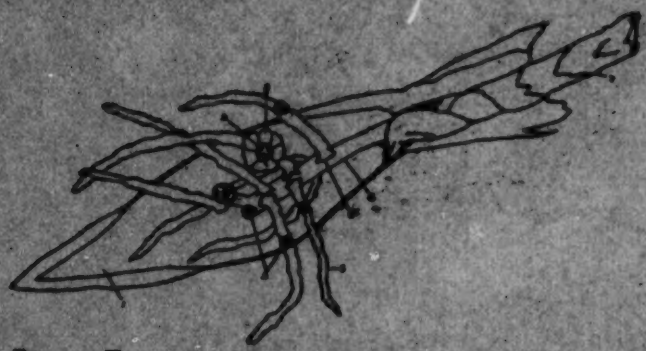

Figure 5.—Flower stalk and sheath of coconut tree: 1, flower sheath, tuaau; 2, base of bract, uau; 3, floral bracts, uatabilini; 4, flower stalk, kaukauniu; 5, base of flower stalk, fa o le kaukauniu; 6, flower stem, kaukaku; 7, base of stem, fa o le kaukaku.

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Names for spathe and flower stalks are given in figure 5. Informants had no ideas about the reproduction of the coconut nor could they give any names for the sexes of the flowers.

Stages in Growth

Five stages are named in the growth of the tree from the seed nut to the small tree:

Yuau: the nut sends its roots (ulaula) into the ground, and stem and leaves grow upward.

Aggagau: young stem shoots (tulia) have shot upward to a height of about 6 inches.

Uto: sprouts have grown to a height of about 25 feet, and the absorbing organ of the coconut cotyledon (uto) has filled the entire cavity of the nut.

Launiu: the tree has taken firm root in the ground and the leaves have attained a height of 4 to 5 feet.

Niu: the leaves are growing vigorously and the young coconuts have in vain established.

The 15 named stages in the growth of the fruit are:

Fua lima: the fertilized female flower of the coconut has developed into a flower bud.

Koua: the immature nut, an inch or more in length. If the flower falls from the tree, it is used in the game of juggling (ulaula koua).

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245 Wenali: the nut is a little larger than koua and has a dark green husk.

Uwuka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

Moto katin: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

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162 Mukumuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukumuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, mealy substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukumuko from certain trees (nin melo, nin kawa hanakura, and nin uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukumuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.

Nin katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Nin nuta mutomuto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Nin nuta: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (leka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Nin nuta matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Nin kuten: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the nin nuta, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Nin uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

Nin papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

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Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.

Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be manaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as koa ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as koa kula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (ideala) to pandanus fruit or edible mukumuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 Takataka nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*uale takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the yakali nuts may be left unhusked (*uai kaua*) so that rats can not see through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make sennit. By the second storage method the *yakali* nuts are husked and a piece of *punga* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut
824 leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the techniques
171 described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*viso*), the windmill (*poteko launiu*), the leaflet ball roarer (*mahatangitangi*), and the leaflet spinner (*mahaki matangi* or *mati lole launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tiengo a Maui* (fig. 49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to horns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the medial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *mahanava*
171 wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by covering a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes.
526 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly
527 adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-
177 making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

524 The toy bow (*uma*) and arrow (*ti*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *matau* tree.

845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata pila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papakinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu kalokalo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus leaves. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *hokononga* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such
773 force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Water-manavanui (p. 379), Kai, and some of Kai's descendants (1).

When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*pito*) and
844 along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*uwuna*), the cord is then cut (*hokoti*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *tulaga* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu hauna*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession
844 procures immediate expulsion.

The placenta falls into a hole (*hau*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the
834 father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *puapua* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *pulu* tree (the leaves to be used later for taro fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te uwuna o Mea* (the afterbirth of So-and-so). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the
844 life of the child.

The parturient blood (*toto*) is tapu. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is tapu, nor were any con-

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
137, 824

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for list of plants and their cultural uses, see p. 6.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of bonito, commencing with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old man (*tupuka*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*ootanga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might
fish *ete*. The *ootanga* fishermen were fed by the old man, who gave them cooked taro
to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the
meeting place (*ooloa*) of the old man and there divided among the people of the island
with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of
the fish he caught in addition to his share of the fish. The group which caught *ete* one
year automatically became the group for catching *pala* fish the next year. All fish
226 caught were similarly divided by the old man among the people. The men of the
968 *ootanga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
were taught the elements of *ete* fishing, the rules, taps, and skills before the season
started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman
(*tangata toa ootoo*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain.
His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow
had the next oldest man of the *ootanga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of
the *ootanga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
931 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six
bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that
seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one
bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as
a breast ornament (*yaaa*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death
provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew,
as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain
gave to them without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope
or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift.
The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his
crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts
as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *tuakyaaa*, and the gift itself was
yaaa, so distinguished from the death gift on land, *ootanga*.

Ete fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out
far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a
landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *ootanga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ulu-manu-o-te-tokelau, which juts out of the water opposite Yato
village, the captain placed a *malo*, hook, or simple concave leaf on this rock as a gift
(*mokoteo*) to the god Malokitokagi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune.
It was taps for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a
canoe did this, it could not proceed further but had to return to the village without
fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the
canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to
return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the
reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the taps and stepped out, the whole crew
had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal
of fish had been sighted. If this taps was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be
destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a taps
returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngoongo elo* (stinking
ngongo birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
of the group returned loaded with *ete* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*mana*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*ioao*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled
up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

225 ight and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not sound. The fishermen wait for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

753 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the pointed tail of the male 825 turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is violent; the turtle sounds, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, priapism and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

225 3. Well water, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying 825 season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fishermen go to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 100 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 100 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 80 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 60 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

225 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the 262 meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fat (*pehenkaga*) and the major internal organs (*ngakau matua*). It was taboo for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan lavies on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*uaka matoro loa*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*uaka matoro poto*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*pungu*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*tuaka*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*ula*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *ula* in any likely hole on the reef shelf.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after sunset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *ula* with his hands (*kaka ula* or *tungo ula*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*kamakau*) or in nets setting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a rod, a *tinafogoa* barbed hook, human hair, and plenty of chum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

136 752 sharp, long-spined porcupine); *tale pu matamata* (a short-spined porcupine); and *ululu akau* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kalamea*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kalamea*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his 136 foot. Five varieties of bêche-de-mer are: *matuo kalou, louili kula, louili uli, louili akau*, and *louili taupulopulo*, which live under the sand. *Unakoa* is 825 a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its 787 poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *valuyi* 226 (*Nerita polita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *valuyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*kalukalu mooma* and *ngako*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokau tai* and *valou*. Only 226 the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRABS

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tupua*) are caught on the outer beaches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kaipua are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupu*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *kauwa* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

226 In the first stage of growth (*tauo te tupua*) during the new and full moon the 262 crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*pupu te* 185 *tupua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kauwa* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulenga*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *kauwa* are killed; young ones caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*lauaya kauwa*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *kauwa* were not reserved (*waikaya*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*totei*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5,*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5,*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

[825] There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale
173 and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an
180 early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Puka-
322 puka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans effected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

322 Preferred woods for canoe building are: *mukoneva* and *wetus* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukuma* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukuma* (hence its name, *poti pukuma*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

322 FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: out-
501 rigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect outside lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20; fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and hair deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (6) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yato, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband
as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults
and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying.
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over,
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the
sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks was broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as
— ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued
763 today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are
178 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
C8:46 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use
for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the
life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was
hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value
might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are
283 different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But,
797 as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
178 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
them.

285 The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la hapenga*) worn by men
292 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it
828 seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or
787 four elements were plaited as a single element (*hanga tolu* or *hanga wa*).
The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The
neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of
malo cord (*wasai malo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms,
another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated
with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial
occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of
plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to
539 teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
antiquity of the garment:

Waimawen ki te la hapenga	Clothed in the *la hapenga*
Tupuaga a Yiva angaoi	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yaagia ana waiaeveveaga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

292 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the
art of making *la hapenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la hapenga*
177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the
garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign
people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka
from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out
rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la hapenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape
(*yau*) worn by women. The art of making the *yau* has been lost today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

764 the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*pule*) was
575 marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the feet; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*ariki*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the feet; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a single headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, in a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are undressed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to a foot wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

764 Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of
554 particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or peculiarities of the deceased:

[826] Yeti, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *hampipi* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *pungu* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that shells of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, To Apa, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,*B*). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*toa*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pau made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*uatu tankiokiko*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

764 A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Tongaiko, on the boundary between Yato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1934 PHAMPHLETS

613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
613 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.
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Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Maiwuta and Matangi lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court set what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of separate chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief continued on heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Lotu village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Lotu, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:
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Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*uma*). The chief crouched or rested on a stool seat (*tuto*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lalei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for rats, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people and for their vigorous old age, symbolized by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon gave a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a tapu person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

[826]

A distribution (*kakana*) of *mata* took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Maiwuta was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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day (one or two *pale* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangaga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangaga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau tuakayawi*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls; generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitau*) for each sex. The *wale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*paipui te wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau hetowa* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*tauta*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *nuku wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 826 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically 832 strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakasonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

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521 609 626 to be *mata kirikiri* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

152 578 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kirikiri*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 576 867 626 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakolakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakowha*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewuluwulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauya*.

152 261 621 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tongata kahionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *ngiwoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

732 178 626 626 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 857 156 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku meina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uwi veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uwi meina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uwi veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye mailiwili* (one who does not select people).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *sosu* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

[644]

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lalo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *tuayisu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *tuayisu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*onge mae*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child
852 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke uio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

145 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

515 302 [512] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau uku yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*vulavulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valavalu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valavalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tanetane*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*uukayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*venenga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, pelula to malo, tai ake to tilu, yaele ake ki te one i te kunga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua hawe*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pahipahi te lewu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

7: Beaglehole--1 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

Field Notes: Pukapukan Dictionary

192 I. Physiological processes and parts of body named by in-
826 formant Pau:

abdomen	manava
adam's apple	kopu
amniotic bag	iko or kawu
amniotic fluid	lanupa
ankle	ponaponavae
anus	pu lemu or kanokano
armpit	keke
belch	wakamapui
bladder	lau matangi
brains	pe ulu as in the phrase "Ka ni o pe ulu la?" Have you no brains?
breast	wu
breast, upper part of	tua wu
breast, lower part of	alonga wu
breast, space between	va wu
breath	ao
bruise	weweu
buttocks	tua muli
calf of leg	kiko kau lilikinga or puku vae
cervix	wiwi
cheek	kaponga
chest	vakavaka or uma
chin	kauvae
chin, double	kolokolo
clitoris	yoko or talakelake
choke (on bone)	laoa
colon	taipili
congestion (windpipe)	kakikapi
crowsfeet	ala mata
detumescence	toka
ear	talinga
erection of penis	makau to ule, or talanga
erection of clitoris	makau te yoko
eruption (skin)	kili mawune
eruption (tongue)	a
eye	mata
eyeball	ua mata
eye, iris	mouli or kano mata
eye, white of	kena mata

192	eye, pouch below	kalu
826	eye, pupil	uli mata
	face	mata, tupu, or ongaonga
	faint	ikotu
	falloptian tubes	wakaki tinga (hurts when full)?
	fat (body)	ngako
	fetus	wita
	finger	mangamanga lima
	finger, thumb	mangamanga lima mátua
	finger, index	mangmanga lima loa
	finger, middle	mangamanga loto
	finger, ring	mangamanga tolewu
	finger, little	mangamanga lewu
	flatulence	taeyu
	flesh	kiko
	foot	papa vae
	foot, sole of	kili vae
	foot, ball of	kili multvae
	foot, arch of	kili vokonga vae
	foot, instep of	tua vae
	foot, heel of	multimuli vae
	forehead	lae
	foreskin	kili ule
	freckles	yilayila
	gall bladder	au
	glans penis	wahatala ule
	halitosis	ngengele
	hand	lima
	hand, palm of	alonga papa lima
	hand, back of	tua papa lima
	heart	watu manava
	hiccough	tokamauli
	hymen	kili pupuni te pu
	internal organs	ngakau
	intestine, small	mangaloagale
	kidney	kiko tua
	knee	talivae
	labia majora	lau agutuwu
	labia minora	agutuwu lua
	larynx	manga lua kopu
	leg	vae
	lip, upper	lau agutu ki lunga
	lip, lower	lau agutu ki lalo
	liver	ate

192 lung	mama
126 lung, inspiration of	mimiti
lung, respiration of	papuyi
membranes	kalava
milk of breast	wu
mole	mea tapuni
mons veneris	pali
mucus from the nose	pe iyu
nail, finger or toe	matitiku or maititiku
nape of neck	na or ngati
nape of neck, fat below	tupanaka
navel	pito
navel cord	pito
nipple of breast	mata wu
nose	iyu
nostril	pongaponga iyu
oesophagus	e ala no te ngakau matua
os uterus	puwiwi
ovary	mape
palate	tua ngutu
penis	ule, kavi or niwi
penis, slack	ule mate, or ule malulu
placenta	wenua
pubic hair	kava
pulse, fast	koa vivili te uaua
pulse, slow	koa panapana te uaua
secretions, female	vale or lenga
semen	nene or kamonga
skin	kili
skin, wrinkles on	ala kili
spittle or saliva	yuvale
sputum	valinga kau
stomach	ngakau matua
stomach, rumblings of	ngalue
tears	yua mata or loi mata
temple	lewilawinga
testicles	layo
testicle gland	wua moko
thigh	tenga
throat	kolokolo
toe	mangamanga vae
toe, big	mangamanga vae matua
toe, second	mangamanga vae loa
toe, third	mangamanga vae loto

192	toe, fourth	mangamanga vae tolewu
826	toe, little	mangamanga vae lewu
	toe, ball of	kili mangamanga vae
	toes, space between	va mangamanga vae
	tongue	alelo
	tonsils	wolo manga (big yawn?)
	urethra, male	yekenga mimi
	urethra, female	pu mimi
	uterus	moenga tamaliki
	uvula	pakiko
	vagina	wu or tole
	waist	taukupu
	wind pipe	kaki

II. Names for various bones of the body recognized by informant Pau:

bones in each toe	ivi mangamanga vae
metatarpal bones of foot	ivi likiliki wononga
os calcis	ivi mulimuli vae
fibula	ivi ulu manu
tibia	ivi ulu matua
patella	ivi pupuni tulivae
femur	ivi tenga
ilium	ivi pulapula
thigh bone	ivi tenga
pelvis	ivi pali
backbone, spine	ivi papatua
caudal bone	ivi mulimuli or pulapula
vertibrae	wononga ivi papatua
ribs, floating or lower	ivi manunu
ribs, upper	ivi vakavaka
ribs, upper top section	ivi vakavaka ki lunga
ribs, upper middle section	ivi vakavaka ki lolotonu
ribs, lower section	ivi vakavaka ki lalo
sternum	ivi matua no te vakavaka
clavicle	ivi pokoivi
scapula	pokoivi
humerus	ivi pokolima
ulna	ivi ulu manu o te lima
radius	ivi wolo o te lima
elbow joint	ivi tuke lima
wrist joint	ivi wononga taulu lima
metacarpal bones	ivi papa lima

192
826

spinous process in vertebrae	ivi kaykayo
neck vertibrae	ivi un
atlas vertibra	ivi muli ulu
crown of skull	papa ulu
occipital region of skull	muli ulu
parietal region of skull	tau muli ulu
region about coronal suture	puyo ulu
sutures in skull	ngutu papa ulu
frontal bone	lae
frontal bone, upper section	tua lae
frontal bone, forehead	muamua lae
frontal-temporal ridges	tipi lae
frontal ridge (on which glabella located)	ivi va mata
nasion	ivi manunu iyu
temple bones	tua mata
supra-orbital ridges	ivi kokotinga mata
outermost section of eye socket	ivi yikunga mata
zygomatic arch	ivi tua kaponga
mastoid process	ivi tua talinga
nasal bone	ivi iyu
styloid process	ivi kaponga
lower mandible	ivi kauvae lalo
upper mandible	ivi kauvae lunga
hyal process	ivi alonga kauvae
muscle	yakali or uaua, described in terms of the various bones with which they articulate
artery, gland, vein	Uaua toto or uaua matua, described according to the part of the body. Uaua toto is the precise name for an artery or vein. Uaua matua is the precise term for a lymphatic gland. It is believed that the lymphatic glands are filled with a type of water and not with blood.
tendon	ivi tanio wonanga

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192 Names for the teth are the same for upper and lower jaws:
826

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two from upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:
833

sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 IV. Types of sleep:
513

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

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501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*ooporiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spreadest fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture.
869 Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
832 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano tue ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1:Bengkhole and Bengkhole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no idea as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *miti wakatiti tangata* (conception 787 dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful talo patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *miti wakatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks [828] her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *wakangaulu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*agahoa hino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wamine funga*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*lopa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *titiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la hupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *hie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wo*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *hie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawa li te la hupenga	Clothed in the *la hupenga*
Tupotupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
Yongia ona wakaevevenga.	certainly,
	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la hupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la hupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la hupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe [illegible] tioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back [illegible]. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the [illegible]dle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*mahamaua* or *mea mahalalai*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*tahene*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
613 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
643 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
728 garment (*opa*) of the chief of Muliwata for consulting the gods Malo-
776 kite-langi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *opa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumalivaka was made of plaited *uulo* fiber (*opa uulo*); that of Tua for the gods Matalaki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*opa lualiki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *opa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *opa* garment ascribed to them during their stays
787 in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to
828 whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *opa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *opa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata hanu* or *taumata aliki*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Puu, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no idea as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *mini wahetiti* (conception 187 dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful taro patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *mini wahetiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Puu said that the god of the lineage sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

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843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *wahangonde* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

> All the women subbed for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*ngakau kino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to adultery with other men, and sincerely desirous to have children, upon which the most concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*wawine pongo*, woman of stone) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*tapo*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *tikiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

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DREAMS

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774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the
869 tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the
793 existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman
828 to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
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775 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the
[829] hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

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828 which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

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787 ception of a child (*miti umkatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

828/789 [521] friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178/771 Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangalon: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (wata mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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776 lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato
613 transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

776 A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves
241 only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-lolua-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Nina).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

776 Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the
828 servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who
753 promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki).
526 Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

776 The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals
773 such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
[431] They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They
653 name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
828 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lekau, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Lekau, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
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flower of the *wrtau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Manieuli, Maniepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Manieuli, Maniepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Manieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Manieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*paysua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *paysua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lammul: very large nuts.
Niu hawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

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173 fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his
177 canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

[203] The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, 554 given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

173 The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka
484 are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, snug remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful
177 stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks
554 and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through
167 the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether
829 physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply
173 because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible,
484 have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngaya* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yanaminga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

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show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

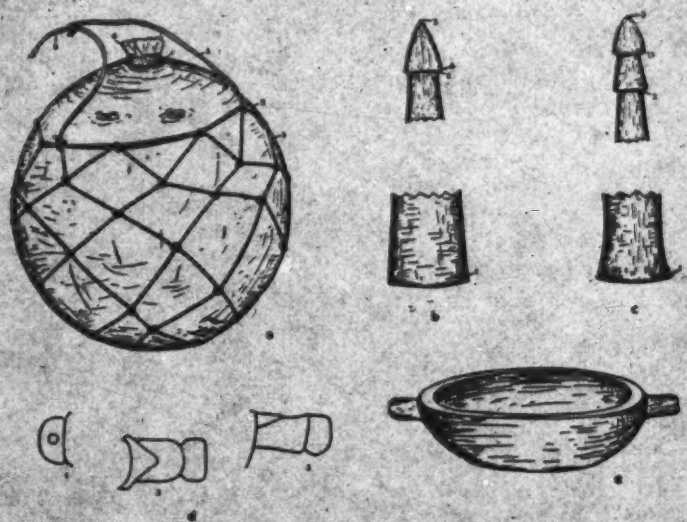

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*wowongi*) (C8052): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord encloses shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; 6, cork (*momono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (C8050): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¼ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¼ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅛ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*yen*) of *ngangie* wood (C8051): weight 3¾ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1⅝ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (2) of second truncated cone 1⅜ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¼ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ½ inch in diameter, runs through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1¾ inches wide and 1⅝ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kumete*) of *puapua* wood (C8139): greatest diameter 14¾ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4¾ inches; lugs plain, 3 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	15½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Pilato	6' 7"	2'	12¾"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palemaimau	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua wonu) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Elia	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *uvala* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lawulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this chant that his love for his *male atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality)
835 and, further, *kai ualanga* (incest).

No reference to *male atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *male atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *male atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te uahatitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te uahalikiuanga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
833 pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *welo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauwilu* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manatu*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

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The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *hokowi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wuke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

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As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the newborn child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

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The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*lowlango*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yuo wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*wo wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
171 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrange-
541 ment has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia; nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
522 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

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831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis.
833 Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*uia ga*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na uiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred.
159 At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakauquine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that
833 it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
832 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named
539 Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nou*, *uetau*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*uoi ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uoinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku bakalo*) to tame her spirit (*wakalata i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
195 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations be-
[533] tween the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the wakapore tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
195 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

835 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotuma* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other,
833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on
533 his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

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[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize 554 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion 521 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to 152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel- 885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues 517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of 181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be 831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

181 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

831 [For wealth of sexual symbolism and references in the chants, see pp. 91-117, 123, 132-137, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

577 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the uncomfortable wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being cleaned. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

864 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
139 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-outrigger canoe goes past. When asked who
837 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to
864 cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water; used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*uajetiba*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac-
578 companied with words like "Tau kamokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture.
864 Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano kse ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand

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257 262 5. The shearing organ of the cotyledon (*uto*) of the nut at the *uto* stage is eaten raw (*uto mata*) with a *hinahi* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuki* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu kakahalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamatomato* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 8 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *hinahi* of *libolibo* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *hinahi* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu wahalilihi*; to grate coarsely, *vulu wahapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tamanga*) and wrung (*huku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

302 [515] Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

303 1. *Valihanga*: *yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *nonu*, or *mailo* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Vinu tutu*: *yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Vinu takataka tutu*: the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*olo*) on the *purga takataka* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

302 832 All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valihanga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Ti'elo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

292 793 776 613

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumaunga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 304

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 302 832

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumato*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

VILLAGE DECORATIONS

292 621 293

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pala puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 294

The *titi muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*tito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *uio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*uia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na uia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521
161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
539 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu halokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nen*, *uetou*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*nui ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*weinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku hakale*) to tame her spirit (*unhalate i tona manli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pale* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama hangata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
195 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*hupu*) the composer is always at
[533] pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *wahanaro* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tiaea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Analogies of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
145° woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngaya* bush or *koteme* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other,
833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting be-
533 fore or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
E36 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kahava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently
584 a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *halele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wonine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*steiui*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

587 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wooing

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583 585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamolamo*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakasonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *taugotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

145 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

513 302 [512] Adults and children wash (*pulupulu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*tahele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule so wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti so yina*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*wuluvulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvulu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvulu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tonotone*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila. Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the while man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Matayauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

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[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

539 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langilili are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitana, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulis an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *uele atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai uelanga* (incest).

No reference to *uele atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *uele atua* have married:

538 In one such marriage, the husband had to wait his presenting relatives by being
171 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *uele atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from violations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te unhaitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te unhailihianga* or *te ihonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iho* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te uene ko iho ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*uene*) in both the male and female (*uene* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *uene*, the female
735 secretion enters the male *uene*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
833 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *uene* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *uene* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *uene* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema*, *tama yele*, or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayukitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
522 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to tile ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this
831 witticism.

Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
839 (*vale uw*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia sia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521
461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
832 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named
539 Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetau*, *kaupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*usi ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uoinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant *lales* (*o waka kakala*) to tame her spirit (*wakalala i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant *lales*, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
193 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at
[533] pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *wakaseve* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
835 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
[837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a
832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native ter-
minology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other,
833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on
533 his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual inter-
177 course. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

837 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in
152 Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
F36 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko hakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

574 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
834 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently
584 a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an inter-
431 mediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pale*, *kawai*, and *mango* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 30 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. (On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to tease and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 574 three villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared taro, 553 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 621 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chantings are directed in bad decorations according to village tradition.

186 Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taupo preceding the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men 226 are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In an- 577 other exhibition fishing contest in which Yato won, Hikiwaiter of Ngalo women was given as the cause for Ngalo's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and 461 also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. (One man also removed an baked head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village would win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*[illegible] fanga*). 285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*lishi na fanga*) and chanting as they did so.

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Matayauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernbrmal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] II. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

7: Beaglehole--6 E-5 (1934-5) 1953 Pukapukans

192 826 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 833 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:

839 sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 513 IV. Types of sleep:

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

159 584 836 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had intercourse every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

[833]

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 593 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

[837]

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [834] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 587 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vale uw*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluska*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau tastae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wis* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakauwwine* (be like a woman):

> Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

[521 161]

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*nukeyoua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*vonanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peluia to malo, tai ake to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua lama*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pakipaki te lama*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

826 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*wainganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*wainganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533]

Swimming races (*wainganga haukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*wahayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527

Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *wainganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talau*, and other reef fish; *wainganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *wainganga hakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*laui*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[834]

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
834, 797, 836

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for sexual restrictions and effects of missionary teaching, see pp. 20-21.]

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

897 child here!" He cuts slices of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the unwanted wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe participation in the funeral wake and burial. This play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; especially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or
— che go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but voluntaried accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
844 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
831 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are positionally on their tongues either by

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga or the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practice period, other work has been at a standstill, and

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 haloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The elder child takes his food share: away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pan--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy.. not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same pa. Stones for children will be unshaped pungu.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
377 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 833 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 845 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [334] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 537 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] 613 773 776 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *uua*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka leiei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Waneu loa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tuptua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili lua te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te oile mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awungia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wenua,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kiliotawaki, te ataolusa, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauamui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te ukuwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te lulili, te polopoleuenga,—te wui nanai e welele ia lunga. Waneu ai te wuunga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Peia oki te tama a te tawola: waneu oki te tawola tam tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama ia waneu i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Ruovitua*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliotawaki*, the *ataolusa*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauamui*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *uua* was given, the *uua* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[835]

* The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the immoral propensities of their kind.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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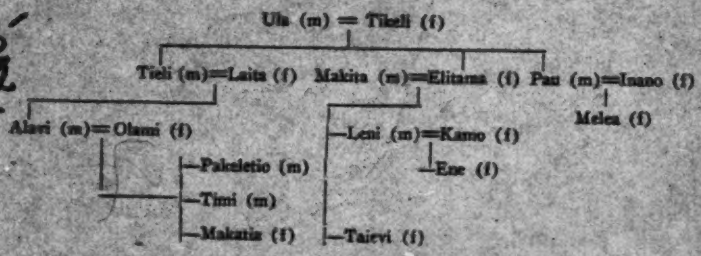

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wahama*. Melea is a *hainga wahama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wahama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wahama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

605

Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

[835
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Hainga wahama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wahama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Elia, and Molingi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *uale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *uale*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *uale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *uale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense taps that exists between *uale atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in
588 each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

753 Sometimes in spite of the taps *uale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *uale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *uale atua* taps in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of
[171] Pukapuka who married his *uale atua*, Westen, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continues to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a great Christian, solemnly assured me that his illness was due to the fact that his first wife was his *uale atua*, whom he married in an witness of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old taps were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

602 The attraction of *uale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 chants (*kapa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
835 unrequited affection of one *uale atua* for another. When asked for explanations for the *uale atua* taps, informants could only quote the two following sections from *kapa*. The relationships is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Manulifi koe, ko Tuke au	Koe ngai Manulifi (the Pukapuka), I am Tuke (Niue).
Te mauri ma koe galoa	(We feel) like two dancing together (as in dance chant)
Kaki ngali, e taku uale atua	Turn to me, oh my *uale atua*
E [illegible], e [illegible]	You are [illegible], you are the [illegible]
E [illegible] taku [illegible]	(By which) my heart has longed
Tuai taku galoa ki ai galoa e ia [illegible]	(When I am [illegible]) my [illegible] like the longing (desire) of the [illegible]

The second chant runs:

Ko [illegible] ahi ai au	I had dared my desires (for my *uale atua*).
Ko [illegible] i ai [illegible]	The [illegible] spoke (hatred to me) and [illegible] for my desire.
[illegible] au	I put in my heart (with shame).
Ko [illegible]	I go to my [illegible] land.
Ko [illegible]	Oh my [illegible] for you.
Ko [illegible]	(Place) [illegible] in the [illegible] of my heart.
Ko [illegible]	(Place) [illegible] land. (By it) or where you [illegible]
Ko [illegible]	[illegible] (this place) by the [illegible] road.
[illegible]	I go turn to me that [illegible]
[illegible]	I [illegible] (we [illegible] [illegible] we shall have [illegible], [illegible])

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

102 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *uale atua* is *hai hunanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *hai ualanga* (incest).

No reference to *uale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *uale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
588 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *uale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of sympathetic friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te mahutilanga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mahulilianga* or *te ilonga*. The primary meaning of the word *ilo* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nana ko ilo ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*nana*) in both the male and female (*nana* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *nana*, the female secretion enters the male *nana*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
753 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *nana* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *nana* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the
833 ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *nana* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the persons affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

539 Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--	Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
Lalapa pe te ika matayau,	Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,	Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,	Gloroious is your skin with its Tinea spots,
Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;	Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,	Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
E wetuki veve ki o lelei	Hastening, running to your beauty,
Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,	Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
E ye lakaia tuku talatala i na kikino	Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,	You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!	You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--	Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino.	Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[835] 1. This is a lament (tangi) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (wale atua), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

324 Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewalangi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wutu-manava-rei, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are elevated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakaemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayukitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere
864 in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

I;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ute ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

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Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*wia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *wia eia*, ever-sexual, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *wia iua*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *wia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *wia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live
F3L with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *kiko kakovo* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
83L street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently
584 a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an inter-
431 mediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalala* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *makatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
837 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the inci-
164 dence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first
587 lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*nukavae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalonga	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalonga, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *uowine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atewai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *unkatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 585 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakaranga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, mats, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
834, 797, 836

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for sexual restrictions and effects of missionary teaching, see pp. 20-21.]

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ11 Pukapuka CZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

112 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [348] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live 159
with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that 159
I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 145
16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many 159
girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married 572
before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with 836
special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many 159
meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like 836
this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 yet and that I was afraid that intercourse would prevent my
836 menses from starting. We argued together for a while, he urging me to come with him and I asked to be allowed to go home. Then he asked me where I slept. I told him on top of the house platform on such-and-such a side. "But," I said, "don't come yet; wait till everyone is asleep. My sister will see you now because we sleep together." We separated then. I went to bed in my house, lying with my sister on the platform, the elders sleeping below. I didn't sleep but lay listening. He entered, stumbled and made a noise. I was very frightened. He climbed up on to the platform, but my parents heard the creaking and began to stir, asking who was making the noise. The young man hurriedly slipped out of the house. He was frightened too. I often saw him after this but I never had intercourse with him.

On another occasion I and a girl friend named Wa went to the beach near the causeway in the early evening. Coming back along the lagoon we saw two people some distance away and we took them to be the village policeman and his wife. As we came near we found they were two young men who grabbed us as we tried to pass them. We could not run away. I told the boys that my father would whip them for interfering with us. The boys said, "You won't go home; we'll stay and all go to the bush. You girls will enjoy it." We said we would go home first and see if our parents were asleep, then the two boys could come for us. The boys agreed. Then the curfew gong sounded and we began to go off home, but the boys would not let us go. They held onto our arms. The policeman came along the beach and saw all four of us together. I was frightened, ran home, closed the house door behind me and fastened it. Then the policeman came to the house and scolded me. My father woke up and asked me what the policeman wanted. I said I did not know. My father went to sleep again and I was so frightened by the boys that I never went to the bush with them at any time.

On another occasion still, I and my two sisters[3] Wa and Lima called in at a house where only one young man happened

[3] These girls were her classificatory sisters, just as when Lua refers to her parents or father in these last paragraphs she means her classificatory parents.

to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the 159
bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." 836
He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, "I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. "Are you just infants?" they said. "Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested 150
that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. 584
I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
●836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
[837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

578 a wealding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman
837 slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

177 Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds
671 and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard
685 from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing
625 talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six ato nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

592 The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household.
593 Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

592 The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 42, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*hino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked
837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokoia e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this
831 witticism.

Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the
832 tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The
A5 woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by
837 night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her
832 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lavo*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngaya* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lavo* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*tahapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other,
833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting be-
533 fore or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set
177 aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *oti*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*tawmatua*) after whom the group was named. The *tawmatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

833 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in
152 Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My cunnings to your wives were cunnings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[586] 152 837 Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 836 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *uia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uia iua*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with
836 scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume
431 that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged be-
753 tween lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *hai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from
832 his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from
753 sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive genera-
164 tions of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of con-
595 temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual
587 men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakovae*) are nominally
613 neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[11]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Mulivutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamanga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Mulivutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamanga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[11] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

585 The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*uoikinua*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *uukamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

431 [574]

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *uouu loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *wauu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *uukauvolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*lou*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *uukauvolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *uukauvolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *uukauvolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*uukaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

[51] If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained
586 with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puki uwuna*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and no punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of
837 individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island.
586 This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single
177 young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce (*maka*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned; where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly,
586 separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps
177 in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*a wawa maka tana*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

586 Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is an easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

Of Wekeli

539 [833] The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 837 762 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
● [837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 937 ● [691]

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained
● 837 to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*tale ww*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malusku*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wowine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te waiapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *sio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wis sia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakou taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wis* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *mukowowine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and coconut making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
(vale tvu) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis.
835 Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tuagata malaeka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tuagata mako uawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *sio toto* (bloody teeth) or *hai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*uia sia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i toua wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau tiatia* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na uia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *uakauauine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

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144 walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uakaiwye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

764 605 839 154 602 It was taps for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This taps is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this taps was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uakaanga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

764 As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uatonga*) of mats, makos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[13] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[13] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him. She comes back dragging the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima wound cords round his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be interpreted in terms of a deep-rooted conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affections to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unwieldy, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the lost and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a knobbish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played above." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (5:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
883 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be
561 added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1941).

192 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:
826

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao 'openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:
833
839

sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 IV. Types of sleep:
513

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuka
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiki
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pukupuka

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

● 841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a
843 *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and
613 with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting
[842] parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for
597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

597 As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama uengai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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[611 613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

547 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kohoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kohoti* or *lave* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kohoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

[842]

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by putting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice titbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 593 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralise on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this chant that his love for his *uale atua* is *kai kumanga* (food of shameful abnormality)
835 and, further, *kai tuitanga* (incest).

No reference to *uale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *uale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *uale atua*
538 to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred
177 just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te nuhutitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te nuhoilibinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach
833 and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Fau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

842 827 stops the monthly period and creates the fetus. If the fetus is male, it is formed mainly from the semen. If the fetus is female, it is formed mainly from the blood of the female. If the child when born partakes strongly of the likeness of the father and the mother, then it has been formed equally from the semen and the blood of the mother. The best time for conception, according to Pau, is immediately after the menstrual period, never before; common opinion, however, has no ideas as to whether one part of the monthly cycle is more or less favorable to conception than another.

843 The recognized sign of conception is cessation of the menses, invariably accompanied by the mother's having a *miti mahatiti tangata* (conception 787 dream) of a coconut tree full of nuts, or of a fruitful talo patch, or of blossoming flowers or blooming trees. A later indication recognized is the darkening of the nipples. The sign for the father is a *miti mahatiti tangata* of a flock of birds. When a man has this dream he tells his wife of it and asks her to confirm the fact of her pregnancy. Pau said that the god of the lineage [828] sends these dreams to the parents or to relatives of the couple, and they are sure signs of pregnancy.

843 Gestation is reckoned as taking ten full moons to complete. Delivery is to be expected on the tenth moon after conception takes place. A woman refers to the moon in which she expects confinement as her *mahangaulu* (tenth). No mnemonic device is used in the moon count.

842 No contraceptive methods are known, nor is there a belief in the possibility of contraception.

No medicine or therapy is known that will enable a sterile woman to have children. The only cause of sterility and hence the only cure is psychological:

All the reasons adduced for specific cases of sterility relate to the primary cause that the woman, or her husband, has a bad heart (*agahau hino*). In order to have children, the woman must be humble and obedient to her husband, faithful in thought and deed, not given to affairs with other men, and sincerely anxious to have children, upon which she must concentrate all her thoughts, during all her waking life. From this point of view, a Pukapukan woman is considered sterile (*uwaine puaga*, woman of state) not only if she has not had children, but if she has borne no more than one or two, or again, if, having had a child by a first marriage, she has remarried and has had no more children. According to informant's classification, the cultural ideal may be carried so far as to consider sterile a woman who has had four children, all by her first husband, and all of whom have died. The cultural attitude to sterility is best illustrated by the remark made by a young man (*lopa*) to a sterile woman. It was on the evening following a big food division, when a group of young people were sitting about discussing the way the food had been divided. Chiding a childless woman of 35, the young man said: "What a pity to make a division of food for a woman without children. All she is good for is to *tiiko* (evacuate)." It is good to give a full division to a woman with children, because then the food goes to make more children, but if the woman is sterile, the food is wasted.

Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 787 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on observations of the mother's abdomen and on dream. If the pregnant woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli towilowiloaki*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born, is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli wawine*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives more certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—bar accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female, for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

842 types of food divisions (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Pi pe ta taua tama e wai tamawaine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*wahatinga* or *wahatakataka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata wahawaua*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*kokononga*). When the baby comes (*io*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata wahawaua* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tou muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*wawuli*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 983 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*yapu lakais*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*ttiu*) all her sexual sins (*yala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[8] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
573 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the con-
848 tinuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[8] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *male iuta* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262 261 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 758 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

257 262 The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods of eating and preparing are:

1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*ngamngam*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *mukomuko* is baked (*mukomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*mike*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu kolokolo* from the *niu mata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *kolokolo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pau*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu kolokolo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tuna*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

597 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the
843 mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a
613 *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of
844 the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting
[842] parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for
597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[931] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama mangai*)
597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents [illegible] the feeding child, they make arrangements to have

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Pregnancy

843 Nausea after eating is common at the beginning of pregnancy. Another illness that marks pregnancy is the formation of an abscess on the abdomen. This is likely to occur in the second month. Not only is the pregnancy the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole X-3 (1936-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*uakaumoana*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many taboos are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a wrestling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these taboos. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special interventions directed to the goddess Tuna.

The following behavior taboos do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick succession any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually dribbling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the taro fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This taboo is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*pul*), decorative bibs, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and so likely to be choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up bundles of bedding, or mats of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, wave drum, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not thought with any harmful consequence, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or she her child, when born, will be wrathfulness and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for special dishes such as taro with sweet bonito, pandanus keys, flying fish, or 261 *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating heavy crab meat gives her child crushed legs; eating *tuja* crab meat gives her child bow legs. The body of the *heipee* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the sickness of the heavy crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red labia majora in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces fish pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores on many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the place where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child [753] have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its shell cut and smashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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Eating fish with small mouths, such as *mamai* or *kaiawa*, produces a small mouth in the child. Eating the head of a fish with a large mouth, like the groupers, produces a large mouth. Eating a horned fish, like the *ooe*, unicorn fish, or the *kolili*, produces a bump on the forehead of the child or a horn on its back (*tala ika*) similar to the "horn" on the back of the *kolili*. Certain other fish, like the *akaaka*, needle fish, the pregnant woman may eat with safety, provided she does not touch the head or the long tail. Eating a flat fish, such as the *oli* or the *pangipangi*, varieties of flounder, makes the baby grow long and flat. Eating the head of a fish with large teeth produces a baby with two very large incisor teeth. Eating a fish that has poison barbs or fins produces two bony nodules on the ankles of the child. *Pala* (*Acanthocybium*), albacore, bonito, red snapper, and snappers are considered good for the pregnant woman, but she must be careful to eat no fish which is beginning to spoil or has soft flesh, lest the skin of the child be soft and partly rotten.

In general, coconuts are good for the pregnant mother provided they are freshly picked from the tree. Eating or drinking nuts that are a day or more old produces sore spots on the skin of the child, for there is the presupposition that there are slightly affected spots on the shell or flesh of a nut one day old. If the drinking nut is very old, the skin of the child will be similarly rotten. Eating a very large nut produces a child with an abnormally large head. Drinking misshapen coconuts, of which a part of the shell is concave, produces concavities on the skull of the baby. Eating or drinking of a nut from the center of a large cluster of nuts, where the nuts have been tightly packed together in growing, compresses tightly or crushes the baby's head.

Eating the young shoots of the *talo* plant produces in the male child a birthmark on the forehead, in the female child a birthmark on the *labia majora*. Eating *talo* corms with large protuberances on them produces warts on the head of the child. Eating a tuber with a double root produces a male child with two membranes (*kaiawa*) on the scrotum, a female child with two membranes joining the *labia majora* to the anus. Eating rotten *talo* causes the eyes and navel of the child to be infected with disease, and gives the child a general physical weakness. Eating *talo* tubers that have been gnawed by a rat or *kaipou* crab produces sores on the skin of the child.

Eating the bud shoots on the side of the pandanus key produces a child with two *pili* nails (cartilaginous protuberances—*tengi*) in front of the ear. Eating over-ripe pandanus keys produces sores on the body of the child. Eating crushed or misshapen bananas produces a male child with a very big penis or a female child with a very wide membrane between *labia majora* and anus.

Eating a bird whose wing was broken when it was caught produces a baby with weak arms; a bird whose chest was injured in the catching gives the baby a weak and diseased chest; a bird with prominent breast bones produces a pigeon breast in the child. Uninjured birds in perfect condition are suitable food.

A final class of foods that must be eaten with care is shellfish and turtle. Eating periwinkles (*ulili*) produces warts (*kaupa ulili*) on the top of the baby's head. *Tridacna* seems to be the only safe shellfish that the mother may indulge in. Eating the head of the turtle produces two scars on the medial sagittal plane of the head like the marks on the head of the turtle. Eating the plastron of the turtle makes the child suffer from respiratory defects and breathe in a noisy, labored fashion after the manner of the turtle. Eating the carapace of the turtle produces a hunch-backed child. Eating turtle eggs produces a child born with a hernia. Eating the green fat of the turtle renders the child liable to be born with a perpetually running nose and eyes. With the above exceptions, the flesh of the turtle is a good food for the mother to eat.

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From the list of foods that she must take care not to eat, it is evident that the ideal diet for the pregnant woman consists of the general foods of the Pukapukan diet, with the caution that they must be fresh and sound in shape. Foods that have special peculiarities of shape are undesirable because

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *kosi te uho* (pressure on the fetus) or *kosi ngate* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is considered to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *kosikosi* (deep pressure) using the *mahatale* technique (pp. 338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Puh. He said this *kosikosi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *kosikosi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yali*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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843 ing her with more fish than he otherwise would. But her work is not lightened by outside assistance during her pregnancy.

Sex of the Child

842 Methods of determining the sex of a child before its birth are based on observations of the mother's abdomen and on dreams. If the pregnant
787 woman's abdomen is small and extends outward in front, she is thought to be carrying a female child. If her abdomen is large and fat at the sides with predominant lateral extension, her child is a male child. If the mother or any of her relatives has a dream of talo during the period of gestation, it is taken as a sign that the child will be a girl. But if the dream is of a coconut tree, a male child is to be born. Somewhat similarly, a dream of a beautiful bird means that the child, male or female, will resemble the bird in beauty; a dream of a white man means that the child will be of fair skin.

842 There seems to be no cultural pattern of sex preference either for the first-born or for later children. A man wants his first-born to be a son; a woman wants a daughter. A family of children of alternating sexes (*poli towilowiloahi*), with either a boy or girl as the first-born is generally preferred to a family of boys only (*poli tane*), or to a family of girls only (*poli wawine*), or to a family of first boys and then girls, or vice versa. The pros and cons of having more boys than girls, or more girls than boys, were discussed by informants Veti and Talainga in a sort of informal debate. Veti is the father of three boys and a girl, all adult. Talainga, having had no children of his own, adopted a little girl (despite his alleged preference for sons). Their discussion is summarized thus:

Talainga speaks first: The desirable children are sons. I would not like to have daughters because they stop for only a short time beneath the roof of the father. When a girl marries, her husband takes her away to another house, and she is so caught up in the ties of the other household that she is lost to her father for good. On the other hand, a son stays at home, and when the father is old and weak the son will take care of him. The son's wife comes as a new person to the house. Where there are many sons, there are many wives who, with all their relatives, make many hands to assist in the work of the household. When the father is dead, it is the son who carries on the family line, whereas the daughter's children belong to the paternal lineage of another. Most men prefer their first-born to be a male. This gives much certainty to succession, it means that the paternal descent line will not be lost, whether the following children are male or female. It continues—her accidents—the genealogical record, whereas daughters break the record and continue another line. Because of accidents, it is always well to have more sons than daughters. The descent line would be lost by a generation of daughters only, for the children of daughters go to the lineage of their father.

But something must be said for the point of view of the mother: she would be glad to have the first child a female; for this increases her status with the maternal lineage, assures continuation of descent within the lineage, and finally, gives the mother more help about the house as long as the child stays at home.

By having more sons than daughters, a man gets more food shares from various

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than to-
615 day. A tapu (*laui*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making
313 four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes,
422 especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

423 The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in
245 the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut
578 midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in
874 that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Puhama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

244 Individual named talo beds (*ni tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on
428 Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest.
731 They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of
423 the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

428 Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or
764 by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his
725 property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is
768 buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

428 The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives
042 of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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591 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his
591 own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man; unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

843 When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference.
613 The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house.
844 Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group
[842] that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for
597 the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At
[931] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child
[574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wangai*)
597 goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He
591 helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child
862 is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

842 types of food divisions (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veri says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Fi pe ta tana tama e wai tamawaina!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*wakatinga* or *wakatakatoka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata wakawanau*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*kokonga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata wakawanau* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tau muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*wawuli*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*yapu lakeia*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*titiu*) all her sexual sins (*yala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

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845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata yila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papakinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to relax, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu kelokelo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakea*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus keys. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *hokoanga* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Wasu-manuvaui (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

773 When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*pito*) and along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of

844 the placenta (*nuoua*), the cord is then cut (*hototi*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *vulayi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of cocoa fiber (*pulu houa*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The end is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapukan. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*lua*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the

834 father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *pangua* tree (*latia* to be used for a canoe), a *puka* tree (the leaves to be used later for *mulo* fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te mauua o Meo* (the afterbirth of Good-so). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the life of the child.

844 The parturient blood (*toto*) is tapu. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is tapu, nor were any con-

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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *uulo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauuila* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads
846 between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manavu*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly
859 at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *hokosi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wuke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

847 As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the new-
851 born child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the
197 attendant announces, "E tale (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *uu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *uu* (daughters)."

854 The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulanpo*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yua uu*) comes, the child is immediately given
853 the breast (*uu uu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on
866 *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

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853 out of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

846 Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *fuhu* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuutia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*agahua hino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama na mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*voyanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be 845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-

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757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the
278 diet, but fish or flesh is taboo as long as medicine is being taken.

Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lowilowi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nono* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding,
[844] vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *talo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngungu*). These are treated with *lowilowi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *tayiuo* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *tayiuo* are preferred.

Vomiting (*kao*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo mee*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oye*) are believed to result if a child
852 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*fuke nie*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 child here!" His own chate of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 quite cut the mentioned wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
359 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by
167 fringe participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate instruction. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
841 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
831 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being cleaned. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

842 type of food division (for work activities) then by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be rallied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Ei pe te taua taua e wai taua-wainine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*wakatinga* or *wakatakataka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata wakawanau*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*kakamanga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata wakawanau* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tua muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*wauali*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 783 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*papa lakaia*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*titiu*) all her sexual sins (*yala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata yila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papahinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu holoholo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus keys. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *hohonongo* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernatural strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such
773 force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Wate-masevasi (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*yito*) and
844 along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*uvesa*), the cord is then cut (*hokoti*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *vakayi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu hanta*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*lua*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the
824 father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *punpun* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *pulu* tree (the leaves to be used later for tuto fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te uvesa o Meyi* (the afterbirth of Sa-
844 ma-to). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the life of the child.

The parturient blood (*koto*) is taga. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is taga, nor were any con-

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853 out of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

846 Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with cotton fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama no mate i loto o te manawa*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practised in earlier times.

Twins (*wayanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans.
517 No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be
845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the pa-

[515] ...ient woman because she would not help by confessing her sins, the final arrival of the baby finding all present quite unprepared:

The patient was a young unmarried Ngaio woman, in severe labor. She was a *tamaroko* woo (new to childbirth). Sitting outside the house at about 7 o'clock in the evening on some low, flat blocks of wood which were covered by a bundle of copra sacks, she was bracing herself by pushing down with stiff arms on coconut husks covered by mats piled on either side. She was assisted by five other women, her mother, her older sister, and three relatives. Other people came and went. The sister sat in front supporting the patient's feet under her legs, which gripped the patient's knees and held them tight. The other women held her limbs, her knees or legs, wherever there was room. From time to time the patient's father and classificatory brother came and supported her back, pushing down on her head, shoulders and back. When the labor pains came on, everyone present called out loudly: "Kokono, kokono ke ongo, kokono ke to!" (Bear down, bear down till it aches, bear down till it falls!) Everyone who could reach a hand to the woman gripped her limbs or body and pushed her legs downward and inward to her body, taking care to keep her legs well apart. Some pushed vigorously on her head and shoulders. At times there were at least ten persons all pushing parts of her body and calling to her to push the child out. She was accused of being afraid to push down and was continually scolded for not telling her attendants when the pains came on. The crowd not only remonstrated with her but also with each other, demonstrating in turn how the pushing should best be done and what type of groaning and grunting best helped the act of bearing down. Men made witticisms at every opportunity. Children became sleepy and drifted off to their homes. Gradually the crowd dispersed.

In the intervals between pains, one of the men or her sister sat behind the patient to hold her shoulders and support her back. For the rest of the time her back was unsupported, for she had been made to sit just far enough away from the framework of the house to be unable to lean against the house walls. She occasionally rose and walked to the beach, supported by her sister; her mother usually remained behind, giving those near by an opportunity to shout to her for not helping. Standing up brought on mild labor pains. The patient's hands and arms became very tired from leaning on them so long, but no change of position was suggested. She would squat low on her legs however or sit on her sister's knees for a change. Mosquitoes began to worry her until one of the attendants thought to fan her. At about 5 a.m. she went off to sleep.

In the morning an old woman of Loto who was reputed to possess special abilities for speeding up delayed deliveries arrived and everyone became noticeably more cheerful. She made up some special remedy for the patient, who refused to drink the rather muddy looking liquid. Later she yielded to pressure and swallowed several gulps. Then she was moved to a shady place on the beach under some coconut trees. The medicine woman placed her hands on the patient's abdomen and shook it up and down; she also exerted pressure with her finger tips on the abdomen in several places. Each time the patient pressed down she had vomiting fits, so she refused to bear down as much as the attending group thought necessary.

There was a constant coming and going of people at this time. There had been a death in Yato early in the morning and the group was constantly changing as women went off to attend the death ceremonies, or returned from them bringing all the news. Children played round the group on the beach. When they became noisy, they were ordered away to play elsewhere or told to go to Yato to see the death.

Noon came with no sign of the baby. The women decided that the patient should confess her sins as the only remaining method of speeding up delivery, but she would say nothing. Soon it started to rain and the patient was removed to the veranda of the house. She drank coconut liquid and ate nto. About 4 p.m., after repeated urgings to confess, the girl broke down, burst into tears, and in a low voice interrupted by sobs, called freely. One woman said she confessed to having sleeped against her mother, but

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, *ate ate*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man encouraged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a coconut she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her bowels tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
and by the naming of the child:

574 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's
612 parents prepare food, first for the *puabi* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

9.Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *woi tale* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another 159 593 house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me 159 to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my 353 mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night 159 without exception right up to the time that labor pains set 345 in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for [334] a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, 159 a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I 165 cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after 159 this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did 593 many other men. They thought that I would make a good 537 wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

SATCHELS, BELTS, PILLOWS

285 177 113

Satchels of pandanus are used today in Pukapuka to carry to church on Sunday a Bible and note paper with which the sermon is followed and text noted down. The making of these satchels has been introduced from the lower Cook Islands, and the craft conforms in all particulars to satchel techniques described for Manihiki and Aitutaki (29, pp. 127-131; 36, pp. 192-202). Coiled baskets are sometimes made, but the technique has been recently introduced from Samoa by the wife of the resident agent.

285 115

A two-cornered pandanus double, or envelope, satchel called *tafowa* is thought by informants to be old. Small *tafowa* such as the one described below were used for storing fishhooks and pearl-shell ornaments. They were known as *pe tafowa*, and a specially valuable pearl-shell hook was known as *mali tafowa*, (the precious object) after the bottom of the *tafowa* receptacle. Larger *tafowa* were made for the storage of pandanus and sennit sinnet. The *pe tafowa* (Cb:20) is made of *lauauala pakepake* and *lito* materials:

The inner satchel is 9¼ inches long, 7¾ inches deep and 1 inch wide. The outer satchel is 9¾ inches long, 6¾ inches deep and 1¾ inches wide. The plaiting is coarse, wefts being 3 to the inch. The plaiting is in check, with double elements, alternate sets of elements being dried pandanus and *lito*. The basket is plaited like a strip of mat, the ends brought together and the free marginal wefts plaited to make a cuff plaited in sections to the required depth. The sides are brought together to comprise the bottom opening longitudinally; the bottom is closed by check plaiting. The free ends of the finishing wefts are pushed (*yale*) under three or more elements in the plaiting on the outside of the satchel, pulled tight, and the exposed ends cut off flush with crossing elements. The rim is finished with a level edge by the downward turn of the rim elements.

285 846

Abdominal belt supports worn by women after confinement are made of plaited pandanus:

Belt Ofuy (*pale ououou*) is 1 foot 11 inches long, 4 inches wide. Strings by which the belt is fastened at the back range from 8¾ to 10¾ inches long. Wefts 6 to the inch. Plaiting is by the simple mat technique in double element check, with *lauauala pakepake* and *lito* used as crossing elements to form a small diamond-shaped design. When the belt length is finished, material for the strings is pushed through under seven to nine crossing elements at each corner. Four strings are thus attached to each corner and braided into a four-ply braid, finished off with a single overhand knot.

Belt Ofuy (*pale tuto*) is 2 feet long, 3 inches wide. Strings range from 6 to 13¾ inches long. Wefts 4 to the inch. Plaiting is with double element check of *lauauala pakepake* and *lito*, forming a simple diamond design. Three string elements are pushed under crossing elements at each corner and braided into a three-ply braid, finished with a single overhand knot. Both belts are shorter than they would be if intended for use by Pukapukan women.

285 513

Informant stated that formerly a pillow or headrest (*alonga lauauala*) was made from plaited pandanus material. As described, the pillow was apparently cylindrical in shape, 12 inches long and 6 inches in diameter at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *wolo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lawulu* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manatu*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

846 853

The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *hokouri* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered taga. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wake na kele*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

844 831 192

As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the new-born child, "E tama wen te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

844 853 846

The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulanga*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lole*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yuo uw*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*uw uw*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lole* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

1 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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and of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

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Pattern Variations

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517 No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be
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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 854 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given 853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The 854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the [857] infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there [1/56] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pats it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with sand as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

6 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

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The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[8] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

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842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
873 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

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I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

521 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing
192 slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautaka*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *manake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

521 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phe-
787 nomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by
124 thunder (*watitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments
[547] for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree or when a meteor (*mata uni kave*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*nuanua*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good.
[613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*swanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te swale wo te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot
521 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventive is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if a woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the sociologic father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *lomi te vaka* (pressure on the fetus) or *lomi yapu* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is shameful to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives he a prolonged and severe *lomilomi* (deep pressure) using the *vakatele* technique (pp.338), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside get all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pau. He said this *lomilomi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *vailomi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yali*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to
843 remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
591 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of
621 households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[563] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
597 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

764 Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in
177 household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

597 the fosting relationship into a permanent *kokoti* relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a renaming of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

597 An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses 848 the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his *tama kokoti*. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

597 A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to *kokoti* and *aungai* children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationships is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

> Two men, Lepuama and Tiela, are cross cousins. Lepuama adopted as *tama kokoti* the son of Tiela. Tiela in turn decided to adopt from Lepuama. He contracted for Lepuama's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiela's sorrow, Lepuama's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

597 The exchange is termed *yoani* (gift), *yoani mai* (to receive in exchange), 431 or *yoani ate* (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a sentimental tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned talo beds—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called *yoani*. The practice of

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842 types of food divisions (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be relied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848] Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "Ti pe te taua taua e wai tamawahine!" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*nahutinga* or *nahutahutaka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata mahamaua*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*tokonoga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata mahamaua* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tua muli*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*mamuli*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*yaya lakeia*) are believed to result
783 from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*tiia*) all her sexual sins (*yaa*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

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9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ11 Pukapuka CZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children [848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

61 Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six
592 formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin
571 group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there
192 is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Puka-
101 pukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pana*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga e nono i te nguturuale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *nguturuale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *nguturuale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *waelanga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

124 To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

621 Membership in a village (*tulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation
562 gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

657 When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Gen-
597 erally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they nor-
591 mally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tau* child takes
261 up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the
621 household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*uai tuanga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592 The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother,
592 who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by
[888] adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

591 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a
621 household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *aule* of the

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613 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous.
771 Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the
591 operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are
621 members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages.
731 Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families
173 were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[563] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

264 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has
848 arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the
[851] physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for
577 sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

764 Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the
177 father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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853 and of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

846 Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *pake* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

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Twins (*uyuyu*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the elder. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Patterns Variations

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517 No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, so natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be
845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the [illegible]

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *uto*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
and by the naming of the child:

574 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's
612 parents prepare food, first for the *puahi* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uluaki*),
the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *uuele* food division. If the *uluaki*
612 is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tauuameyanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uuele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uuele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*usiua*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uuele lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uuele tamaiuuine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mou (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apanua (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however misplaced, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food stores and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
[431] They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
653 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete
851 social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 fiction of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lalana, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Lalana, eats some food, throws off his loincloth and then starts to walk down the
162

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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *welo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out; a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauuilu* fiber, called for this purpose *ta*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manava*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

846 853

The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *kakowi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wuke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

844 As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the new-
831 born child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the
192 attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

844 The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*lauluuga*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yua wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*wu wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

853 846

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INFANCY

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As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

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II

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As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
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572 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
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[2] In Pukapukan, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety received first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, 1937), pp. 132–33.

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Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wakamoto* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to
856 feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied
866 without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as
868 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

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834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

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286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

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862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wakamots* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 852 866 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as 888 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is taboo as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhoea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nowa* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the faeces: express the oil from the gratings [644] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *talo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taeyina* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taeyina* are preferred.

Vomiting (*kua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ongo moe*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and 826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child 856 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke-aio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

413 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Puka-
526 pukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing, when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
226 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo uaiuga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

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462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
182 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
626 suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
577 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
241 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
709 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
587 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
534 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata mosea*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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251 according to the quality of *takataka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takataka* nuts.

245 192 The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Pulu: husk.
Pulu kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

245 181 The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

245 807 Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu hi lalo*, *totoli te niu hi lalo*, or *takouili te niu*. Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*lui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

245 359 Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

246 From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*keyo*) is next set up.

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551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives
854 most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given
853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the
854 child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first
[857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there
[152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *loaloai* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-3 [1934-5]1938 Pukapukans

871 868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 462 857 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

Tiau, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akaleino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 857 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently get their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

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521 609 626 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

152 578 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 576 867 626 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yawulu-wulu tutuna*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *aguta wakaaya*.

152 261 626 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata hakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *pokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeayea;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

732 128 626 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapapa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

626 Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 157 156 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku weia* (my enemy or any hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku weia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai weia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai weia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye mamali* (one who does not select people).

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GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotos and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder
526 of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected
in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the
572 beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the
evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
536 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly
they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning
527 rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*ruho*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toho*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hai*) for his side, ten points giving a win (*to to uhi*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *hin*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *hin* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *hin* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatos nono (hide-and-seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka sin!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua mamu (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvuna*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewake (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 other players in the other circle. Lewike calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Lewike (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Lewike or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Lewike repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Lewike. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valouslo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tahapu* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngalo, hosi?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a *tin* and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Zones

857 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach.
535 Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves
them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this
177 imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm
859 of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The indi-
533 vidualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*aau*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

837/533 type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

539

Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono	1 Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat]
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu	(He) throws (her), bites her in the *ngayu* grove [repeat]
Ko wakaukuuku te muli o te kiole, ko wakaukuuku te muli o te kiole	The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi toko toko to	[Nonsense syllables]
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta	
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta	
Ko yaele mai la koe, ko yaele mai la koe	2 You walk there, you walk there
Ko lomia e Taua, lomia e Taua ke tu te mmvaka	You are pressed down by Taua, pressed down by Taua till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect
Moe lai i a Te Yei la te makamakenga o Matawea	3 Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota	Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]
Wati ai te titi o Tolota	
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi	4 We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi	
Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia	We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
Wati te tuki	The pounder is broken.
E te manu e nimonimo ia	5 Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
E te manu e nimonimo ia	
Wakakaukau atu la te wale	They gather round the houses [repeat]
Wakakaukau atu la te wale	
Matiatia matiatia mati mai	They are caught, they are caught
Mati mai ki konei e	Caught here.
E te manu e welele mai la	6 Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
E te manu e welele mai la	
Tau i te puapua ia wanga	It lights on the *puapua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]
Tau i te puapua ia wanga	
Lumakina i te vai o Malele	7 Dive down into the pool of Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te ritolo	Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Yloylo mai ka liko ai te ngongo	Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.
Kakalo atu la matou e	8 We look up
Ki Te Manu koa wengka	At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili	Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan
Ililli matou, ililli matou	We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;	
Ililli matou, ililli matou	

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

5'39

Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	[repeat]
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Moi te pukka tuna, uni te pukka tuna	Like pukka cooking, like pukka cooking
Moi te pukka tuna, uni te pukka tuna	[repeat]
E Luna te tiwa e angi mai	Oh Luna, your wind blows here
E Luna te tiwa e angi mai	[repeat]
Ka pa ana te vaka ki Kalauawa	Your canoe will be carried to Kalauawa
E, ka pa ana te vaka ki Mata Kakkalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kakkalo
E, ka tau ki kua ki tawa ana te kete ana te waura	You will land at the side with the people with their tale
Ka tae ki kua ki Kalauawa, ka tae ki kua ki Kalauawa.	You will reach Kalauawa, you will reach Kalauawa.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

857 524 177

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Pakui (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki tuali ana. A group of adults and other children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while counting another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

524

Kiokiki is played by two or three persons seated over each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kiokiki*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and hides his thumb as the others sing "pupu" (*kiki*). When all the hands are removed from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, hiding his big toe.

Wakatangi again is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the chin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a hard sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

526

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. There are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *uta pupu*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *uta tualiali*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *ananu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *kakiki*, in which the player hops on one foot.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *uhutos* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wahatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*hulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tuua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*hui*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*to te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palehiwali*.

[201]

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 30 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *nayu* wood. For many weeks before and
357 after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

526 **Running races** (*wehele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata wesele* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

526 **Wrestling** (*potoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride
186 themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling
527 was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[2] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relatives most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[2] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Bryant and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

592 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite
583 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[9]

[9] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lisnage (here a paternal lisnage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lisnage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229-33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 232-34.

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842 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

[844]

857/861 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
861 new world of physical events and human relationships.

868 By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their
857 earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time
or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks
through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male
relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the mak-
ing of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult
female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psy-
867 chology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy
and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex
and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior,
feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplifica-
tion in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions.
After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and eas-
ily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experi-
ment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age,
858 girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent
severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting
and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either par-
ent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedi-
ence to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by
the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve
are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier free-
dom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic
activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the
close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the
young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry,
to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties as-
sociated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and
outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

861 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course,
deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

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577 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
157 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
152 runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house
on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from
her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy
[839] and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

577 The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be interpreted in terms of a deep-
857 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a
159 favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his new elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unendling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the *penis* of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing around pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

577 child here!" His own slate of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

857 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
169 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
839 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

864 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
134 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who
897 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Ohani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Ohani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Ohani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

859 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to
864 cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1938
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
● 857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

4:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
868 new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
857 gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psy-
867 chology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experience that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
858 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

861 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, disciplined simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

839 served husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[9] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They refined principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal taputu, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict taputu that formerly held between a man and his contra-sex relative (females only). The taputu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this taputu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 279-84). This taputu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations sexual marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taputu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes many disapproval among the old.

[9] Eleanor and Ernest Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., [illegible]

862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

[866]

857 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

861

[154]

seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become single-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of discipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the characteristic village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by observing simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while
152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Linki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Linki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Linki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yano village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–11, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific detailed taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the vehicle of our communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

6 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is
playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

873 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privileges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if
865 they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ 11 Pukapuka OZ 11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [565] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ11 Pukapuka CZ11

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *nakaseta* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed
856 coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months,
866 the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as
888 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking [866] fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

857 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready 861 to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent [154] childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

152 Liki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yaso village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific general taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (1220) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

809 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

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793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Raratonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*wakotiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement is the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the forefinger toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau lauatano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contoring of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
864 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
201 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
576 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a
832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totoka (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano hoe hi wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*mokama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu taitape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
843 sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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phrase *koe punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

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The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

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The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Nina, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrange-
591 ment has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed
836 usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

577 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
169 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

824 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults,
521 whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing
159 canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who
857 is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12
857 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular
864 point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is
839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practises of the de-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

198 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 139–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Hortense and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Mi., [illegible]

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

157 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is
152 playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12.0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if
they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapukan. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

152 fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would
866 become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again
159 show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pukotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Linki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Linki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Linki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Linki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Linki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Linki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Linki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Linki all over again. Timoiana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Linki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

597 Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to
592 present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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852 195 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wakamotu* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 856 866 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

Education

871 868 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

6. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans

862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking [866] fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

857 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any 861 discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent [154] childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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[611 613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

597 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wongai*, and *matua kokoti* or *love* or *matua wongai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

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597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by putting the child when he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

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KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

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605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wakawahine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

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605 When the adopted (*hokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

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605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotoa (p. 259):

Lotoa is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotoa to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Vei, Lotoa's husband,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

521 609 626 to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

152 538 626 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 576 867 626 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wokalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wokalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yeveleveleu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakanyu*.

152 261 626 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *nainai;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yau;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyewyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

932 158 826 626 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vala* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapapa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *lusu:* a crippled person has a *lusu;* a bald-headed man has a *lusu* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 857 156 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku maua* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uai maua*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye mikimiki* (one who does not select people).

861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
868 new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
857 gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psy-
867 chology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
858 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier free-
dom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

864 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupele*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*notanga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *atu*. The *notanga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked talo to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *atu* one
226 year automatically became the group for seeking *tuna* fish the next year. All fish
868 second were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the *notanga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, were taught the elements of *atu* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau matua*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *notanga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *notanga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
431 of the crew, including himself; in a six-oarer canoe the captain went fishing with six bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*pana*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of sinker rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *vaekapuna*, and the gift itself was *pana*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *vaetanga*.

Atu fishing was a remarkably perilous occupation because the canoe might prove out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *notanga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ulu-canoe-o-te-tuloulou, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a sinker, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*vaetaetae*) to the god Malelielangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed further but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the helmsman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the helmsman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meanwhile a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labelled *ngengo ulo* (stinking sponge birds). The thanes of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
226 of the group returned loaded with *atu* fish.

Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] learned bonito schools by the flocks (*manu*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

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851 195 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "iiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called **vakaneto** (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated taro. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 856 866 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and taro. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by rebuffs directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

871 868 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1924-3)1938 Pukapukans

871 868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where 962 there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

857 Thus, Pita, the eldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time 857 they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman, uncle has grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of books, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishlines, sinker lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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226 621 In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

226 574 868 Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae pesu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

224 776 782 Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

226 Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *aau* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tahataha mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

224 262 The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yakeone*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taló dish *lihoiho*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

[554]

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then
[857] she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time
853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always
868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

572 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically
[591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per-
854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite
593 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focused in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[8]

[8] In Pukapukan, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (here a matrilineal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 167–73.

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861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
868 new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
857 gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
867 containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
858 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

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183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 774 769 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

793 828 787 775 [829] Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (1220) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

573 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
845 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapukan. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga. Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*uuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown. 137 262 241

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event. 262

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11). 131 797 101 721 177

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today. 642 795 797 [871 744]

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605 that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

578 In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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605 The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

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605 The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakatane* and *wakawawine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

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605 When the adopted (*koboti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *koboti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

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605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotea (p. 259):

Lotea is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotea to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotea's husband,

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the cess-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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phrase *koe punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

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The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

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The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *male liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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561 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general
331 domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

331 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, talo, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *mulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

334 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

561 Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next
226 graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
[334] boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matua* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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day (one or two *pala* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangaga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangaga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *koitau uukayuni*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale koitau*) for each sex. The *uale koitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*puipui te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kotoau* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *uaka uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *koitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *koitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*koitau lukipoko*):

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613 884 288 When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *haitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *haitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *haitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *haitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *haitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the
591 youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently
575 with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obliga-
575 tions to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

581 dren by various lovers after she realises her cultural position. She will live
832 with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau tautoe*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

589 A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *hili pipilo* (bad-
582 smelling skin), or *hiko hakaw* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

584 Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent
832 relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognised spouse.

833 A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as
881 soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

836 The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village
584 street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

431 Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *haiele* (messenger), *longalo tuku poloahi* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoe* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloahi*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wohetapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

000 Younger boys who have not arrived at an age to be initiated into manhood are *kulamoemoe*. Infants are *kulapuputi*.

Frisbie (3) gives three periods in the life of an individual, which roughly correspond with the age groups given above: the first period (*takaua*), in which the child is unclothed; the second (*malo*), in which the individual is mature or is classed as an adult; the third (*matua*), in which the individual becomes a parent or a member of the eldest group of society.

●881 884 The council formerly decided the time when the boys and young men of the village might be accepted into the group of men. Their approval was given when they judged that a boy was able to take care of himself and to procure food. Ability in fishing, gathering and husking coconuts, and handling a canoe were deemed more important than the mere fact that a boy had reached the age of adolescence. He had to become well grown, sometimes 18 or 20 years of age, before he was physically able to pass the tests and take part in adult life. Until this time the boy lived in his parents' home.

000 When the council decided that a group of boys or young men was ready to be elected into the group of men, the boys were assembled and ordered to accomplish several tests which would prove their abilities:

> For several days or weeks the boys took the canoes to sea to catch kingfish (*pala*). Each night they returned to the village council with their catch, which was divided among the families of the village. When they had proved their ability at sea as canoemen and fishermen, they had to gather coconuts for all the people. The first day they went to Motu Kotava and harvested until late in the day. With their canoes filled, they returned to Pukapuka. On nearing the canoe beach, the strongest wrestler of their group stood in the bow of his canoe and challenged the men on shore to a match. When he went ashore he met the champion of the *'akatane* group. If the wrestler of the candidates defeated his opponent, the entire group of candidates was acknowledged fit for acceptance as men in society. However, on the second day the group was obliged to return across the lagoon to Motu Ko and bring another load of coconuts. After this the boys were given malos to wear and were sent to the young men's house (*uale lopa*) to live as recognized adults (*'akatane*).

The boys considered capable of taking care of themselves (*'akatane*) were eligible to marry. However, marriage did not necessarily take place immediately. A young man must select his mate and make the proper arrangements with the girl's family and his

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114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [173] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [661] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

● 772 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [348] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*hale payua* or *manie payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*hale*). The other end (*halehale*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [483] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.
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By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the membranes on the two open half-shells with a twist of the hale blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *halehale* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the instruments in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*mapuapu*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *halehale* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are large piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngaliipayua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*vaea ui*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped
321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi hale*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), tala scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*ulili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of
226 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising
262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *matuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *vana* (a

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 erted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[1]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[2] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [1] There are naturally constitutional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal taps, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict taps that formerly held between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance (female only). The taps was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this taps and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Mythology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–61). This taps is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taps to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes—very disapproval among the old.

[2] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., [illegible])

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole
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[Information on the rite of attainment of adult status
under category 881, although the age of "maturity" c
to distinguish between puberty and majority.]

Pukapukans

has been filed
ted would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatane, makamaniu*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and

613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join

884 the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

[578]

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.

132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community.

626 There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

558

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wuo* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-

616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wuo* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wuo* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to

613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wuo* means

616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a

124 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *wuo* was discussed with informants on several different

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

561 dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general
551 domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

551 In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, taro, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *sulivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

551 After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

561 Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next
526 graduated to the *tangaga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
[551] boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tangaga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tangaga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tangaga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tangaga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tangaga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matea* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

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Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' home. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

Younger boys who have not arrived at an age to be initiated into manhood are *kulamoemoe*. Infants are *kulapuputi*.

Frisbie (3) gives three periods in the life of an individual, which roughly correspond with the age groups given above: the first period (*takaua*), in which the child is unclothed; the second (*malo*), in which the individual is mature or is classed as an adult; the third (*matua*), in which the individual becomes a parent or a member of the eldest group of society.

The council formerly decided the time when the boys and young men of the village might be accepted into the group of men. Their approval was given when they judged that a boy was able to take care of himself and to procure food. Ability in fishing, gathering and husking coconuts, and handling a canoe were deemed more important than the mere fact that a boy had reached the age of adolescence. He had to become well grown, sometimes 18 or 20 years of age, before he was physically able to pass the tests and take part in adult life. Until this time the boy lived in his parents' home.

When the council decided that a group of boys or young men was ready to be elected into the group of men, the boys were assembled and ordered to accomplish several tests which would prove their abilities:

For several days or weeks the boys took the canoes to sea to catch kingfish (*pala*). Each night they returned to the village council with their catch, which was divided among the families of the village. When they had proved their ability at sea as canoemen and fishermen, they had to gather coconuts for all the people. The first day they went to Motu Kotava and harvested until late in the day. With their canoes filled, they returned to Pukapuka. On nearing the canoe beach, the strongest wrestler of their group stood in the bow of his canoe and challenged the men on shore to a match. When he went ashore, he met the champion of the *'akatane* group. If the wrestler of the candidates defeated his opponent, the entire group of candidates was acknowledged fit for acceptance as men in society. However, on the second day the group was obliged to return across the lagoon to Motu Ko and bring another load of coconuts. After this the boys were given malos to wear and were sent to the young men's house (*male lopa*) to live as recognized adults (*'akatane*).

The boys considered capable of taking care of themselves (*'akatane*) were eligible to marry. However, marriage did not necessarily take place immediately. A young man must select his mate and make the proper arrangements with the girl's family and his

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
861 new world of physical events and human relationships.

868 By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their
857 earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time
or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks
through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male
relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the mak-
ing of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult
female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psy-
867 chology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy
and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex
and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior,
feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplifica-
tion in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions.
After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and eas-
ily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experi-
ment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
861 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age,
858 girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent
severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting
and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either par-
ent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedi-
ence to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by
the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve
are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier free-
dom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic
activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the
close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the
young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry,
to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties as-
sociated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and
outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

84 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course,
deceptive simplicity. Intensities of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[572] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is
554 honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize
621 triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion
152 are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel-
885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues
517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be
831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one than in the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is neverthe-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wokama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

n Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-8) 1938 Pukapukans

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phrase *koe punis* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

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The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawowine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village

561 881 291

meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

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The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawowine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malongo* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malongo* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

621 the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to
423 Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.
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The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tulanga uta*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi ulo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

623 Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus en-
241 forced by supernatural powers of village gods and by a guard of men called
625 *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and
776 were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council
621 to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

625 Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches
489 the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale,
887 does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

625 In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are
562 drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 30 men able to serve as
561 guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
102 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
626 suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
577 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
244 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
709 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
587 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to potter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
534 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata manu*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ika*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi haloma, yi hakai, yeie pala..." (I am going to fish *haloma*, to fish *hakai*, to noose *pala*...); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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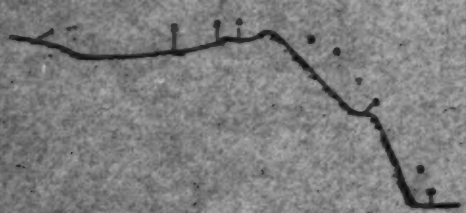

FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *uenua*; 2, lagoon, *ala*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tauatoua*; 4, reef shelf, *alualu ahua*, the reef circuit being termed *oyanga*; 5, surface water, *hilisi*; 6, sub-surface water, *uuiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *puangapuata*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te ahua*; 9, greatest depth of water, *puia-puangapuata* (also called *uenu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te uenua*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *hakai*, *ahula*, *ata*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*taugaaga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old man divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *taugaaga* men caught 30 *hakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *haloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *haloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*hoohoei*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *haloma* to be

114 stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point
171 of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent."
611 This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis
178 of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

561 Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through
641 which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole
623 were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupuia*. These
562 men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of
887 any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

805 The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to
561 a first-born child in each season of six months, whenever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahulonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahulonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakatuaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *meina ta* (taga moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *meina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

561 The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kakipapaal (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kalamoomoo (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Momoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kaaliki (children).
Taumatonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwanagaloa: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called *lopa* and *tamawawine*.
Tama and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Malivaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupuia: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general to have [illegible]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

561 The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wowine* carried out much of the economic and social
646 activity of the community. The *malivaka* generally directed group activities
123 by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect
888 in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tangenga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *omonga*
646 (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

561 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*.
646 When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group;
888 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

578 It is related that long before the time of Taiva (also generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 331.) Taiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

561 The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He be-
645 came the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki mele*) by virtue of his
793 experience and age and was then called the *mela*. The *mela* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he
613 had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

185 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed.
643 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki mele o Te Uka-o-te-matu* (the
613 major chief of Head-of-the-coast, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe tunai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-ani, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totolos" (Go to the nut tree of Totolos). This refers to the god Totolos's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

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The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[597] the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to
851 reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental
621 reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with
602 his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuanga tou*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuanga tou*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Taiva, p. 305.)

621 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the
262 three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuanga tou* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*ami tuanga tou*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

591 261 621 592

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

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A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 298) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuanga tou* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuanga tou* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

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The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *nofo* of the

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613 major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

K lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune is.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

344 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ.11 Pukapuka CZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
● 888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tale* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.